Understanding Resilience in the Lives of Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines

By

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Thesis submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

College of Business, Government and Law
March 2021

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES ..... **VI**
LIST OF TABLES ..... **VII**
GLOSSARY OF TERMS ..... **VIII**
SUMMARY ..... **IX**
DECLARATION ..... **XI**
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **XII**
PROLOGUE ..... **XIII**
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION **1**
1.1 Understanding Resilience from the Perspective of Street-Involved Children 1
1.2 Significance of the Study 3
1.3 The Filipino Context 7
1.3.1 Collectivism and Religiosity 8
1.3.2 Street-Involved Children in the Philippines 9
1.3.3 Bahay Tuluyan 11
1.4 The Resilience Discourse 13
1.5 Research Methods 18
1.6 Ethical Considerations 20
1.7 Study Findings: Children's Perceptions of Resilience in the Context of Marginalisation and Political Oppression 21
1.8 Organisation of This Thesis 23
CHAPTER 2: THE RESILIENCE DISCOURSE **25**
2.1 Introduction 25
2.2 Street-Involved Children, Resilience and Agency 28
2.2.1 Lister's Taxonomy of Agency as a Theoretical Framework to Understand Children's Perceptions of Resilience 33
2.3 The History of the Discourse 35
2.3.1 Early Conceptions of "Resilience" 36
2.3.2 The Social Ecology Approach to Resilience 41
2.3.3 Hidden Resilience 44
2.4 A Systematic Search and Literature Review of Filipino Literature 45
2.4.1 A Summary of the Filipino Literature 47
2.5 Healthy Functioning and Resilience 50
2.5.1. Healthy Functioning as a Cultural Construct 51
2.5.1.1 Child Growth and Development 52
2.5.1.2 Individualism and Collectivism 54

2.5.1.3 The Filipino Construction of "Healthy Functioning" in Street-Involved Children 56
2.5.1.4 The Social-Ecological Approach to "Healthy Functioning" 59
2.6 Critique of the Social Ecology Approach to Resilience 65
2.7 Chapter Summary 67
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS 70
3.1 Introduction 70
3.2 Aims and Objectives 72
3.3 Methodology 73
3.3.1 Anti-Oppressive Research 73
3.3.2 Child-Focused Research 74
3.3.3 Research with Street-Involved Children 78
3.3.4 Reflexivity 80
3.3.5 The Role of the Researcher 80
3.3.6 Research Site 82
3.3.7 Local Advisory Group 86
3.3.8 Participants 86
3.3.8.1 Summary of Children who Participated in the Study. 91
3.4 Ethics 93
3.4.1 Child Assent Process 93
3.4.2 Confidentiality 96
3.4.3 Ethical Challenges 97
3.5 Data Collection 101
3.5.1 Phase One: Children's Assembly and the "Draw and Talk" Art Activity 102
3.5.2 Phase Two: Walk and Talk Child-Led Tours 103
3.5.3 Phase Three: Semi-Structured Interviews 105
3.6 Cultural Considerations 106
3.6.1 Role of the Interpreter and Transcriber 108
3.7 Data Analysis 109
3.7.1 Emblematic Case Study Selection and Presentation 111
3.8 Study Dissemination and Impact 114
3.9 Methodological Challenges 114
3.9.1 Child-Centred Research and Multiple Data Collection Activities 115
3.9.2 Environmental Challenges 118
3.9.3 Language and Interpretation 118
3.9.4 Familiarity with the Researcher 119

3.10 Chapter Summary 120
CHAPTER 4: CHILDREN'S DIVERSE PERCEPTIONS OF "ADVERSITY" AND "DOING WELL" 122
4.1 Introduction 122
4.2 The Complete Sample of Children who Participated in the Study 124
4.2.1 "Miguel" 126
4.2.2 "Mary Anne" 127
4.2.3 "Nicole" 127
4.2.4 "Lyn" 128
4.2.5 "Reylin" 129
4.2.6 "Marcos" 129
4.2.7 "Jean" 130
4.2.8 "Joe" 131
4.2.9 "Jose" 131
4.2.10 "Daniel" 132
4.2.11 "Alfredo" 133
4.2.12 "Dianne" 134
4.2.13 "Jessance" 135
4.2.14 "Charles" 136
4.2.15 "Joyce" 136
4.2.16 "Jezz" 137
4.2.17 "Bong-Bong" 138
4.2.18 "Justine" 139
4.2.19 "Jonus" 139
4.2.20 "Joshua" 140
4.2.21 "Andreas" 141
4.3 Emblematic Case Studies 142
4.3.1 "Angelica" 143
4.3.2 "Jasmine" 148
4.3.3 "Gabriel" 154
4.3.4 "Kyla" 159
4.4. Children's Perceptions of "Adversity" 163
4.4.1 "Broken Family" 164
4.4.2 Inadequate Resources by which to Survive 169
4.4.3 Dangers of the Streets 173
4.4.4 Denial of Rights 177
4.5 Chapter Summary 182

CHAPTER 5: PERCEPTIONS OF RESILIENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL OPPRESSION AND MARGINALISATION 185
5.1 Introduction 185
5.2 The Political Agency of Children Who Are "Othered" 186
5.3 Angelica: "Doing Well" via "Getting Out": Facilitating Resilience via Compliance with Filipino Constructions of Childhood 193
5.3.1 Demonstrating Personal Attributes of a "Resilient Child" 195
5.3.2 "Getting Out" via Compliance with the "Rules of the Game" 199
5.3.3 A Reflexive Plan to "Get Out" of Poverty 201
5.3.4 Seeking "First-Order" Change 201
5.3.5 "Getting Out" Summary 204
5.4 Jasmine: "Doing Well" via "Getting By": Facilitating Resilience via Relationships 205
5.4.1 Relationships as Opportunity Structures 206
5.4.1.1 Relationship with God that Enables Coping. 211
5.4.2 Day-to-Day Strategies Seeking "First-Order" Change 213
5.4.3 Ambivalent Relationships with Cultural Values and Discursive Power 214
5.4.4 "Getting By" Summary 216
5.5 Gabriel: "Doing Well" via "Getting Back At" Oppression and Marginalisation 217
5.5.1 A Political Conception of Resilience 220
5.5.2 Extending Ungar's Notion of Hidden Resilience 224
5.5.3 Transgressive, Second-Order Agency 226
5.5.4 "Getting Back At" Summary 228
5.6 Kyla: "Doing Well" via "Getting Organised": Facilitating Resilience via Collective Action 229
5.6.1 A Collective Consciousness with "Othered" Street Children 233
5.6.2 Challenging the Social Order via Rights 236
5.6.3 Political Action and Collective Acts of Self Help 239
5.6.4 Getting Organised Summary 241
5.7 Chapter Summary 243
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION 247
6.1 Introduction 247
6.2 Implications of Children's Diverse Perceptions of Resilience for Theory 248
6.3 Implications of Children's Diverse Perceptions of Resilience for Policy 250
6.4 Study Limitations 255
6.5 Recommendations for Further Research 260
6.6 Concluding Remarks 262
BIBLIOGRAPHY 263

APPENDICES **301**
Appendix 1: Child Assent Form 301
Appendix 2: Child Participant Information Sheet (English) 303
Appendix 3: Information Sheet for Guardian (English) 306
Appendix 4: Memorandum of Understanding with Bahay Tuluyan and Risk Matrix 310
Appendix 5: Local Advisory Group Terms of Reference 331
Appendix 6: Data Collection Protocol 334
Appendix 7: Transcriber and Interpreter Confidentiality Agreements 346
Appendix 8: Systematic Review Terms 348
Appendix 9: Filipino Universities Contacted for Hard Copy, Unpublished Studies 362
Appendix 10: PRISMA Flow Chart 363
Appendix 11: Memo 1 to Ethics Committee 364
Appendix 12: Memo 2 to Ethics Committee 366

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 0.1: Child-Led Tour 1 xiv
Figure 0.2: Child-Led Tour 2 xvi
Figure 2.1: Lister's Taxonomy of Agency 35
Figure 3.1: Research Sequence 75
Figure 3.2: Map of Research Sites on the Island of Luzon, Philippines 84
Figure 3.3: Child Participants' Experience of the Research Process 91
Figure 3.4: Interpreter Reading Assent Form to Child 96
Figure 3.5: "Talk and Draw" Activity in Children's Assembly 103
Figure 3.6: Child Participant-Led Tour 3 (Malate) 105
Figure 3.7: Local Advisory Group 107
Figure 3.8: Interpreter and Child on Child-Led Tour 109
Figure 4.1: Miguel's Child-Led Tour 126
Figure 4.2: Dianne at Her Traineeship at Bahay Tuluyan 134
Figure 4.3: Basketball Court at Bahay Tuluyan Quezon 137
Figure 4.4: Josh's Child-Led Tour 141
Figure 4.5: Andreas' Child-Led Tour 142
Figure 4.6: Mary Anne's Drawing of Relationships that Help Her Overcome Adversity 152
Figure 4.7: Angelica's Illustration of "Children's Problems" 164
Figure 4.8: Jose's Talk and Draw Activity 165
Figure 4.9: Joyce's Talk and Draw Activity 168
Figure 4.10: Miguel's Talk and Draw Activity 170
Figure 4.11: Jasmine's talk and draw activity 172
Figure 4.12: Charles' Perception of Adversity 174
Figure 4.13: Joe's Talk and Draw Activity 175
Figure 4.14: Bong-Bong's Illustration of "Adversities" Faced by Street Children 177
Figure 4.15: Andreas's Talk and Draw Activity 1 180
Figure 4.16: Andreas's Talk and Draw Activity 2 181
Figure 5.1: Lister's Taxonomy and Emblematic Case Studies 187
Figure 5.2: Jean's Illustration of "Doing Well" 194
Figure 5.3: Angelica's Talk and Draw Activity 202
Figure 5.4: Mary Anne's Drawing of "Doing Well" 207

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Summary of Appendices.....72
Table 3.2: Summary of Children Who Participated in the Study 91
Table 3.3 Summary of Children's Perceptions of "Adversity" and "Doing Well" 112
Table 4.1 Summary of Child Participants and Corresponding Emblematic Case Study via Major Themes in Perceptions of "Adversity" and "Doing Well".....123

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Ate	A Tagalog word for “sister”
Bahay Tuluyan	Street service for children in Manila
Barangay	Lowest level of government in the Philippines
Barkada	A Tagalog word for “peer group”
Kapwa	A Tagalog term to describe a shared sense of identity between human beings
Kuya	A Tagalog word for “brother”
Nanay	A Tagalog word for “mother”
Pagtittis	A Tagalog word that describes bearing pain calmly and with forbearance.
Pakikiramdam	A Tagalog word that describes an intention and ability to understand non-verbal cues and respond accordingly to the emotional needs of the other person.
Pakikisama	A Tagalog term that describes the concept of fellowship between human beings.
Pakisama	A Tagalog term to describe getting along with others
Pinagbbabati nila kami	A Tagalog term that has no direct English translation but refers to when a third party influences conflicting parties, and encourages them to settle their differences, but does not necessarily explicitly resolve the problem.
Rescue	A policy enacted by a range of state bodies by which children are removed from the streets and detained in custody.
Tagalog	Most common language spoken in Manila, Philippines
Tiya	A Tagalog term for “aunty”
Utang na loob	A term that describes the “debt of gratitude” that Filipino children owe their parents for raising them that stretches into adulthood.

SUMMARY

This study seeks to understand resilience from the perspective of street-involved children in Manila, Philippines, exploring their perceptions of resilience, that is, moving from "adversity" to "doing well", in the context of lives characterised by extreme deprivation and marginalisation from mainstream society. The major original contribution of this thesis is to propose a political dimension to resilience that dominant conceptions, used widely in the development of policy and interventions, have largely ignored. Twenty-five street-involved children between 11 and 18 years of age participated in the study while under the care and protection of Bahay Tuluyan, a grassroots community organisation in Manila, Philippines that works to ensure children's rights are respected, protected and fulfilled. Drawing on child-focused research methods, this study acknowledges children as experts in their own lives and, as such, offered choice and participation at all stages of the research process. Children engaged in a range of qualitative data collection methods including "walk and talk" child-led tours of their environment. These methods enabled children to demonstrate to the researcher the complex processes in which they engage, drawing on resources in themselves, their relationships, community and culture in order to overcome self-described conditions of "adversity", and travel towards their conception of "doing well".

The dominant conception of resilience has emerged from the Minority World, with studies undertaken by expert researchers who have defined children as resilient when they meet normative conceptions of healthy functioning in children. These studies define adverse circumstances in the context of Western industrialised societies and identify indicators of "doing well" based on ethnocentric conceptions of development and of desirable child behaviours. These assumptions are contested by a handful of Filipino studies which have investigated the lives of street-involved children, with researchers suggesting a culturally nuanced conception of resilience associated with children demonstrating outcomes and behaviours that are considered desirable in Filipino society including adherence to collectivist values and relationships of mutual obligation.

Children in this study perceived "adversity" to be a collective experience they shared with their families, and other street-involved children who are marginalised and subject to oppressive government policies. Their perceptions of "doing well" included drawing on personal, relational, community and cultural resources as they engage in day-to day activities

to manage the effects of marginalisation, as well as making strategic decisions to effect long-term change in their own lives, and the lives of others. This study makes an original contribution by suggesting that street-involved children perceive resilience to be an overtly political construct that includes personal and collective acts of agency as they seek to ensure that their rights, and the rights of others, are observed and upheld.

To explore this conception of resilience, this thesis brings together Ruth Lister's use of the "Othering" discourse, and her "taxonomy of agency", with Michael Ungar's "social-ecological" approach to resilience. This study will extend current understandings of resilience to suggest that children's personal and collective acts of political agency are legitimate forms of resilience that are currently under-examined in the resilience discourse.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed.....

Date. 12/07/2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have helped me on this journey and are deserving of my deep gratitude. Foremost, I would like to express my thanks to the young people who shared their stories with me. It was my privilege to walk beside you for a short time and share your lives. May the findings of this study amplify your voices in your efforts to cause change.

I would also like to thank the staff of Bahay Tuluyan with whom I share the credit for this study. Catherine, Lilly and each member of the team, this study is a tribute to you and the work that you do.

I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to my supervisors. Lorna, thank you for your deep thinking and insight that gave this study depth. Gerry, as a supervisor you provided a blend of intellectual challenge, and unwavering support. Your commitment to academic rigour and child-centred research methods made this study what it has become. Kate Leeson, professional editor, provided copyediting and proofreading services. Thank you for your patience and attention to detail.

I would like to thank my Filipino family who helped me though: Tina, Edgar, Cindy, Ian, Suzie, John, Louise and Nicolette. You listened, discussed and encouraged me at the time I needed it most.

I would also like to thank my immediate and extended family. Mum, Dad, Leanne and Adrian; you have shared my pain and joy at each step of the way. I would also like to thank Gretta, Dick and extended family for making it possible for me to undertake this quest when I thought that I could not.

To my own children, Tom and Poppy, you teach me about children's capacities every day and your commitment to this project made our sacrifices possible. I would like to thank my partner Carl. Without you this study would have been nothing more than a dream to do something that mattered in the Philippines. We share this.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that this thesis was written on the traditional Country of the Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains. I would like to pay my respects to Elders past and present and acknowledge their cultural heritage, beliefs and relationship with the land are of continuing importance to the Kaurna people living today.

PROLOGUE

This prologue locates myself, the researcher, in this study, acknowledging my role as a contributor, collaborator and subjective participant in the co-construction of knowledge (Fook 2016). Walking the streets of Manila, it is impossible to ignore the dire circumstances in which street-involved children live. Congregating on pavements and the steps of shopping malls, children as young as my own appear to be in ominous circumstances; without the protection of adults, begging for food and money. Throughout the study, seeing children in such circumstances has been an uncomfortable experience. This discomfort arises from my deeply held perceptions of children and childhood that come from being an adult, white, middle-class Australian, who has enjoyed an upbringing of relative safety and privilege. My training and career as a social worker have informed my knowledge base about what children need to survive and thrive. As a mother to my own children, this knowledge translates into deeply held personal convictions that have no doubt influenced this study and its findings.

Through this study I sought to understand resilience from the perspective of street-involved children, exploring their perceptions of "adversity" and what it is to "do well" in the context of their lives. Employing child-centred research methods has challenged me to deeply listen to the lived experience of children; and has required that I manage my own bias and values during the study. As an adult, this has required that I attempt to see the world from the perspective of children and acknowledge their points of view that were different to my own. It also required that I notice and account for the power deferential between myself and the children, taking action to ensure the research process did not inadvertently replicate and compound marginalisation and oppression.

This prologue is an important component of the thesis, accounting for the significance of the "self" in the study findings. It accounts for my own worldview, captured in a diary that I kept throughout the study. Completed before, during and after data collection, the diary recorded my initial thoughts about the children I met, and my response to the circumstances in which they lived. As the study progressed, this diary became a mechanism by which I arrived at study findings, recording my emerging recognition of children's perceptions of "adversity" and their varied perceptions of what it is to "do well" in their lives.

Reflexivity can be defined as the process by which the researcher engages in self-awareness and scrutiny in order to develop insights into how their own lived experience shapes the research process (Bryant 2016). Reflexivity is a uniquely personal process, and thus, unlike the rest of this thesis, this prologue is written in the first person. The diary recorded my unconscious belief at the beginning of this study; the streets of Manila are chaotic and full of hazards and not a suitable place for children. When I read the early entries now, I see they reflect my assumptions that the street is a space for adult activity, unsafe for children to play, earn and socialise without the care and protection of an adult.

Figure 0.1: Child-Led Tour 1

Through speaking to children in this study, my own perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" have been challenged and re-configured. In most Minority World contexts, including my own country of origin, childhood is widely considered to be a time for playing and learning, free of responsibilities and involving dependence on adults to meet all their needs (Zelizer 1994). My beliefs about desirable outcomes for children have been reinforced by my career as a social worker in which I have primarily worked in the field of child protection. Child protection as a discipline of social work operates within a legislative framework that includes the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and emphasises

rights of provision and protection, with professional activities aiming to ensure access to physical and emotional resources that enable children to “do well”.

This study is based on the premise that by deeply listening to children’s stories it is possible to amplify their voices and challenge oppression and disadvantage. By acknowledging and holding my own worldview during data collection, I was able to appreciate the protective resources in the children’s social ecology that I had previously overlooked. Furthermore, as a non-Filipino, the reflexivity diary enabled me to examine my position as an “outsider” and account for my own cultural standpoint (Bryant 2016).

As an Australian, I acknowledge the impact on colonisation on Indigenous populations and the ongoing dispossession of Aboriginal people from their land and cultural connections. I am aware of my own cultural heritage and the privileging of Western knowledge that devalues Indigenous knowledge and views about the world. From the earliest years of colonisation, Western psychologists have devalued Filipino Indigenous values, constructing them as indicators of deficit modes of social interaction and organisation (Pe-Pua 2006). In order to support the cultural accountability of this research process, and to address the challenges of understanding the participant belief systems as an “outsider”, several mechanisms were built into the research design. In employing child-focused research methods, I adopted a position of humility that accepted the limitation of my knowledge and experience as a non-Filipino adult (Dean 2001). A Local Advisory Group guided the development and implementation of the study, providing cultural advice and assistance with the interpretation of the study findings. Also, at the conclusion of the data analysis process, available participants provided feedback regarding the study findings. Through these processes I was able to better understand the views of children and the key themes emerging in the data and check my assumptions and ambiguities in my interpretations.

Post-positivist research accounts for the motivations, and the social, political position of the researcher and the impact this has on the generation of knowledge (Ryan 2006). Over the five years that we lived in the Philippines, my family and I built a relationship with the children and staff at Bahay Tuluyan. The motivation to undertake this study grew from my desire to use my time in the Philippines to make a difference in the lives of children. I write this prologue at the last stage of thesis writing, a final reflection on the journey of this research project. By completing this study, I hope to amplify the voices of children and draw attention to their diverse strategies to “do well” as legitimate expressions of resilience that are

currently under-examined in the evidence base. This study will contribute to an overlooked conception of resilience that better accounts for the political agency of children, and their array of personal and collective actions by which they resist the effects of oppression and marginalisation.

Figure 0.2: Child-Led Tour 2

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Understanding Resilience from the Perspective of Street-Involved Children

The purpose of this study is to examine the construction of resilience from the perspective of street-involved children in Manila, Philippines, with the intention of uncovering how they construct "adversity" and what it is to "do well". The overall research question that serves as a guide to this study is:

> *How do street-involved children construct resilience in the context of their social ecology?*

Drawing on the social-ecological definition, in this thesis resilience is defined as the outcome of complex non-linear processes in which children engage as they draw on internal and external resources to overcome conditions of "adversity" and go on to "do well", as defined by themselves in the context of their social ecology (Ungar 2011, Ungar, Ghazinour et al. 2013). Social ecology refers to the social and physical environment, including resources that provide opportunities for attaining health-related outcomes as defined by the social and cultural context in which the child lives (Ungar 2011, Ungar 2012). In order to address the research question, the researcher asked a sample of street-involved children in Manila, the Philippines, about their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in the context of their lives, characterised by extreme deprivation and marginalisation from mainstream Filipino society. The researcher sought to explore how children navigated and negotiated resources in themselves, their relationships, communities and culture in order to move towards their self-identified conceptions of "doing well" (Ungar 2011). For the purposes of this study, "child" refers to human beings who are under the age of 18 years, as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

The dominant conception of resilience, built from a large body of research in Western industrialised nations, includes character traits such as problem solving, autonomy and a sense of purpose (Ungar 2010, Panter-Brick 2015). This conception is predicated on specific notions of "healthy functioning" that are in turn consistent with Western values and norms regarding children's growth and development. Using evidence from fieldwork with street-involved children in Manila and building on both Michael Ungar's social ecology framework and the Filipino literature on resilience which foregrounds values such as collectivism,

obedience and religiosity, this study will propose alternative constructions of "adversity", "doing well" and "healthy functioning". Some street-involved children described their conceptions of "adversity" as including being subject to oppressive government policy and the denial of basic human rights. The children revealed their perceptions of "adversity" as a collective and politically generated experience that they shared with other street-involved children and their families. Some street-involved children described "doing well" in terms of being able to achieve culturally ascribed notions such as attending school and having an intact family. But for other children, "doing well" also included achieving status in the community via unorthodox means, such as becoming a powerful criminal.

These alternative perceptions of doing well are consistent with Ungar's (2005a) conception of "hidden resilience", which acknowledges the role of discursive power in defining what is healthy and what is not, by suggesting that those in positions of power label children who fail to demonstrate normative outcomes as transgressive and dangerous. Ungar (2005a, 2006, 2009) argues that children's engagement in dangerous behaviours may represent efforts to defy these labels, presenting themselves as powerful and competent rather than deviant. Thus he argues that children can seek health-related outcomes via engagement in unhealthy activities that are not seen as socially desirable in the culture and context in which the child lives (Ungar 2005). The thesis supports Ungar's argument by providing evidence of "hidden resilience" in the narratives of street-involved children in Manila. However, the thesis also extends and critiques Ungar's conception by focusing on resilience as the outcome of political action. The thesis will argue that the conception of hidden resilience overlooks children's shared experience of political oppression, and that Ungar's approach inadvertently presents an individualist response to marginalisation and overlooks children's capacity for collective protest (Bottrell 2009b; valentine 2011).

Drawing on Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, this thesis will identify children's diverse perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", and the range of actions they take as they seek to manage the effects of oppression and marginalisation, including personal and collective acts of protest. Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency identifies four categories of agency as people struggle to "get by", "get out", "get back at" and "get organised", suggesting that agency can be every-day, strategic, personal and political. Although formulated in the context of Western industrialised countries, Lister's (2004) approach has salience in this study, as the application of her taxonomy draws attention to the "Othering" of street-involved children; a

two-way process by which the oppressed are separated from those in positions of power. Lister highlights the agency of those who are marginalised to take creative social, political and economic action as they manage and resist the effects of poverty. In this thesis, Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency provides a mechanism for understanding the meaning of the ongoing decision-making processes that street-involved children engage in, in order to manage personal, financial and natural assets, both individually and as a collective, in order to manage the effects of oppression.

This thesis will therefore suggest that a more robust conception of resilience is required that accommodates children's conceptions of "doing well", which includes outcomes that are not necessarily related to orthodox notions of child development and good health, and which recognises the positive contribution to resilience of collective efforts to resist the effects of political oppression and marginalisation.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in four respects. First, it highlights insights that have been largely overlooked in understanding resilience from the perspective of children who experience extreme deprivation and marginalisation from mainstream society in the context of the Majority World. Resilience in children has primarily been investigated by adult, expert researchers who live in the Minority World (Boyden and Mann 2005, Ungar 2010).This thesis will use the term "Majority World" to describe developing countries (sometimes called the "Global South") in Asia, Africa, and South and Central America. The term "Minority World" will be used to refer to developed, industrialised countries, primarily in the West, which are sometimes alternatively referred to as the "Global North" (Twum-Danso Imoh et al. 2019). The distinction between the Majority and Minority Worlds is important in this study which highlights the dominance of cross-discipline research regarding childhood and child development that has emerged from the Minority World with assumed universality (Boyden 2003). This thesis concurs with the sociology of childhood scholars who have pointed out that dominant constructions of childhood are implicitly based on social and cultural norms dominant in the Minority World, overlooking cultural and contextual variations regarding the role of children in society (James and Prout 2015). However, this thesis recognises the limitation of this terminology which suggests a dichotomous relationship between the Minority and Majority Worlds. Twum-Danso Imoh et al. (2019) suggest that the use of these terms invites generalisations and fails to capture complex

societies in which people experience diverse social, economic and political conditions. Furthermore, they suggest that these terms are polarising, inadvertently leading to "us" and "them" thinking that facilitates "othering" in international communities (Twum-Danso Imoh et al. 2019). As such in this study, the terms Minority and Majority Worlds will be used to abbreviate this distinction while recognising the limitations of this terminology and the growing similarities of children's experiences around the world due to global forces such as colonisation, globalisation and immigration as well as advanced technology that has enabled the dissemination of ideas about childhood.

Supported by Bahay Tuluyan, a grassroots community organisation based in Manila, this study drew on child-focused research methods that positioned the researcher as the "learner" and the children as experts in their own lives (Ryan 2006). The study findings privilege the voices of children from the Majority World and offers insights into their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that diverge from those presented in the dominant resilience discourse.

Second, the study applies and extends the critique by Ungar and others, who have argued that the dominant conception of resilience fails to account for children's culture and context (Boyden 2003, McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005, Micheal Ungar 2008, Hills, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2016). This thesis will suggest that the Minority World resilience discourse is based on ethnocentric research that offers a narrow conception of "healthy functioning" that reflects predominantly Western values and conceptions of child growth and development. The findings of this study will destabilise the individualist approach to resilience that emphasises the personal characteristics of a resilient child and places responsibility for overcoming adversity on the individual (Seccombe 2002). The study will also support the social-ecological argument that suggests resilience is a cultural and contextual construct, consisting of multiple complex processes between the child and the internal and external resources to which they have access (Ungar 2004).

Third, the thesis will present an analysis of the Filipino resilience literature – the first in the English language to the researcher's knowledge. The Filipino literature suggests that street-involved children are resilient when they demonstrate specific behaviours and achieve outcomes associated with "healthy functioning" that reflect values regarding children and modes of social organisation that are dominant in the Philippines (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista 2000, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Bautista and Rolder 2001, Sta. Maria,

Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). The values and aspirations of street-involved children who participated in the research for this thesis are shown to be partly consistent with, but also to partly contradict, these Filipino values. This finding has implications for Ungar's approach, drawing attention to children's complex relationships with dominant cultural and social values. Ungar's (2006) concept of "hidden resilience" suggests children and young people who are marginalised from mainstream society sometimes use unconventional methods, such as crime and risky sexual activities, to achieve health-related outcomes. This thesis will extend this approach to suggest that children who are marginalised from mainstream society can hold contradictory conceptions of "doing well" that are not synonymous with health-related outcomes as Ungar appears to conceptualise them, and not consistent with culturally specific notions of healthy functioning.

The fourth contribution of this study concerns the children's perceptions of resilience as an overtly political construct, when they live in a context of government oppression and a denial of their human rights. Drawing on accounts of children's agency, the study highlights the diverse strategic and day-to-day actions taken by young people in order to overcome the collective experience of adversity and marginalisation (Redmond 2009, valentine 2011, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017). "Othering" is a term pioneered by social and feminist theorists who have used the concept to draw attention to the processes by which groups in society are subjected to positions of inferiority by those who have power over language and social discourse (Said 1985, DeBeauvior 1997 , Canales 2000, Krumer-Nevo 2002, Jensen 2011). Lister's (2004) discussion of "Othering" and her taxonomy of agency, combined with Michael Ungar's (2004a) social-ecological approach to resilience and the literature on children's agency, will offer alternative understandings of how children navigate and negotiate internal and external resources, making day-to-day and strategic decisions to recover from adversity and go on to "do well".

This thesis will make its primary contribution by drawing on Lister's taxonomy of agency and present case studies of four of the 25 study participants – Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla – whose stories are emblematic of major themes from the complete participant group to exemplify how children resist the effects of oppression and marginalisation when they "get out", "get by", "get back at" and "get organised", managing circumstances of "adversity" and going on to "do well" (Lister 2004). Lister's taxonomy draws on Hoggett's (2001) discussion of diverse forms of agency to describe the actions of people who individually or collectively

seek to improve their position via strategies that comply with or transgress social and cultural norms (Mills 2008, Lareau, Adia Evans & Yee 2016). In applying this discussion of agency, this study will extend conceptions of resilience to suggest that the children in this study are engaged in efforts to "do well" which can be understood as personal and collective acts to resist the effects of "Othering" that are currently under-examined in the resilience discourse.

The theoretical insights in this thesis hold implications for public policy that aims to build resilience in children and their families who are marginalised by mainstream society. Public policies are acts of government designed to achieve specific objectives by drawing on public resources and the power of the state (Althaus, Bridgman et al. 2013). The resilience discourse has been heralded as a ground-breaking approach that has shifted the focus of policy makers away from risk and pathology, towards protective factors in the lives of children (Rutter 2000, Masten and Powell 2003). Resilience has been drawn on as a basis for policy interventions across diverse settings such as health, education, child protection, youth justice, climate change and disaster response in both the Minority and Majority Worlds (Blackstock and Trocmé 2005, Almedom and Glandon 2007, Ager 2013, Bottrell 2013, Haynes and Tanner 2015, Robinson 2016, Hechanova, Docena et al. 2018).

The resilience discourse has also been drawn on as a basis of neoliberal policy in which the individual is positioned as responsible for their own success despite disadvantage (Seccombe 2002, Bottrell 2013, Tierney 2015, Crossley 2016). This thesis challenges the individualised conception of resilience by highlighting the lived experiences of children who perceive "adversity" and "doing well" to be political constructs. The resilience discourse has largely overlooked power structures and inequalities in the lives of children. An implication of this study is that the resilience of children must be understood within their social, political and economic context and recognise the diverse strategies in which children engage as they seek to "do well". Paying attention to habitual and strategic acts of agency holds implications for understanding children's use of resources that are available to express political resistance (Skattebol, Saunders et al. 2012). The findings from this study suggest that policy that seeks to increase the resilience of street-involved children must account for their political perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", which include critiques of oppressive and inadequate government policy that targets children and their families.

1.3 The Filipino Context

This research project was undertaken in the Republic of the Philippines and, as such, the unique social, political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nation provide the context for this study. The Philippines archipelago is made up of over 7,107 islands, with approximately 1,000 of them inhabited (Silva 1996). Most of the population lives in the three major island groups of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The Philippines experienced the impact of colonisation, which began with the arrival of the Islamic tradition in the 14th century, followed by the Spanish Catholics in the 16th century (Lasquety-Reyes and Alvarez 2015). Catholicism remains an important foundation of Filipino culture, with the majority of the population identifying as Roman Catholic (Cukur, De Guzman et al. 2004). The arrival of Americans in the 20th century further introduced modern concepts such as universal education and democracy, while also establishing English as well as Tagalog as the most widely spoken and officially recognised languages (Lasquety-Reyes and Alvarez 2015). Today, while each region is known for its own distinctive culture and traditions, a common feature among them is the traditional social structures and belief systems that emphasise kinship relationships and connections (Lasquety-Reyes and Alvarez 2015).

Emerging from its long history of colonialism in the 1940s, the political history of the Philippines as a young democratic republic has been turbulent, with successive government administrations plagued by systemic corruption, the stratification of wealth and popular unrest (Karnow 1989, Timberman 2016). Thirty years after the People Power revolution, which saw dictator President Marcos deposed and replaced by a democratically elected government, the election of the controversial President Rodrigo Duterte has changed the political and social landscape of the Philippines. Previously the Mayor of Davao City for 22 years, Duterte is popularly believed to have transformed the city that was once plagued by drugs and crime into an economic and social success by empowering “death squads” to eliminate drug dealers and criminals (Curato 2017). In 2016, promising a similar transformation for all of the Philippines, Duterte was elected, promising to create a federal government that would challenge corruption as well as the eradication of illegal drugs via extra-judicial killings (Karnow 1989, Timberman 2016). Since this election Duterte has upheld this promise, implementing a “war on drugs” and other socially oppressive policies, while enjoying record-breaking rates of grassroots popularity (Curato 2017). While it is impossible to ascertain exact numbers of extra-judicial killings, scholars estimate thousands

of deaths have occurred at the hands of police and vigilantes ostensibly in the interest of eradicating drugs from the Philippines (Johnson and Fernquest 2018). Recent scholars suggest the war on drugs provides a policy platform that serves to demarcate criminals from law-abiding citizens and enables the government to appear to be addressing failed efforts to achieve economic prosperity for its citizens (Reyes 2016, Johnson and Fernquest 2018, Gallagher, Raffle et al. 2020). Recently called a crime against humanity, there are growing calls for an international response to mass violence and corruption (Gallagher, Raffle et al. 2020).

1.3.1 Collectivism and Religiosity

Contemporary commentators argue that the Philippines remains a collectivist culture despite its history of colonisation by Western nations (Church 1987). Collectivist values are evident in modes of social organisation that emphasise "in-group" relationships and an interdependent view of self that is at the core of personhood (Church 1987). The family, composed of nuclear and extended family members, is the basic unit of Filipino society (Alampay and Jocson 2011). Immediate families comprise of age-based hierarchies that privilege the position of adults, with children expected to respect the authority of older family members (Bessell 2007). Children have a specific relationship with their mother and father, owing their parents a "utang ng pasasalamat", which translates as "debt of gratitude". This debt of gratitude is conveyed via obligations of interdependence that stretch into adulthood (Lynch 1970). In collectivist societies, family obligations and responsibilities remain of vital importance and supersede all personal interests of family members (Lynch 1970). "Kapwa" is a Tagalog term that can be translated as "fellowship" and describes a shared identity that binds individuals to each other and gives deference to group membership and family bonds (Pomm 2005). In the Philippines, extended family members often reside together, sharing basic material goods necessary for survival and acting as an informal safety net in times of crisis.

In addition to its collectivist character, commentators agree that the Philippines remains a deeply religious nation, with the majority of the population identifying as Roman Catholic (Cukur, De Guzman et al. 2004). A study of the relationship between religiosity and collectivist values found that in the Philippines religiosity is negatively associated with attainment of personal status and power, suggesting consistency with collectivist values (Cukur, De Guzman et al. 2004). Religiosity can be defined as the centrality of religion in an

individual's life and it is a significant social-cultural factor in predicting an individual's behaviour (Cukur, De Guzman et al. 2004). Catholic values play an important role in Filipino culture and remain a powerful influence on individual behaviour and public discourse (Church and Katigbak 2002). The Catholic Church remains a commanding influence in the Philippines and has long been identified as having considerable influence over public policy and political debate (Karnow 1989).

1.3.2 Street-Involved Children in the Philippines

Despite the robust economic growth and a modest reduction in the numbers of people living in poverty, an estimated 21.6% of the Filipino population, about 22 million people, still live below the poverty line (Bank 2018). Many of these families become the urban poor, living in illegal settlements with limited access to health, education and sanitation services (Tuason and Teresa 2013). The children of these families often engage in activities that contribute towards the family income and spend many hours working and playing on the streets of Manila (Aguirre 2005).

In the Philippines, exact numbers of street children are difficult to ascertain. The most recent count in 2011 reported 246,000 "highly visible children" determined to be in need of urgent assistance (Unicef 2016). Highly visible children are defined as those who live or work on the streets for a period of four or more hours per day, with limited adult supervision (Unicef 2016). The majority of Filipino reports regarding the conditions experienced by street-involved children identify poor physical and mental health, as well exposure to violence and abuse at the hands of adults and other children in their families, and in the broader community (Pomm 2005). A 2016 report identified that such children are unable to access basic resources required for survival and are denied access to essential services in the community that facilitate growth and development, such as school and health services (University of the Philippines Manila 2016). Sta. Maria, Martinez and Diestro (2014) have suggested that street-involved children are aware of their social stigma and mainstream society's assumptions about their criminality and deviance.

The researcher recognises the inadequacy of the term "street children", as it fails to capture the diversity of experience of children who live and work on the streets (Panter-Brick 2002). The term "street children" is associated with assumptions of criminality, pathology and inevitably negative life trajectories in this highly visible group, while ignoring less visible

children in equally dire situations (Panter-Brick 2002). Sociological studies have identified that the term has been used to describe children who are “out of place” in public environments usually reserved for economic activities, rather than in spheres typically considered appropriate for children, such as schools and recreational settings (Ennew & Swart-Kruger 2003).

In an effort to manage these complexities, multiple terms have been used in public policy to describe children who live in street situations, including “street children”, “children of the street”, “children on the street”, as well as “orphaned” or “abandoned” children (UN 2017). The United Nations uses the term “children in street situations” to describe multiple categories of children including those who live alone, or with their peers or their families, and depend on the street for income generation. This definition recognises the larger number of children who form strong connections to public spaces such as parks and economic centres, and periodically migrate to the street in order to live and work (UN 2017). In Filipino legislation various terms have described children as “on” and “of” the streets, “working street child” or “Children in Need of Special Protection”. These terms attempt to reflect the diverse circumstances that these children experience (Aptekar and Heinonen 2003, Philippines 2012). Public policy regarding street-involved children in the Philippines primarily uses the term “street children” to describe children who live in a variety of circumstances including living with their families, in sheltered accommodation or on the streets (Republic of the Philippines 2012). This study uses the term “street involved” as a shorthand to describe children who fit into a range of circumstances associated with living and working in the streetscape.

Street-involved children in the Philippines have been found to experience extreme deprivation of resources necessary for survival, to be subject to abuse and neglect by adults and other children, and be unable to access essential services such as health and education that enable growth and development (West 2003, Pomm 2005, Unicef 2016, University of the Philippines Manila 2016). Street-involved children are also subject to stigma and discrimination that results in experiences of violence and exclusion from mainstream society (Pomm 2005, Racelis, Aguirre et al. 2006, Wartenweiler and Mansukhani 2016). Historically in the Philippines, the perceived criminality and vulnerability of street-involved children has warranted extreme protective measures delivered by public officials. The primary government response to street-involved children is the policy of “rescue”, which is enacted by various government agencies and is governed by the Standards for Community-Based

Services for Street Children. Via the policy of "rescue," children found begging, loitering and adopting the streets, parks, markets, shopping malls or other public places as home are removed and detained in Reception and Assessment Centres (RACs) (Willis 2016). These were described by children in this study as a "jail for street children" and have been reported as subjecting children to violence and deprivation of their human rights (Bahay Tuluyan 2014).

Under President Rodrigo Duterte, an array of public policies targets street-involved children with life-threatening consequences (Kattouw 2018, Simangan 2018). In addition to rescue, in 2017 a "curfew" was introduced, criminalising children who are unsupervised in public places between the hours of 10 pm and 4 am. This policy criminalises the day-to-day behaviours of children who are street involved and who earn, play and congregate in public spaces after dark (Bayudan-Dacuycuy 2012). These repressive social policies may soon be extended by a Senate proposal to amend the Juvenile Justice Act 2006 to lower the age of criminal responsibility from 15 years to 9 years of age. Oppressive government policies in the Philippines serve to demarcate street-involved children from law-abiding citizens, who are encouraged to feel safe because of the harsh law-and-order platform (Reyes 2016). The police, as part of the war on drugs, often target young men who are street involved. While exact numbers of extra-judicial killings are hard to ascertain, recent estimates suggest that thousands of Filipinos from poor communities have been killed by the police and vigilantes (Gallagher, Raffle et al. 2020). Studies have established that young men experience high rates of violence in the community and describe feeling unsafe in the street environment (University of the Philippines Manila 2016).

This context of public policy forms an important backdrop to this study, suggesting that street-involved children experience significant oppression and marginalisation from mainstream Filipino society. The day-to-day circumstances of adversity as well as oppressive public policy measures serve as significant barriers for street-involved children to overcome adversity and go on to "do well".

1.3.3 Bahay Tuluyan

This study was conducted in and around the premises of Bahay Tuluyan, a child rights organisation that was founded in Manila by a group of Catholic clergies who advocated for human rights at the height of the Marcos era. Based on principles of social justice, the

founders believed that the street children of Manila, despite their extreme poverty and precarious life circumstances, had the capacity to solve their own problems by engaging in community advocacy activities. The founders established annual Children's Assemblies in which children were encouraged to identify social problems and develop solutions. Today, Children's Assembles are regularly held and the philosophy that respects the rights and capacities of children to problem solve remains the foundation of all program and service delivery.

Bahay Tuluyan headquarters are in metropolitan Manila, with two additional services located in the surrounding provinces of Laguna and Quezon. The service offers street-based outreach, sheltered accommodation, and alternative education and employment programs for children and young people. The UNCRC is used as the framework for all of its interventions, which include provision of basic resources necessary for survival, access to health care and education, as well as opportunities for political participation and engagement in advocacy activities regarding matters that concern them (Bahay Tuluyan 2011). Bahay Tuluyan provides training to children regarding the UNCRC via a mobile school that is delivered on the streets of Malate, whereby children learn about child rights. For example, education regarding hygiene and hand-washing practices is framed within the right to the provision of basic sanitation and health care. Bahay Tuluyan's mission is to prevent and respond to abuse and exploitation of children through the delivery of child-centred programs and services that are delivered by and for children. Throughout all service delivery, staff seek to maximise children's participation and respect the capacities of children to be experts in their own lives. Young people are trained to become Youth Facilitators who take a leadership role in the service, teaching other children about the UNCRC and leading advocacy activities. The training program for Youth Facilitators includes examining the UNCRC and consideration of rights that are upheld or not in the lives of street-involved children in Manila, Philippines. Youth Facilitators are regularly called upon to deliver training to government and community organisations including schools, universities and non-government agencies who wish to learn about the rights of children. Bahay Tuluyan is at the forefront of public awareness campaigns and advocacy activities that promote the rights of children in the Philippines (Bahay Tuluyan 2011, 2014, 2017). These activities have included engaging in public protests, action research and policy development in partnership with the Filipino government (Bahay Tuluyan 2011, 2014). Specific advocacy activities by Youth Facilitators are described in detail in Section

5.6, which features Kyla, who serves as an emblematic case study in this thesis, who draws on her training in child rights as a basis for political and collective agency.

The author of this thesis first began to volunteer at Bahay Tuluyan in 2016 after hearing about the service at the Australian Consulate in Manila. The researcher began volunteering by taking part in street outreach activities, teaching the English language and supporting the peer leadership and drop-in programs. In 2017 I co-designed the child intake and assessment process and practice guidance in partnership with a working party made up of Bahay Tuluyan staff and youth facilitators. While undertaking this work Bahay Tuluyan management suggested they would like to develop an instrument to measure resilience before and after service provision. Staff identified the need to understand children's perceptions of resilience before such a tool was devised. Hence the study was initiated via a project proposal submitted by the researcher to Flinders University for a PhD candidature. Through the course of this study, the researcher, her partner and children became involved, accompanying the researcher on visits to the service. The presence of the researchers' own children was attractive to the study participants who built relationships with them and played together regularly.

In this study, Bahay Tuluyan acted as a gatekeeper between the researcher and street-involved children. Possible perceptions of coercion were managed via a robust informed consent process that included the researcher attending a Children's Assembly and talking about the study. This process gave the children the opportunity to learn about the research question and take several months to freely self-select into the study. Bahay Tuluyan offered a high level of security for the researcher and the children, with established occupational, health, safety and welfare procedures. Child participants and their social workers accessed Bahay Tuluyan daily and thus felt comfortable and safe during the research process. A social worker was available after the interview to debrief, provide emotional support and respond if the child experienced unexpected emotions during the interview process.

1.4 The Resilience Discourse

This study is undertaken in the context of the vast body of resilience literature, spanning over fifty years of research, applied across multiple disciplines and informing wide-ranging policy interventions (Prince-Embury and Saklofske , Hall and Lamont 2013). In its earliest iteration, "resiliency" was understood to be a character trait and it inspired scholars to identify particular temperaments, talents and abilities that set some children apart from their peers

(Richardson 2002). The definition of resilience as a cluster of personal character traits remains influential, with ongoing efforts by researchers and policy makers to measure and encourage personal attributes that are associated with children's perceived ability to succeed despite adverse circumstances (Ager 2013).

In Minority World studies, researchers observed that resilient children possess the personal quality of "social competence," described as the capacity of children to build relationships with adults and their peers (Benard 2004). Social competence includes a range of personal qualities such as empathy, a sense of humour and the ability to care for others (Masten and Garmezy 1985). Throughout the literature, other characteristics associated with resilient children include having a sense of purpose in life, the ability to solve problems, demonstrate autonomy and agency in the pursuit of personal goals. (Masten and Coatsworth 1998). Problem solving is defined as the capability to find creative solutions when faced with difficult social or cognitive challenges (Benard 2004). Agency refers to having faith in one's own ability to make decisions and take action in order to effect change (Benard 1995). A range of terms have been used in the literature to describe this characteristic including "self-efficacy" (Garmezy, Masten et al. 1984), "self-esteem" (Rutter 1985) and "independence" (Anthony and Cohler 1987). A sense of optimism about the future has been observed as another important characteristic of resilient children (Constantine, Benard et al. 1999). A future focus includes the development of personal aspirations, as well as the ability to persevere despite difficulties (Werner and Smith 1992).

As the discourse evolved, researchers began to move beyond a focus on individual characteristics, instead investigating the interaction between human adaptive systems and normative processes of growth and development (Luthar and Cicchetti 2000). This change of focus arose when researchers observed a degree of variance in resilience, noting that competence could be attained in one life domain, such as social competence, but not another, such as educational attainment (Willis 2016). These observations led researchers to suggest that the impact of risk and protective factors were non-homogenous, affecting the growth and development of children in individualised ways (Rutter 1987). Thus healthy functioning was defined as positive adaptation in circumstances that threatened normative growth and development (Daniel, Wassell et al. 2011). Masten (2001), championing this approach, suggested that most children demonstrate resilience when confronted by adversity, which is enabled by systems and processes that are the result of ordinary growth and development.

Her influential research suggests that resilience is associated with the ability of children to demonstrate competence criteria associated with age and stages of development that reflect emerging understandings of child development (Luthar, Cicchetti et al. 2000).

Another major theoretical influence on the resilience discourse was the application of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development that drew attention to contextual influences on the developing child (Bronfenbrenner 1986, Ungar, Ghazinour et al. 2013). Bronfenbrenner's (1977) approach emphasizes the interactions between individuals and spheres in their environments, with those in closest proximity to the child considered to have the greatest impact on the growth and development. This approach encouraged scholars to take a systems approach, drawing attention to the capacity of humans to undergo ongoing adaptations within environmental layers to which they both contribute and are affected by. This model became significant in emerging studies of resilience, particularly in understanding the impact of environmental risk and protective factors in the individual, family and the environment (Garmezy 1991).

The social-ecological approach to resilience, championed by Ungar, asserts that resilience is a cultural and contextual construct, the result of multiple, non-hierarchical processes between the child and resources in their environment (Ungar 2011). The social-ecological model draws on understandings of risk and protective factors but goes beyond this approach by pointing out the multidimensional nature of these processes, suggesting that resilience is more than the result of straightforward cause and effect (Ungar and Liebenberg 2011). For Ungar, resilience is a shared quality between the child and their environment, facilitated by the navigation and negotiation of personal, relational, community and cultural resources as the child travels diverse pathways towards resilience. The approach acknowledges that resilience is a culturally nuanced concept, and that those factors that constitute both "adversity" and "doing well" are culturally defined.

"Hidden resilience" is Ungar's (2005a) term to describe the unconventional methods by which children and young people achieve health-related outcomes such as achieving a positive self-concept, attachments and belonging. For these children, resilience-seeking personality traits, relationships and activities may sit outside mainstream cultural values but are nonetheless meaningful in that they enable feelings of competence and a powerful self-concept (Ungar 2005). In this conception, "unhealthy" behaviours are meaningful as they are mechanisms to seek out health-related outcomes that promote growth and development

(Ungar 2005). This approach has been drawn on to analyse the lives of street-involved children in the Majority World, with findings suggesting they travel diverse pathways towards resilience by seeking health-promoting resources that are accessible and meaningful to them in their context (Malindi 2014b).

Since the emergence of the discourse in the Minority World, Filipino scholars have been interested in the concept of resilience, particularly examining the lives of children who live and work on the streets, yet manage the achieve positive growth and development (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista 2000, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Bautista and Rolder 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). Although only two of these publications cite Ungar's approach (Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Wartenweiler 2017), the Filipino studies lend support to his thesis by suggesting a nuanced conception of resilience that reflects cultural values associated with the Filipino construct of childhood, obligations to family and religiosity. These scholars draw on Minority World studies but suggest significant differences. For example, social competence as defined in Minority World studies emphasises humour, flexibility, and the ability to build relationships (Benard 1991). In contrast, the Filipino studies describe social competence as evident when children avoid conflict and maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships that facilitate group membership (Bautista and Rolder 2001). Cultural nuance is evident in definitions of the personal quality of "agency" in the Filipino research, in which it is closely associated with compliance with social norms that govern behaviour including observing Filipino values and resisting the "lure" of delinquency (Banaag 1997). The Filipino construction of healthy functioning also emphasises faith and a relationship with God as important indicators of "healthy functioning" (Banaag 1997). Thus the existing Filipino studies consider Western psychological approaches to the study of resilience but suggest significant cultural nuance in the construction of healthy functioning. In this way, these studies support Ungar's (2004a) view that resilience is a cultural construction that reflects contextual notions of healthy functioning in children.

Contemporary studies in the Philippines have examined the lived experience of street-involved children by drawing on child-focused research methods that explore how they overcome adversity in the context of the street (Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Wartenweiler 2017). In a study that sought to understand protective factors as identified by children, Sta. Maria, Martinez and Diestro (2014) suggest that children feel safe when they have adequate resources by which to survive and relationships that facilitate belonging and

value in the community. Wartenweiler (2017) applied the concept of hidden resilience in adults who were once street children in Manila. His study findings suggest that resilience can be evident in children who pursue healthy outcomes via unhealthy means. His findings point to engagement in crime and early parenthood as turning points that foster changes in behaviour and has the potential to facilitate healthy growth and development (Wartenweiler 2017). The approaches taken in these contemporary studies are consistent with the social-ecological approach to resilience that seeks to understand children's lived experience of resilience.

While Ungar's approach offers a cultural and contextual understanding of resilience, this thesis suggests that his approach is founded on a narrow approach to "healthy functioning" that privileges Minority World conceptions of health-related outcomes. This is argued to be evident from examination of Ungar's Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM), which articulates personal, relational and community resources that identify essential components of "healthy functioning" in a child's culture and context (Ungar 2005). Some researchers have suggested that children live very complex lives with beliefs that may contradict mainstream values regarding good health and development (Panter-Brick 2015). This thesis will argue that Ungar's approach acknowledges cultural variance in how children navigate and negotiate internal and external resources but fails to highlight the variance in children's conception of desirable life outcomes. He recognises the use of aberrant behaviours as pathways towards outcomes that promote good health and development, but only positions them as meaningful when they serve to facilitate the child attaining a somewhat narrowly defined concept of "healthy functioning".

Moreover, the concept of hidden resilience has been critiqued for downplaying the collective experience of marginalisation and the possibility of aberrant behaviours representing collective social protest (Bottrell 2009b). Bottrell (2007, 2009b) suggests that Ungar's approach, in focusing on individual young people's behaviour as acts of resistance against discursive power, reflects a broader problem in the resilience discourse that is preoccupied with the individual and their response to adversity. Instead, she argues that stereotyping and discrimination are not just individual experiences but also collective ones and are associated with group differentiations and social inequalities. In her critique she argues for a shift away from the focus on individual responsibility for healthy functioning, and towards an

acknowledgment of the role of deprivation and marginalisation in particular communities of young people (Bottrell 2007).

This thesis will draw on Bottrell's critique to suggest that the dominant resilience discourse fails to account for children's collective experiences of political oppression and marginalisation from mainstream society. The thesis will further this argument by drawing on discussions of agency that have examined children's lives in the context of inequalities of power, and their capacity to hold complex relationships with the dominant values of the society in which they live (Bottrell 2009b, valentine 2011b, Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017). Lister's (2004) discussion of "Othering" will be applied to children's conceptions of "adversity", which they described as experiences they shared with children and their families who experience marginalisation and oppression. Furthermore, the application of Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency will highlight their personal and collective acts in response to these experiences. The thesis will suggest that children are aware of their powerlessness and take actions in order to improve their lives and the lives of others. The thesis will use case studies to offer insights into children's capacity to engage in acts of strategic and day-to-day resistance against collective experiences of disadvantage. The application of Lister's (2004) conception of agency to Ungar's approach to resilience will suggest an alternative way of thinking about resilience that foregrounds the capacity of children to engage in personal and collective acts of resistance against shared experiences of disadvantage.

1.5 Research Methods

In order to address the research question, the researcher asked study participants about their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in the context of their lives. In particular, the researcher sought to uncover how children navigated and negotiated resources in themselves, their relationships, communities and culture in order to facilitate resilience in their social ecology.

The epistemological basis of this study is post-positivist, drawing on research methods that challenge positivist approaches by acknowledging the position of the researcher in knowledge generation (Ryan 2006). Qualitative research methods have been observed to have the potential to be transformative, giving voice to minority groups who are traditionally spoken "about" in research (Rogers 2012). In child-centred research, the researcher is concerned with involving children in the research process and focusing on questions and

issues that they consider are of central importance (Crump 2013). This study is based on anti-oppressive research methodology that acknowledges children as holders of rights who are valued participants, rather than objects of study (Kirk 2007). This study was planned to manage the ethical and methodological challenges related to unequal power relationships typically characteristic of adult-centred societies that position children as vulnerable, passive and incompetent (Kirk 2007). Anti-oppressive research methods involve designing the study in such a way as to minimise power discrepancies between adults and children and allow for children's evolving capacities and opportunities to demonstrate competence (Barker and Weller 2003). Child-centred research practices view children as best placed to provide insights into their lived experiences (Sakamoto and Pitner 2005).

This study was designed to uncover the lived experiences of children by employing a range of child-focused research methods that offered choice during all stages of the research process. Twenty-five street-involved children between 11 and 18 years of age, registered as Children in Need of Special Protection by Bahay Tuluyan, self-selected into the study. A range of child-focused qualitative data collection methods in which children could choose to participate, based on their interests and capacities, were sequenced over several months (Darbyshire, MacDougall et al. 2005). These activities included a "talk and draw" art activity; a "child-led tour" of the child's local environment and a semi-structured interview conducted at one of the Bahay Tuluyan service sites (Crump and Phipps 2013). During data collection children selected which activities they were happy to participate in, and which activities they did not want to participate in.

The relationship between the researcher and the children and staff at Bahay Tuluyan was critical to this study. The researcher was a regular volunteer at Bahay Tuluyan for two years prior to the study commencement, becoming involved in several projects that informed the development of this study. As such, the researcher developed a relationship of trust with the organisation, the staff and the children. This relationship enabled insights into the lives of children and was further enhanced by the child-led tours in which the participant took control of the data collection process. This post-positivist approach to knowledge generation positioned children as experts in their own lives and positioned the researcher as the learner. (Ryan and Lickona 1992).

This relationship was formalised in a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan. A Local Advisory Group, whose membership included social

workers and Youth Facilitators, supported the project to ensure cultural and contextual relevance. The Local Advisory Group also developed the data collection methodology and interview guides and assisted with testing and translation of interview questions to ensure local relevance and understanding. The Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Committee approved this study on 30 August 2017. At the completion of the study, the findings were disseminated to child participants who were able to provide feedback on key themes and interpretation of data. De-identified study findings were also provided to Bahay Tuluyan management and staff who utilised the findings as a basis of ongoing improvement and service development activities.

The research methods were designed to ensure cultural relevance and sensitivity. During the fieldwork, the researcher completed a daily diary in order to locate the "self" in the study, providing an opportunity for reflection on potential bias. An appropriately qualified interpreter accompanied the researcher throughout the study to ensure children were given the opportunity to speak Tagalog. In order to ensure language comprehension between the researcher and the children, all documentation such as Information Sheets, Assent Forms and questions used during the interviews were translated into Tagalog with the support of the Local Advisory Group. During the course of the study the Local Advisory Group ensured the study was culturally relevant and provided local advice regarding interpretation of key themes in the study findings. In order to arrive at the study findings, the researcher undertook a process of thematic analysis by which qualitative information was categorised in order to identify patterns that are relevant to the research question. The stories of four participants that were considered "emblematic" of the major themes that emerged from the raw data were selected for presentation in this thesis.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

The researcher acknowledges the difficult lives of the participant group, who experience extreme deprivation and marginalisation from mainstream society. When researching the lived experiences of children, researchers face complex ethical issues that are difficult to anticipate and often pertain to the child's specific circumstances (Morrow 2008). The unequal power relationships between adults and children in most societies can be inadvertently duplicated as part of the research process, particularly in population groups that are highly marginalised. This study was conducted based on the assumption that it is the ethical responsibility of the researcher to ensure children are not harmed during the process of

research, including intervening in the instances where the child is at risk. In order to manage the complex ethical issues associated with this project, a risk matrix was produced, and mitigation strategies identified as part of the MOU. For example, this included the consideration of the multiple risks to participants such as possible perceptions of coercion and documented a robust informed consent process that provided multiple opportunities and mechanisms for children to learn about the study that spanned several months.

The informed consent process began with an introduction to the study during Children's Assemblies at all three Bahay Tuluyan sites. During the researcher's presentation about the study, children had the opportunity to ask questions and consider their interest in participating. Children were assisted to develop a deep understanding of the research question through the opportunity to draw their conceptions of "adversities" faced by street-involved children, and what it is to "do well". Children were provided with a written information sheet in Tagalog that explained the risks and benefits of the study and were invited to discuss it with their social worker if they wished. Children were then invited to indicate their willingness to self-select into the study and signed an Assent Form at a date and time that suited them. During the data collection, the researcher sought to minimise emotional upset to the child. Strategies for this included ensuring that children were not required to reveal undue personal or traumatic events in their lives and ensuring that the interview ended with a reflection on the child's strengths and hopes for the future.

1.7 Study Findings: Children's Perceptions of Resilience in the Context of Marginalisation and Political Oppression

The findings of this study suggest that children who live lives characterised by extreme marginalisation and oppression engage in personal and collective acts of political agency that can be characterised as legitimate forms of resilience. These are currently under-examined in the resilience discourse. The social-ecological approach suggests resilience is associated with complex processes between the child and resources in themselves, their relationships and community, as they seek to overcome "adversity" and strive to "do well", as defined by the culture and context in which they live (Ungar, Ghazinour et al. 2013). The Filipino resilience literature describes some of their culture and context, for example prioritisation of family relationships, observance of morality and faith in God (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). This thesis supports Ungar's proposition that resilience is a cultural artefact, the result of complex

processes between the child and resources that are available and meaningful in their social ecology.

However, this thesis will draw on Bottrell's (2007, 2009b, 2013) critiques of Ungar to suggest that, while his approach accounts for the role of the culture and context of children and their ability to access resources in themselves and their environment, it overlooks the oppression of children who are marginalised by mainstream society as a collective experience. The children who participated in this study are aware that they are unwelcome in society and perceive the adverse conditions associated with street life as experiences they share with other children as well as their families. By drawing together Ungar's (2007) social-ecological approach to resilience and Ruth Lister's (2004) discussion of "Othering" and her taxonomy of agency, this thesis suggests that street-involved children perceive themselves to be resilient when they engage in both personal and political acts of resistance to manage the effects of oppression and marginalisation. The application of Lister's taxonomy of agency and the social-ecological approach to resilience highlights how street-involved children use their agency towards both personal and political ends in diverse everyday and strategic ways in order to "do well": by "getting out" (of poverty and off the streets); "getting by" (surviving on the streets); "getting (back) at" those who are held responsible for their situation; and "getting organised" through collective action for the recognition of street children's rights (Lister 2004). This study therefore highlights a neglected way of understanding resilience that acknowledges the collective experience of oppression and the diverse political, as well as personal, processes in which children engage to overcome adversity and travel towards self-identified conceptions of "doing well".

The findings of this study are exemplified through a focus on the experiences of four child participants whose narratives are presented as emblematic cases studies: Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla. The thesis proposes that Angelica takes personal, strategic action to "get out" of poverty in ways that are culturally and socially normative in children in mainstream Filipino society. Thus Angelica complies with Filipino notions of "healthy functioning" that she associates with "doing well". Jasmine demonstrates everyday agency when she "gets by", facilitating her resilience by developing networks of "like family" relationships in the community, including groups of street-involved children. Her conception of "doing well" includes coping day to day by drawing on resources to which she has access. Gabriel identifies himself as resilient when he takes personal action to "get (back) at" a government

that he perceives as oppressive, when he becomes an underground fighter and seeks to become a powerful criminal in the community. After being exposed to the concept of child rights at Bahay Tuluyan, Kyla engages in collective action with other street-involved children by engaging in acts of political advocacy to protest the oppression of street children. These case studies exemplify children's diverse conceptions of "doing well" as they manage the effects of injustice and oppression.

1.8 Organisation of This Thesis

This study seeks to understand street-involved children's conception of resilience by examining their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in the context of their social ecology. In order to address the research question, this remainder of this thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter 2 reviews literature regarding the resilience discourse, beginning in Section 2.2 by examining how the resilience of street-involved children has been investigated in relation to agency. In this section, Lister's (2005) Taxonomy of Agency will be introduced as a theoretical framework for this study, as a basis to highlight a political perspective that remains underexamined in the dominant construction of resilience. In Section 2.3, the history of resilience will be examined, suggesting that most of this research has emerged from the Minority World and is based on ethnocentric conceptions of "healthy functioning" in children that reflect predominantly Western values. Ungar's social ecology approach will be discussed as a means of furthering this discussion. Section 2.4 suggests that the Filipino conception of resilience gives substance to Ungar's argument, supporting the suggestion that resilience is a cultural construct that reflects notions of "healthy functioning" in children that are specific to the child's context. In Section 2.6 the literature review concludes with critiques of the social-ecological approach to resilience, suggesting that this conception overlooks the collective experience of adversity. This second concludes in section 2.7 by suggesting the application of Lister's conception of "Othering" and her taxonomy of agency in the context of poverty as a mechanism for extending current conceptions of resilience to accommodate political agency.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research design and methods employed to investigate the research question, including a description of child-focused data collection methods that sought to provide multiple opportunities for children to demonstrate choice and competence. The chapter also outlines the complex methodological and ethical challenges encountered during the study and actions taken to mitigate risks to children. Chapter 4 presents an introduction to the complete sample of children who participated in the study, as well as the

four emblematic case studies that offer insights into children's diverse conceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", which include examples of compliance with and divergence from dominant conceptions of "healthy functioning" in Filipino culture. In Section 4.2 all the children who participated in the study are introduced and their engagement in the child-centred research methods is summarised. In Section 4.3 each of the emblematic case studies are introduced with a summary of their participation in the research and a brief description of their perceptions of adversity. Angelica is discussed as an example of a resilient child who reflects the Filipino conception of "healthy functioning" in children. Jasmine's case study is presented, especially her perception that she is resilient when she builds "like family" relationships in her social ecology. The case study of Gabriel is presented, including his perception that he is resilient when he transgresses social and cultural norms in response to political oppression and marginalisation. Kyla's case study is introduced and demonstrates her self-identified perception of "doing well", which includes having her human rights upheld and respected. Section 4.4 summarises the major themes from the complete study sample regarding children's perceptions of "adversity," drawing on themes in the emblematic case studies including "broken families," "inadequate resources by which to survive," "dangers of the streets," and "denial of rights. Chapter 5 elaborates on the study findings by applying Lister's concept of "Othering" and taxonomy of agency, suggesting that Filipino street-involved children sometimes consider themselves to be "doing well" when they are engaged in both personal and collective actions to resist the effects of oppression. The chapter suggests that resilience for this group of street-involved children is an overtly political concept that includes engaging in collective acts of self-help and political action. The final chapter concludes the thesis and considers the theoretical and policy implications of the study findings. The final chapter also discusses some limitations of the study and makes recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2: THE RESILIENCE DISCOURSE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter surveys the vast body of resilience literature that has examined the capacity of children and young people to overcome "adversity" and go on to "do well". The chapter suggests that the dominant conception of resilience that emphasises personal attributes of children who meet normative expectations of growth and development is primarily a Minority World construct, informed by Western research from within the discipline of psychology, but has often been applied across cultures with assumed universality (Boyden 2003, Armstrong, Stroul et al. 2005, Ungar, Brown et al. 2008, Hills, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2016). While not all Western literature has complied with this paradigm, the social-ecological approach pioneered by Ungar has critiqued this psychological construction by suggesting that resilience is a shared quality between the child and the environment and the result of complex processes as the child navigates and negotiates access to resources that enable them to achieve health-related outcomes (Ungar 2011, Theron 2014, Ungar 2015). This thesis draws on the social-ecological approach as a foundation in understanding the multifaceted, non-linear processes children navigate, as they negotiate access to individual, relational and community resources in ways that vary across cultures and contexts (Liebenberg 2011). The social-ecological approach suggests that comprehending how cultures make sense of "adversity", as well as those factors that define "doing well", are critical in determining a culturally nuanced definition of resilience (Ungar 2011).

In order to explore cultural nuancing of the concept of resilience in the Filipino context, this chapter also reports on a systematic search and review, undertaken as part of this study, of Filipino literature on street-involved children and resilience. Filipino researchers have drawn on the Minority World concept that has identified personal, familial and community resources that are associated with children who overcome adversity, but also suggest resilient children demonstrate compliance with Filipino values that are largely absent in the Minority World concept (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Banaag 2016). This includes a personal relationship with God that guides behaviour, observance of mutual obligations, and engagement in income generation. More recent studies have identified protective factors from the perspective of children themselves, and drawn on Ungar's concept of "hidden resilience" to describe children whose idea of "healthy functioning" is to pursue

health-related outcomes such as belonging and attachment via "unhealthy" means such as crime, early income generation and parenthood (Wartenweiler 2017).

This thesis will argue that identifying those factors that constitute "adversity" and "healthy functioning" in children are key to understanding resilience within a specific cultural context. Over the evolution of the discourse, dominant conceptions of "healthy functioning" have privileged children's achievement of outcomes associated with good health in children who live in the Minority World, such as educational attainment and parental attachment. Minority World researchers have identified multiple indicators of "healthy functioning" including specific personal and relationship characteristics that are perceived to be universal and optimise growth and development regardless of culture and context. This chapter will introduce the social-ecological approach to "healthy functioning", which critiques the dominant approach by emphasising the complex processes between children and resources in themselves and the environment, including cultural and social norms of children and child development. An analysis of Ungar's Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM) and "seven tensions" in this chapter will suggest that the social ecology approach positions healthy functioning in children as specific to context and reliant on resources in the children themselves, their relationships, their community and their culture (Ungar 2005).

In this chapter I will argue that Ungar's approach acknowledges cultural variance in how children navigate and negotiate these resources, but inadvertently overlooks the variance in children's own conceptions of desirable life outcomes, which do not always conform to dominant notions of "good health" in the cultural context in which the child lives. Furthermore, I will argue that, for children who experience marginalisation from mainstream society, "healthy functioning" can include a political dimension, expressed in personal and collective acts of resistance against oppression and marginalisation. This thesis will make an original contribution to knowledge by bringing together Michael Ungar's social-ecological approach to resilience, and Ruth Lister's discussion of agency in the context of poverty to suggest that children who are oppressed and marginalised perceive "adversity" to be an experience they share with other children and their families. This thesis will expand on the work of Bottrell (2009b), who has pointed out that Ungar's approach overlooks the collective experience of children who are marginalised by mainstream society.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2.2 considers the body of resilience literature in relation to street-involved children, suggesting these studies have examined "agency" as a

personal resource that facilities survival in the harsh conditions associated with street life (Davies 2008, Bordonaro 2012, Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2013). Section 2.3 explores the history of the resilience discourse and discusses some inadequacies of the concept of resilience, including values and conceptions of childhood growth and development that have limited relevance outside the Majority World. This section will also examine how Ungar's social-ecological approach seeks to address these shortcomings by pointing out the culturally specific nature of resilience and indicators of healthy functioning in children (Ungar 2006, Didkowsky, Ungar et al. 2010, Eggerman and Panter-Brick 2010, Rabaia, Giacaman et al. 2010, Panter-Brick 2014). In Section 2.4 literature by Filipino academics on resilience in street-involved children is discussed. Analysis of the dominant construction of "healthy functioning" will be undertaken in Section 2.5, suggesting the conception that has emerged from the Minority World privileges individualist values and Western norms associated with the growth and development of children. This section will also draw on the Filipino studies to suggest a culturally nuanced conception of "healthy functioning" in street-involved children that is reliant on their demonstration of personal qualities that are highly valued in Filipino culture such as faith in God and observing relationships of mutual obligation (Watson and Morris 2002, Cukur, De Guzman et al. 2004, Triandis 2018). This section will suggest that the Filipino studies support Ungar's thesis regarding a culturally nuanced conception of resilience that reflects the child's ability to meet norms associated with "healthy functioning".

In Section 2.6, the concepts of "healthy functioning" and "healthy outcomes", as used by Ungar, are further explored, and the work of Bottrell (2009b) and Lister (2004) is used to elaborate some potential limitations in his use of the concepts. Bottrell's (2009b) critique of Ungar suggests that, while the concept of hidden resilience acknowledges the role of unorthodox behaviours as pathways towards resilience, it remains an individual-level analysis that overlooks the significance of collective acts of political resistance. (Bottrell 2009) (Bottrell 2009b) (Bottrell 2009) (Bottrell 2009) To elaborate this argument, in Section 2.7 the social and political status of children will be considered in the context of adult-centric societies. Ruth Lister's (2004) discussion of "Othering" and taxonomy of agency will be introduced as a framework for extending current understandings of resilience including the consideration of political agency. The application of Lister's approach highlights the diversity of children's responses to the collective experience of marginalisation. This section suggests that children facilitate resilience via engaging internal and external resources in complex processes in the context of their social ecology to resist the effects of "Othering" that

separates street-involved children from Filipino society (Lister 2004). The chapter will conclude with Section 2.8 summarising the resilience discourse and establishing a foundation for investigating the research question.

2.2 Street-Involved Children, Resilience and Agency

Researchers have investigated resilience in populations of street-involved children in both the Minority and Majority Worlds, attempting to account for their ability to survive despite adverse conditions (Aptekar 1994, McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005, Bordonaro 2012). These studies reflect the new paradigm of childhood that acknowledges the capacity of children as social actors, who both shape and are shaped by their circumstances (Mayall 2002, James 2008, James and Prout 2015). Studies with this approach have highlighted the capacity of children to appreciate their social worlds and make decisions and choices in relation to these understandings (James 2008). In doing so they have contributed to the growing evidence base which supports children's capacity as agents with the ability to exercise choice, even when faced with considerable structural and resources constraints (Grugel and Ferreira 2012). These studies have served as a basis for arguing that children and young people have the capacity to contribute to social and political matters that concern them.

The resilience of children in the Minority and Majority Worlds has been conceptualised differently with varying definitions of the conditions associated with "adversity" in the lives of children (Boyden and Mann 2005). In the Minority World, studies have primarily considered adverse circumstances to be associated with familial risks and being exposed to criminality in poor neighbourhoods. In the Majority World, adverse circumstances have included children's exposure to armed conflict, human migration and the impact of natural and human-made disasters (Boyden and Mann 2005). In both the Minority and Majority Worlds, street-involved children have been shown to experience poor physical and mental health and to be subject to exploitation and abuse by unscrupulous adults (Cénat, Derivois et al. 2018). Street-involved children have also been observed to experience stigma, discrimination and victimisation in many societies (Bar-On 1997, Le Roux and Smith 1998). In both Minority and Majority World nations, children are subject to oppressive public policy, including their removal from the streets by government officials, often against their will (McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005, Buske 2011, UN 2017). Anthropologists Ennew and Swart-Kruger (2003) suggest street-involved children are subject to extreme public

policy measures as they are considered transgressive in society, as they are highly visible in spaces reserved for adult economic, recreational and spiritual activities from which children are traditionally excluded. Other researchers have supported this assertion by pointing out that, in many societies, street-involved children defy cultural values that determine modes of social organisation and the role of children in a society (Ennew and Swart-Kruger 2003, Davies 2008, Naterer 2011).

This thesis draws on discussions of agency in order to explore street-involved children's conceptions of resilience and their diverse perceptions of what it is to "do well" in the context of extreme political oppression and marginalisation. Giddens' (1984) structuration theory provides an important foundation for conceptualising the role of structures and how they enable and constrain human agency. Human beings, he suggests, "create and re-create social institutions in which they live by making choices and taking actions, within the constraints of their circumstances" (Giddens 1984, p. 2). In this approach, rather than a dichotomous relationship between the individual and the structural, Giddens (1984) proposes that human beings both create and are constrained by the social, economic and political structures that enable and constrain agency. Central to Giddens' (1984) argument is that human beings are reflexive agents, capable of accounting for their actions and decisions. Reflexivity is defined as the capacity for the individual to explain their actions and is the basis of other people assessing a person's competence (Giddens 1984). Drawing on Freud, Giddens (1984) argues that there is limited delineation between "conscious" and "unconscious" reflexivity, suggesting even unconscious thought is hierarchical, expressing one's life history and experiences.

Hoggett (2001) calls for a more robust account of agency that considers the complexity of human experience and the capacity of humans to damage themselves and others. He argues that decisions are often made in situations of urgency, can be involuntary and can include actions that are against our own better judgement. Moreover, he argues that human beings are not always aware of their own motivations and make sense of their choices via narratives that take place after the event: "The question boils down to this, is it always true that we know (even tacitly) why we are doing what we are doing when we do it or is a good deal of reflexivity actually post hoc?" (Hoggett 2001, p. 39). Hoggett (2001) argues that conceptions of agency must address the "negative capacities" of human beings such as self-harm, depression and acts of violence (Hoggett 2001). To explain his approach, Hoggett draws on

studies of male violence and highlights findings that suggest men minimise, deny or justify acts of violence and their consequences. He points out that different versions of oneself can dominate at different times, depending on social relations and roles that the individual takes up in a situation. Hoggett argues that conceptions of agency must accommodate reflexive and non-reflexive actions, and account for negative behaviours and acts of self-destruction. Importantly for this study, Hoggett (2001, p. 43) warns researchers to resist the temptation to "slip into equating agency with constructive coping, as if the two were synonymous". He warns that there is nothing necessarily constructive about coping and we should be wary of normative judgements that reflexivity is associated with good choices, while non-reflexivity is associated with a lack of agency and "bad" choices and behaviours. For Hoggett, agency can be understood as a continuum that accommodates how individuals use formal rules to create "first-order change", described as "alignment with the changes one expects and is expected to make" (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017, p. 318). "Second-order change" is reflexive actions that rupture the current order and create non-incremental change. Thus, for Hoggett, a radical model of agency should highlight the capacity of individuals to create ruptured, non-incremental changes to their lives, communities "and just occasionally, within whole societies" (Hoggett 2001, p. 51).

The emphasis on rationality and self-interest has presented problems for the conception of agency when applied to the complex lives of children (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017). The conception of children as individual agents who make choices within their own best interests fails to account for children's choices and the constraints they encounter within adult-centric societies (valentine 2011).

> Children's agency needs to be understood in the context of social and economic constraint, but also in the context of dependence on, and submission to, the authority of adults. Within the confines of this relationship, some agency is sanctioned or positively encouraged, while some agency can also be understood in terms of rebellion against adult and parental authority. (Redmond 2009, p. 544)

valentine (2011) points out that children are not always able to account for their actions and may not be seen by adults to act in their own best interest. She argues for a more nuanced approach that accounts for children's capacities and how their competence is assessed in adult-centric societies in which children have limited access to power and control over their lives (valentine 2011).

Agency when applied to children is predominantly defined as their capacity to make decisions and act in their own best interests, despite their limited access to structures and institutions that support normative development in children (Davies 2008). “Best interests of the child” is named in Article 3.1 of the UNCRC as the primary consideration in all actions concerning children, and children are positioned as citizens who are entitled to resources that enable development. The use of this definition of agency is consistent with other fields within childhood studies that have highlighted adult-centric policy assumptions and argue for children’s rights, including the right to participation (valentine 2011). Landsdown (2005) points out the evolving capacities of children to make decisions in their own best interests as they grow and develop, resulting in a diminished requirement for adults to determine their best interests. She suggests that children are also a differentiated group and that a range of social, economic, political and cultural factors determine their development and their perceived capacity to make decisions (Landsdown 2005). The recognition of children’s capacities has highlighted the importance of participation and challenged researchers and policy makers to think beyond the rights of provision and protection (Panter-Brick 2002). Studies in the Majority and Minority Worlds have identified a variety of strategies which children employ in order to overcome adversity and “do well” (Aptekar 1994, McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005). Agency is predominantly defined as the capacity of children to make decisions and act in their own best interests, despite their limited access to structures and institutions that support normative development in children (Davies 2008). The use of this definition of agency is consistent with other fields within childhood studies that have highlighted adult-centric policy assumptions and argue for children’s rights and participation (valentine 2011). Multiple studies of street-involved children have explored their resilience and found evidence of an array of strategies, including activities such as drawing, art and music as well as drawing on their faith in God, in order to cope with the challenges of day-to-day life in the harsh conditions of the streets (Foley 1983, Aderinto 2000, Kombarakaran 2004, Amury and Komba 2010, Malindi 2014). Aptekar (1991) suggests that street-involved children demonstrate agency when they exploit their status in society and employ deliberate strategies such as wearing dirty clothes to elicit sympathy from helpful adults when begging. Other studies acknowledge children’s hardiness when they engage in dangerous strategies that present significant risk, but nevertheless offer opportunities for survival, including prostitution, violence and participating in armed conflict (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010, Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2013). Some researchers however have argued that these demonstrations represent “thin agency” born of severely constrained choices and thus cannot

be seen as legitimate demonstrations of agency (Bordonaro 2012, Chikoko, Muzvidziwa et al. 2019). Atkinson-Sheppard (2017) argues that children and young people who live and work on the streets employ "protective agency" by engaging in crime that gives them access to the patronage and protection of adult criminals. As such they argue that street-involved children make decisions motivated by survival, rather than rational thought that promotes their own best interests (Atkinson-Sheppard 2017).

Decisions that are motivated by survival suggest a constrained form of agency. Amartya Sen (1992) defines agency in a more positive sense, as comprising freedom a person has to bring about achievements to which they ascribe value. Sen (1992) defines "achievement" as the realisation of aspirations that are not necessarily determined by the pursuit of wellbeing. In furthering this approach to agency Kabeer (1999, 2005) in her discussion of women's empowerment draws attention to the ability to make strategic decisions when overcoming inequality based on access to resources. She points out that meaningful choice is affected by poverty and disempowerment, often interwoven in society with inherent social, political and economic inequalities. She argues that agency refers to the process by which choices are made and includes both the "power to" make a choice, even in the face of opposition, as well as having "power over" with the freedom to exercise authority (Kabeer 2005).

Kabeer's (2005) approach can be applied to the lives of street-involved children whose choices are constrained due to their powerless position in society. Studies of agency in the lives of children have examined the closely intertwined concepts of agency, wellbeing and participation as scholars attempt to understand the ability of children to exercise choice and control over their lives in the context of adult-centric societies (Hart 2018).An important theme in the street children and resilience literature has been the development of social networks that facilitate survival (Ayuku, Kaplan et al. 2004, Omiyinka 2009, Ali 2011, Gadd 2016). Street-involved children have been observed to form "surrogate families" that provide belonging, attachment and protection in the street environment (Ali 2011). Peer groups have been shown to offer children an informal economy of cooperation and reciprocal arrangements for protection and access to income-generating activities (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010). Children have been observed to draw on community resources in very deliberate ways that reflect their agency (McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005, Malindi and Machenjedze 2012). For example, a study of children's engagement with adult "helpers" suggests that children draw on professional relationships with social workers in community

organisations, making their own assessments of offers of help and deciding themselves whether to comply with or disregard the service rules (Turnbull, Hernández et al. 2009).

Children who live and work on the streets have also been observed to challenge oppression and marginalisation via the creation of subcultures (Beazley 2002, 2003, Davies 2008). These studies have found that children adopt specific modes of language, dress codes and behaviour that offer them a powerful collective identity and group membership that counters their rejection from mainstream society (Beazley 2002, 2003, Davies 2008). In Indonesia for example, street-involved children have been observed to establish alternative cultures as an expression of resistance to oppression and marginalisation from mainstream society (Beazley 2002). In Kenya Davies (2008) found that street-involved children create subcultures and safe domains for themselves away from the surveillance and oppression of adults, by developing informal rules that govern their behaviour and social organisation. In eastern Ukraine, a mixed-methods study found that street children develop strong social relationships between themselves including a shared code of behaviour and rituals including drug use that facilitates survival (Naterer 2011). These studies suggest a more nuanced understanding of resilience is required that considers how children develop mechanisms to challenge experiences of marginalisation from mainstream society.

Recently, in the broader childhood literature, the treatment of agency in the lives of children has been critiqued as simplistic, failing to examine the children's choices and constraints within adult-centric societies (valentine 2011, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017). Some researchers have argued that street-involved children's choice to migrate to the streets due to familial abuse is an indication of agency, while others have argued that such constrained choice is not a legitimate expression of agency due to limited options and resources (Schimmel 2006, Ali 2011, Bordonaro 2012). valentine (2011) argues for a more nuanced approach to agency that accounts for children's lives in the context of adult-centric societies, as well as broader issues of race, class, gender and language that shape how human beings make choices and decisions.

2.2.1 Lister's Taxonomy of Agency as a Theoretical Framework to Understand Children's Perceptions of Resilience

This thesis suggests that a robust conception of resilience must account for street-involved children's location of their experiences of "adversity" and "doing well" within the socio-

political contexts of their day-to-day experiences. To do this, the thesis will draw on Ruth Lister's (2004) approach to agency to describe mechanisms by which people manage the experience of poverty and the concept of "Othering" to describe the relationship between the "poor" and the "non-poor". Lister's discussion draws on sociologist and feminist scholars who have argued that "Othering" encompasses multidimensional issues of power relationships in society that pertain to class, race and gender (Said 1985, Spivak 1985, DeBeauvior 1997, Jensen 2011). Contemporary researchers have applied the concept in various contexts to describe the definition of subordinate groups within society by those in positions of power (Schwalbe 2000, Andersson 2010). Jensen (2011) defines "Othering" as a:

> Discursive processes by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate. (Jensen 2011, p. 65)

This thesis will suggest that the street-involved children in this study understood they were "Othered" from mainstream society when they were subject to abuse, discrimination and oppression by adults in positions of power. Lister (2004) defines "Othering" as processes used by those in positions of power and privilege to separate themselves from those who are poor and marginalised. She suggests that this is a two-way relationship that is largely dictated by the non-poor who control the social discourse, and whose attitudes, beliefs and behaviours influence how those who are poor experience poverty. Lister (2004) suggests "Othering" is expressed via value judgements in which the marginalised are constructed in language and images as poor, threatening, undesirable or objects of pity. She gives the term a capital "O", by which she emphasises the "symbolic weight" of this "animated process" of demarcation and differentiation that takes place in society (Lister 2004).

Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency identifies four categories of agency as people struggle to "get by", "get out", "get back at" and "get organised". As Figure 2.1 shows, Lister locates these four categories of agency to manage and resist the effects of poverty on two axes or continuums: the vertical axis represents the continuum of agency from the everyday to the strategic, and the horizontal axis represents the personal–political continuum.

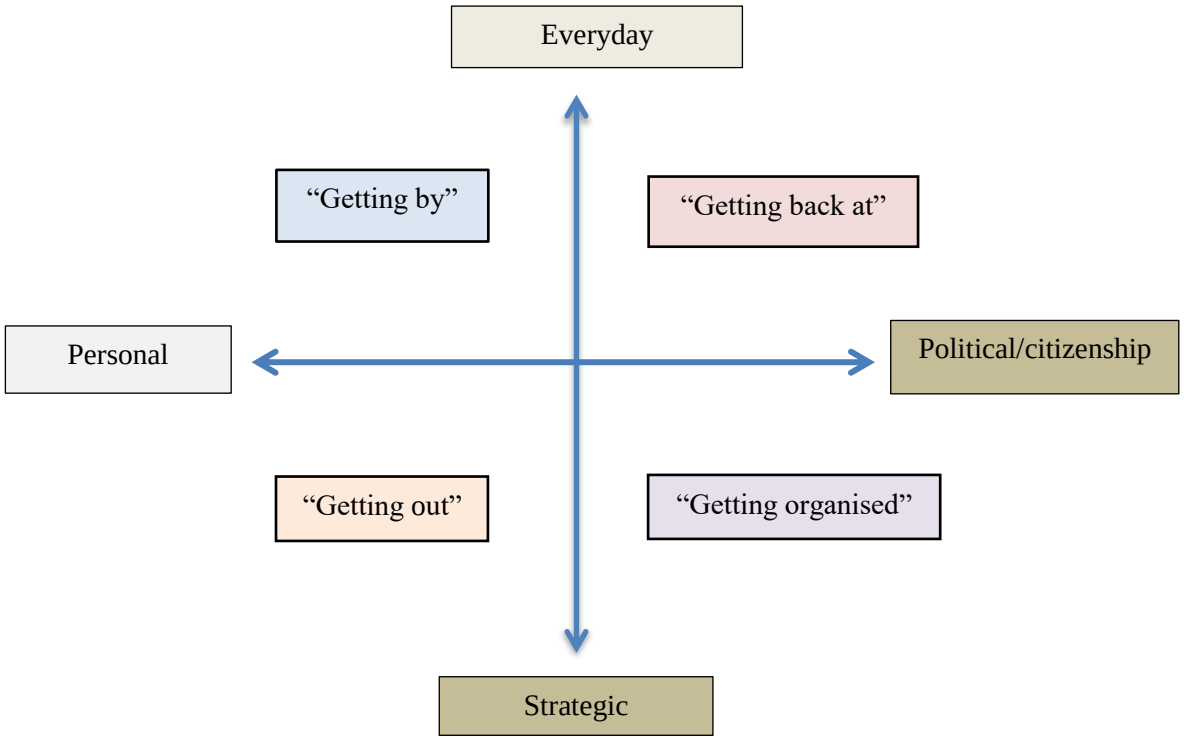


Figure 2.1: Lister's Taxonomy of Agency

This study will draw on Lister's conception of "Othering" and her taxonomy of agency to further understandings of resilience from the perspective of children, by highlighting their own narratives of collective experiences of social injustice and personal and collective acts of resistance. The study will aim to contextualise agency within the multifaceted social orders in which young people live, in ways that resonate with, and extend, the social-ecological approach to resilience.

2.3 The History of the Discourse

Initially emerging from the physical sciences, the conception of resilience was first applied to the lives of children by ground-breaking social researchers who, when studying illness and pathology, noticed that some children managed to recover despite exposure to risk and adversity (Masten and Obradović 2006). Werner and Smith conducted a landmark longitudinal study of children born in 1955 on the Hawaiian island of Kauai, making an extraordinary observation that over two-thirds of children who exhibited four or more risk factors during childhood managed to recover and live successful adult lives (Werner and

Smith 1977, Werner 1982, Werner 1993, Werner 1995). Rutter (1985) studied children whose mothers were diagnosed with schizophrenia, finding that approximately half of the children studied did not become mentally ill, nor demonstrate maladaptive characteristics in adulthood. These early investigations transformed subsequent researchers' approaches to studying children, shifting the focus away from investigating risk and pathology, and towards determining circumstances and characteristics that make a difference in achieving successful life outcomes despite exposure to adversity (Masten 2007).

The concept of resilience is broadly applied as a basis of treatments and programs that seek to improve the outcomes of children (Rutter 2013). Nonetheless, the resilience discourse remains both complex and incomplete, particularly in the context of the Majority World (Luthar, Cicchetti et al. 2000, Ungar 2004, Eggerman and Panter-Brick 2014, Wartenweiler 2017). Competing discourses have defined resilience as associated with innate character traits, and processes related to growth, development and adaption, as well as the result of interactive processes between risk and protective factors (Anthony and Cohler 1987, Rutter 1987, Garmezy 1993, Benard 1997, Luthar, Cicchetti et al. 2000, Durbrow, Pen et al. 2001, Fergus and Zimmerman 2005, Werner 2013, Southwick, Bonanno et al. 2014). Some of these discourses are elaborated in the subsections below.

2.3.1 Early Conceptions of "Resilience"

This subsection will summarise the complex resilience discourse that has evolved over fifty years and has been marked by overlapping and competing theoretical and methodological approaches (Masten 2007). In the earliest discourse, "resiliency" was positioned as an mysterious character trait, associated with particular temperaments, talent and abilities that differentiated successful children from their less successful peers when exposed to adversity (Panter-Brick and Leckman 2013, Southwick, Bonanno et al. 2014). At this time both researchers and public commentators sought to identify and celebrate children who remained "hardy", "stress-resistant", "invincible" and "invulnerable" despite exposure to circumstances of risk (Anthony and Cohler 1987). Such children were said to possess an unknown personal quality that enabled them to achieve positive life outcomes despite exposure to adverse circumstances such as poverty, crime, and parental physical and psychological illness. Seeking to understand this phenomenon, researchers sought to identify clusters of personal character traits and attributes that were evident in such children.

The emphasis in the early resilience discourse on the personal characteristics of agency and autonomy has been drawn on in conjunction with neoliberal ideology to highlight individual choice and responsibility, informing public discourse that has proposed the emergence of a pathological and dysfunctional "underclass" as an unintended consequence of the welfare state (Lister 2004, Martin 2004, Tyler 2013, Crossley 2016). Neoliberalism is a political approach that de-emphasises welfare state provision, instead positioning the free market as the preferred mechanism to meet human need. Neoliberalism advocates for autonomous individuals to be responsible and capable of self-organisation in response to stress (Joseph 2013, Chandler 2014). Neoliberalism has embraced the concept of resilience as a form of governmentality that emphasises individual adaptation via mechanisms such as preparedness, making informed decisions, and citizens understanding their role and responsibilities (Joseph 2013). In the Philippines, neoliberalism has been associated with the preservation of the power and wealth of the upper classes via state-sanctioned violence against a social movement of the poor during the War on Terror (Holden 2012). Globally critics have argued that the resilience discourse has offered neoliberalism a new type of colonialism that overlooks relationships of unequal power and the responsibilities of governments to provide social equality (Lindroth & Sinevaara-Niskanen 2019).

Researchers have identified personal characteristics such as social competence, problem solving and persistence, which have been associated with children who manage to overcome adversity. Social competence describes the ability of children to build relationships by eliciting positive responses in children and adults (Benard 1995). Autonomy and a sense of purpose describes children having a sense of their own identity, and an ability to exert control over their environment and their future (Benard 1991). A range of terms describes the characteristic of autonomy, including "independence" (Anthony & Cohler 1987), "self-esteem" (Rutter 1985) and "self-efficacy" (Garmezy 1983). The development of "agency" has been identified as an important indicator of healthy functioning in children who overcome "adversity" and go on to "do well". The term "agency" is used to describe an individual who is autonomous, purposeful and creative, and who can exercise choices that reflect their own best interests (Lister 2004). A sense of purpose and optimism is also associated with children who manage to overcome threats to normative growth and development (Benard 1995).

The conception of resilience as a collection of personal character traits that are internal to the child remains dominant in resilience discourses (Ungar 2005). A recent systematic review of psychological instruments identified the dominance of personality traits as primary indicators of resilience (Smith-Osborne & Whitehill Bolton 2013). In the Majority and Minority Worlds, defining resilience as a personal character trait has been popularised by commending the achievements of "super-kids from the ghettos" who manage to avoid socially undesirable behaviour and delinquency despite their proximity to risk (Masten 2001). This conception of resilience has become an important foundation for public policy that attempts to ameliorate problems in the lives of children and their families who are deemed to be at risk of poor outcomes.

Positioning resilience as a personal characteristic has been associated with the neoliberal public policy agenda that suggests the individual as responsible for overcoming challenges to achieve economic, material, and social success (O'Brien 2014). The ideology of neoliberalism argues that economic growth is achieved when individuals take responsibility for their own lives, thereby reducing the responsibilities of government. Private ownership and a robust free market are positioned as the preferred methods for delivering goods and services that meet human need (Tierney 2015). Government policies and programs that aim to build resilience in children have focused on individual character development as the primary means by which they are prepared for future success (Hall & Lamont 2013). This approach can be found in school programs that focus on developing skills and abilities in individual children, although these have been critiqued for failing to address structural barriers and injustices that prevent children from overcoming adversity (Tierney 2015).

Commentators have critiqued this personality-focused conception of resilience, noting the emphasis on deficits in children and families who did not manage to overcome adversity and achieve healthy functioning (Southwick, Bonanno et al. 2014). An alternative view suggests resilience is the result of interactive processes related to human development and adaptation in response to environmental risk and protective factors (Zolkoski & Bullock 2012). Researchers have investigated the diverse effects of adversity in the lives of children, and have sought to further explore why resilience may be present in one aspect of a child's life (for example academic attainment) but not in another (for example social competence). Researchers observed that children and young people respond to stress in non-homogeneous

ways and began to emphasise the multiple processes between the internal and external protective factors in the child and their environment (Rutter 2013).

This investigative focus encouraged researchers to propose highly dynamic and changeable processes including “chains” and “turning points” of risk or protective factors associated with resilience (Cicchetti, Murray-Close et al. 2014). These developments in the discourse resulted in researchers moving beyond a description of resilient children, and toward an understanding of the processes by which such characteristics develop. In this approach, personal qualities can be understood not as innate or fixed, but rather as the result of a facilitated process of development and adaptation in response to the environment (Rutter 1985, Rutter 2013). This development in the discourse caused researchers to examine the processes by which risk and protective factors interact between the child, their families and the broader environment, in ways that impact on the life of the child (Walsh, Dawson et al. 2010).

The dynamic processes between human adaptive systems and growth and development has been a key focus for resilience researchers (Luthar, Cicchetti et al. 2000). Masten’s landmark research challenged the definition of resilience as a personal characteristic when she found that resilience is not an uncommon phenomenon and arises from ordinary human systems within children, their families, and the communities in which they live. (Masten 2001, 2011). Famously describing resilience as “ordinary magic”, and the result of “self-righting tendencies”, Masten (2001, 2011) suggests that resilience is evident in most children who experience situations of adversity. She sought to identify the processes and systems associated with positive adaptions in human beings (Masten & Obradović 2006). For example, she identifies the process of attachment between children and their parents and the learning and stress response systems in the human brain, arguing that resilience is more likely to be evident and when these systems and processes are functioning well (Cicchetti & Curtis 2007). In this context, children demonstrate healthy functioning when they can meet normative expectations of growth and development. Thus, this research suggests resilience as related to children’s capacity to demonstrate competence criteria as defined by ages and stages of normative growth and development.

Bronfenbrenner’s ground-breaking study *The ecology of human development* (1979) offered a foundation for investigating multiple environmental influences on child development and resilience (Bronfenbrenner 1977, 1986, Ungar and Liebenberg 2013). Bronfenbrenner pointed out that human development occurs within spheres of the environment that are

“nested like Russian dolls” (1977, p. 515) around the developing child. Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1986) argued that humans are involved in ongoing interactions within these environmental layers and, as such, both contribute to and are affected by, layers within the environment in both direct and indirect ways. In this approach, those spheres in closest proximity, such as the immediate family, are considered to have the greatest influence on the developing child. Additionally, the approach suggests that cultural and socio-political structures as well as access to services influence the child’s development. Understanding human development in this way suggests that physiological and emotional wellbeing are the result of interpersonal and environmental interaction. This approach has had considerable influence on resilience research, providing a foundation for understanding the myriad of processes in the child’s environment that influence development.

In his study of the impact of environmental factors on the resilience of children, Garmezy (1991) used Bronfenbrenner’s theory as a foundation to investigate risk and protective factors between the individual, the family, and the environment. Earlier researchers had focused investigative efforts in trying to identify those risk factors that appeared to influence the onset or progression of psychopathology (Garmezy, Masten et al. 1984). Garmezy (1991) defined “protective factors” as those correlative, identifiable elements that have a positive influence on development and are shown to prevent or ameliorate risk. In his work, he argues that protective factors are likely to be the result of interactions between the child, their family and their community and serve to safeguard and buffer against the effects of risk (Garmezy, 1991). Protective factors are also associated with interrupting chains of risk factors or preventing a negative effect on the child’s life (Noltemeyer and Bush 2013). Further, exposure to certain risk factors are seen to have a “steeling effect” by which resilience functioning is enhanced (Rutter 1985, 2006, 2012). Rutter (1985) defined resilience as a process influenced by a triad of factors, the child’s personality, cohesion of the family and environmental supports available. His suggestion that this blend of factors has the potential to facilitate a range of positive dynamics and coping strategies has become highly influential in understanding resilience enhancing processes (Rutter 1987).

Increasingly sophisticated investigations of resilience have recognised the complex and multi-layered processes that contribute to a child’s capacity to recover after an experience of adversity. These have included examinations of competence, risks, vulnerabilities and community resources that have significant impact on the lives of children (Lester, Masten &

McEwen 2006). Panter-Brick and Eggerman (2012) point out that the resilience discourse has moved beyond a focus on the individual by exploring "material and social interactions in multi-layered contexts" and children's trajectories "towards enhanced or compromised health outcomes" that are bound by culture, space and time (p. 370).

2.3.2 The Social Ecology Approach to Resilience

Ungar suggests that resilience is the capacity of both individuals and their environments to interact in ways that optimise health-related outcomes, with resilience becoming evident when individuals are able to access the resources that they require in order to thrive, as defined by the culture and context in which the child lives (Liebenberg 2011). Thus for Ungar (2012), resilience depends on the child's capacity to navigate towards resilience-enhancing resources as well as the capacity of the family, community and culture to provide the necessary resources. This approach de-centres the child as the location of resilience, and emphasises environmental resources such as education, housing and health care as critical in the facilitation of resilience (Ungar 2006).

Ungar's model destabilises earlier resilience discourse that presented a cause and effect approach to risk and protective factors in the child and their environment. In contrast, Ungar's approach offers an understanding of non-linear and non-hierarchical processes as the child moves within their social ecology, drawing on resources in themselves, their relationships and their communities to achieve desirable outcomes (Liebenberg, Ungar et al. 2013). Ungar's emphasis on the dynamic processes between humans and resources in their environment echoes Gidden's (1984) structuration theory which suggests that structures that enable and constrain agency only exist through the actions of humans. In this approach, Giddens (1984) proposes that human activity and structures exist in a dynamic, interactive process, and that social, economic and political structures both enable and constrain agency.

Ungar suggests that resilience is a culturally and contextually specific construct consisting of multiple interactions between the child and their environment (Ungar & Liebenberg 2011).

> Resilience is about both the child's ability to navigate to health resources (the exercise of personal agency) and the capacity of the child's family, community and culture to provide health sustaining resources (availability and access) ranging from positive attachments to the provision of instrumental supports such as education, housing and medical care, as well as meaningful participation, good governance, safety and a collective identity. (Ungar 2006, p. 57)

Thus, the social ecology approach extends Bronfenbrenner's ecological definition to highlight the complex, multiple processes through which the individual interacts with their environment and cultural meanings ascribed to these resources. This approach builds on understandings of risk and protective processes in the individual's environmental context but goes further to suggest that resilience is facilitated via multidimensional processes, rather than simple "cause and effect" (Ungar 2011, p. 13). The social ecology approach moves beyond the "nested" conceptualisations of the effect of the ecology on child development, and towards a less deterministic model that recognises the value ascribed to each part of the system. The approach de-centres the individual and points out the impact of available services, funding, family structures and cultural norms that provide opportunities for accessing resilience-enhancing resources. Ungar proposes that these aspects of the social ecology are responsible for "constraining or liberating people's choices with regard to coping strategies that will result in pro-social behavior or pathological adaption" (Ungar 2013, p. 255). As such, in this approach, understanding resilience requires examination of what is meaningful in a specific cultural context, and those resources that are available and accessible to the child.

The social ecology approach suggests that resilience is a cultural construct that pertains to culturally specific understandings of child and adolescent development (Ungar 2006). In summarising the resilience discourse Ungar (2008) points out an evidence gap in understanding resilience in children who live in the Majority World, or who are members of Indigenous populations in Western nations.

> While this literature has contextualized risk and documented a number of relational protective processes that predict positive outcomes, by and large resilience researchers have focused on outcomes that are: 1) western-based with an emphasis on individual and relational factors typical of mainstream populations and their definitions of healthy functioning (staying in school, attachments to a parent or caregiver, forming secure attachments with one partner later in life, non-delinquent forms of adaptation, etc.); and 2) lacking in sensitivity to community and cultural factors that contextualize how resilience is defined by different populations and manifested in everyday practices. (Ungar 2008, p. 218)

There are a growing number of studies that have examined resilience in Indigenous children who live in Western industrialised nations (Thomas et al. 2010, Kirmayer et al. 2011, Wexler 2014). These studies have suggested that Minority World investigations have largely overlooked Indigenous strategies for positive adaptation that are grounded in language, sacred stories and teachings (Tummala-Narra 2007, Kirmayer et al. 2011, Wexler 2014). This

oversight is evident in tools that measure resilience, with the majority of instruments failing to address cultural protective factors (Jongen et al. 2019). Indigenous people's conceptions of resilience have been shown to include greater emphasis on family and community protective factors as well as a strong Indigenous sense of cultural identity, engagement in cultural traditions and harmonious relationships with the environment, which have been shown to reduce the risk of mental health issues and substance misuse (Jongan et al. 2019).

Traditional stories of origin and the adventures of mythic figures encode ideas about the relationship of people to the environment as well as moral and aesthetic ideas about balance, harmony, peace and friendship. These ways of narrating identity and collective experience can contribute to resilience through emotion regulation, problem solving, social positioning and collective solidarity (Kirmayer et al. 2011, p. 85). Strong Souls is a measure of resilience developed with Australian Aboriginal people that highlights the holistic nature of physical and mental health and considers the individual within the context of the wellbeing of the entire community (Thomas et al. 2010). Further studies of Australian Aboriginal young people have identified cultural knowledge and spiritual connection as important protective factors but locate them in experiences of racism and marginalisation (Stathis et al. 2012, Hopkins, Taylor & Zubrick 2018). Studies of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States have also suggested culturally specific conceptions of resilience associated with narratives of survival despite experiences of colonisation and political oppression (Kirmayer et al. 2011). These studies suggest that political activism and engagement in reconciliation activities can strengthen a personal and collective sense of agency.

> Finally, many communities are strengthening individual and collective agency through political activism, empowerment, and reconciliation. Active engagement or success in political negotiations such as land claims or the search for other forms of recognition of rights and identity not only brings material benefits but also enhances collective and individual self-esteem and is associated with better mental health. Collective efficacy strengthens individual efficacy and so makes individuals feel more capable of addressing their own needs. (Kirmayer et al. 2011, p. 85)

Such findings hold profound implications for policy and clinical service provision for Aboriginal children and young people, as cultural resources have been found to facilitate resilience (Kirmayer et al. 2011). Thus, these studies support Ungar's social-ecological approach, which argues resilience is a cultural construct but further locates the concept in the political context.

2.3.3 Hidden Resilience

Hidden resilience is the term used by Ungar (2004a) to describe the "unhealthy" mechanisms by which children seek out health-related outcomes. For Ungar (2004a), youth who are considered "dangerous, delinquent, deviant and disordered" by researchers, policy makers and social workers use unconventional behaviours in order to survive in difficult environments. The term "hidden resilience" describes the irregular behaviour in which children and young people engage to seek out healthy outcomes. Socially unacceptable activities such as petty crime, drug use and gang membership can offer potential positive outcomes such as a sense of purpose, belonging and attachment, financial security, a powerful concept of self, relationships, and access to food and shelter (Ungar 2009). For Ungar, these unorthodox behaviours represent diverse efforts to achieve healthy outcomes and are therefore indicators of healthy functioning. On this basis, Ungar (2009) argues that socially unacceptable behaviours can lead to "hidden" expressions of resilience that are overlooked by mainstream resilience researchers.

Ungar's (2004a) approach accepts that commonly held understandings about health in a community are influenced by uneven relations of power in society. Drawing on Foucault, Ungar suggests that dominant definitions of good health are the result of competing social discourses that define behaviours, attitudes and beliefs as either health seeking or evidence of pathology (Ungar 2004). In seeking to understand resilience in a particular social context, Ungar asks the researcher to uncover the dominant view of healthy functioning and pay attention to those who have created or maintain this view (Gergen 2015). Ungar suggests that, for young people who are marginalised by mainstream society, hidden resilience represents efforts to exert a powerful self-concept and control over the narrative about themselves. He suggests that young people who engage in crime, drug use and risky sexual activity are actually making efforts and taking actions to resist labels such as deviance or delinquency that are ascribed by those who are in control of the dominant health discourse (Ungar 2005). He suggests that social workers, teachers and other health professionals who work with these young people can uncover their motivations to seek health and positive outcomes via listening to their narratives and the reasons they give for their actions.

The concept of hidden resilience has been applied in non-Western contexts in populations of street-involved children (Theron & Malindi 2010). Malindi and colleagues have examined the patterns of living that sit outside Western constructs of child development and norms of

socially appropriate behaviour, but nevertheless enable children to recover after circumstances of adversity (Theron & Malindi 2010). These studies argue that street-involved children engage in behaviours such as wearing dirty clothes in public, using violence or participating in petty crime in order to cope with the challenges of street life. The findings suggest that, while these behaviours do not fit with socially approved pathways towards child development, they enable the street-involved child to access resources and find support networks that enable them to meet their immediate needs (Theron & Malindi 2010). Thus, Ungar's concept of hidden resilience has been applied to the lives of street-involved children.

2.4 A Systematic Search and Literature Review of Filipino Literature

In order to establish an understanding of the evidence base, this study includes a systematic literature search of publications regarding the resilience of street-involved children in Manila, Philippines. To the researcher's knowledge, this is the first systematic search completed regarding the resilience of street-involved children in the Philippines. This search formed the basis of the subsequent literature review and serves as a basis for understanding the Filipino conception of resilience, as well as a guide for conducting research with Filipino street-involved children as discussed in Chapter 3. The review drew on the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis Protocols (PRISMA-P) and included predetermined objectives and eligibility criteria for publication inclusion (Moher D 2015).

The objectives of the search were as follows:

1. Identify all Filipino qualitative and quantitative research regarding the resilience of street-involved children who live in the Philippines.
2. Identify all grey literature research regarding the resilience of Filipino street children.
3. Select those studies that meet selection criteria for inclusion for further appraisal based on study inclusion criteria.
4. Critically analyse and synthesise those studies, identifying thematic categories, and interpreting data in relation to theoretical and methodological approaches in the broader resilience literature. In particular, the review sought to identify cultural variations in the Filipino construction of resilience.

The selection criteria include publications where study participants are in the Philippines with the inclusion of cross-cultural studies if Filipino data can be separately identified. Studies focused on child participants, aged up to 18 years, and adopted a broad definition of street-

involved children including children in need of special protection, homeless children, orphans and street children. The researcher reviewed studies that were published post-1990 in order to ensure relevance. Studies needed to be available in English.

The following electronic databases were searched during June 2017: Psych INFO (Ovid), Medline (Ovid), Pro Quest Social Sciences Premium Collection, Pro Quest Psychology Data Base, Scopus, and Inform it Databases. The search was reviewed and updated in 2019, with one additional study published in late 2017 that met the selection criteria.

Due to multiple definitions of resilience in the evidence base, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the researcher employed a broad range of search terms to increase the sensitivity of the search. Search terms included the following: “resilience”, “positive adaption”, “psychological wellbeing”, “adaptability”, “coping behaviour”, “emotional adjustment”, “post-traumatic growth”, “psychological endurance or adjustment”, “stress and coping measures” or “agency” or “autonomy” or “independence”. Culturally specific attributes associated with the resilience in the Filipino literature were also included. In defining street-involved children, a number of terms were used to capture the maximum number of studies including: “children in need”, “special protection”, “children of/on the street”, “street child”, “street children” or “homeless” or “at risk” or “abandon” or “neglect” or “beggar*” or “runaway” or “urchin”. An electronic grey literature search was undertaken via Google using similar terms. See Appendix 8 for a full list of search terms.

The researcher contacted university libraries in the Philippines in order to locate publications that were not electronically available (Appendix 9). The researcher hand searched the library at the Philippines Association of Social Services in order to locate studies in hard copy publications that were not electronically available. All records were managed using the Endnote X9 software package.

As the result of this search 1317 publications were identified through database searching and 6 publications were identified via hard copy searching. 675 publications were removed and the remaining 648 screened based on a review of the title and abstract in accordance with the inclusion criteria. A further 141 texts were assessed for eligibility, with 133 articles excluded after reading the complete text and an assessment that they did not meet the inclusion criteria. The inclusion criteria were defined as follows:

- The study concerns resilience, with resilience defined.

- The study is based in the Philippines.
- The study participants are children aged under 18 years.
- The study participants are (broadly defined as) street-involved children.
- The study was published post 1990 to ensure relevance.
- The study considers ethical challenges associated with the vulnerable participant group.

Of the 141 studies examined for eligibility, 133 were found to use the term resilience in passing but failed to provide a definition or contribute to theoretical understandings of the concept.

The final sample for analysis contained 8 publications, 5 being academic articles and the remaining 3 grey literature reports. Appendix 10 shows the PRISMA flow chart and the study identification process undertaken.

The Critical Interpretive Synthesis (CIS) method was employed in order to synthesise the findings of the identified studies (Dixon-Woods, Cavers et al. 2006, Fane, MacDougall et al. 2016). A critical appraisal template was devised for this study and applied to all identified studies that met the selection criteria. The template extracted elements in each study including the theoretical perspective, data collection and analysis methods, as well as study findings.

2.4.1 A Summary of the Filipino Literature

Since the early 1990s, a small number of Filipino researchers have investigated resilience in children who live and work on the streets of Manila. The systematic search described above identified eight outputs (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista 2000, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Bautista and Rolder 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). All researchers employed qualitative research methods, including life story interviews, case studies and focus group discussions, which are well suited to the oral traditions of the Philippines (Bautista 2000). The findings of the review suggest that the construction of resilience in this literature draws on Minority World approaches but includes culturally defined conceptions of “healthy functioning” in children that reflect Filipino values.

Eminent psychiatrist Dr C. G. Banaag conducted the earliest study of resilience in the Philippines in 1997, providing further commentary in another publication in 2016. Banaag interviewed 25 street-involved children who demonstrated the personal character trait of “resiliency”. Concurring with Minority World studies of resilience including Werner and

Smith (1982), the study identifies the “internal strengths” associated with the child’s character and temperament and “externally directed traits” such as leadership and faith in God (Banaag 1997).

Caparas, in her 1998 study, suggests that community organisations can facilitate resilience when they offer opportunities for personal skill development, such as via the Junior Peer Educator Program at Bahay Tuluyan. Although Caparas does not reference Minority World literature, her study presents resilience as a personal quality that can be developed in children and relies on the commentary of adult social workers who described the goals and mode of program delivery that support the development of resilience in children.

In her earliest publication regarding resilience, Bautista (2000) suggests that researchers and practitioners must consider cultural factors in therapeutic work with street-involved children. Her study findings suggest that community organisations can facilitate resilience in children by providing family-like relationships that go beyond Western conceptions of professional relationships. Bautista’s study reflects the development of Indigenous psychological approaches that reflect the values and experiences of Filipino people and suggests that resilience is evident when children demonstrate the ability to meet desirable characteristics that are consistent with Filipino culture.

Bautista et al.’s 2001 publication entitled *Working with abused children: from the lenses of resilience and contextualization* argues for a nuanced understanding of resilience that is culturally specific to the Philippines. Bautista, Roldan and Garces-Bacsal (2001b) suggest that street-involved children can be considered resilient when they achieve “healthy adaption” in response to an array of environmental risks. The same year Bautista, Roldan and Garces-Bacsal (2001a) released a third publication based on this study that presented life stories of the children featured in the study, further identifying culturally specific indicators of resilience in the personal characters of street involved children.

The study by Sta. Maria and her colleagues, “Typologies of risk and protection in the lives of Filipino street children in Manila” takes a developmental approach when it defines resilience as “manifested competence in the context of significant challenges to adaption or development” (Sta.Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, p. 113). They suggest that resilience is associated with human adaptive systems that work to protect the child in times of risk and adversity (Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014). The authors cite Ungar when they suggest

resilience is a multidimensional construct that is related to the social, political and economic context in which the child lives (Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014). The study concludes that children feel safe when they are within familial relationships and are assured of the provision of their basic needs for survival by their community (Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014).

Wartenweiler (2017) investigates the lived experience of two adults who were once street children, applying Ungar's notion of "hidden resilience" to his findings. The study suggests that overcoming adversity involves multiple "turning points" that facilitate achieving healthy outcomes over time including atypical strategies such as early parenthood, engagement in work and crime. Wartenweiler (2017) suggests that these negative experiences can induce behaviour change and thus increase healthy functioning and positive outcomes over the life course.

The Filipino construction of "adversity" is consistent with global studies of street-involved children in which the street environment is presented as overwhelmingly injurious to the health of children (Hixon 1993, Silva 1996, Le Roux & Smith 1998, Njord, Merrill et al. 2008, Merrill, Njord et al. 2010). The Filipino studies suggest street-involved children have inadequate access to health, education and social services caused by limited social infrastructure, which is amplified by accelerated population growth, urban migration and insufficient opportunities for adult employment (Sta. Maria, Martinez & Diestro 2014; Caparas 1998). Street involvement is associated with extreme risks to the child's physical, mental and spiritual health and moral development (Banaag, 2016). Street-involved children have been found to be subject to abuse and violence by adults and other children and also to experience discrimination and victimisation by members of the public and government officials (Wartenweiler 2017). Filipino researchers highlight that criminal and delinquent behaviour is a significant risk factor for street-involved children (Banaag 2016; Bautista, Roldan & Garces-Bacsal 2001b; Sta. Maria, Martinez & Diestro 2014).

The Filipino studies draw on Minority World psychological approaches to resilience but suggest a culturally nuanced construction of "doing well" that is based on Filipino values. Studies by Banaag (1997, 2016) and Bautista (2000; Bautista, Roldan & Garces-Bacsal 2001b) identify culturally specific personal characteristics that are seen as desirable in Filipino children and reflect collectivist values. Sta. Maria, Martinez and Diestro (2014) identify protective factors from the perspective of children, while drawing on a definition of resilience that emphasises human adaptive systems and protective processes. Wartenweiler

(2017) examines Ungar's conception of hidden resilience and suggests it is evident in street-involved children who pursue healthy outcomes via unhealthy means, achieving normative development in adulthood. These studies suggest culturally specific conceptions of "doing well" that reflect conceptions of "healthy functioning" in children that are dominant in Filipino society.

In Section 2.5, these studies will be drawn on as a basis for understanding the construction of "healthy functioning" in Filipino street-involved children. Thematic analysis of the studies suggests that religiosity, observance of mutual obligations, the prioritisation of family and adherence to normative standards of behaviour are associated with street-involved children who are identified by expert adult researchers as resilient and demonstrating "healthy functioning". In Chapters 5 and 6, this conception of resilience will be contrasted with children's own perceptions of "doing well", which include diverse expressions of resistance to political oppression and "Othering" by mainstream society (Lister 2004).

2.5 Healthy Functioning and Resilience

This thesis suggests that "healthy functioning" is a state achieved by individual resilient children, as well as a collection of behaviours that are perceived to faciliate good health and wellbeing (Lester, Masten et al. 2006). Throughout the resilience discourse, various terms have been used to describe "doing well", including "positive adaption", "recovery" and achieving "better than expected" outcomes (Smith-Osborne & Whitehill Bolton 2013; Alvord & Grados 2005; Masten 2011; Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker 2000). Children who manage to overcome adversity are described in the literature as being able to maintain "healthy functioning" despite risk, or being able to recover to a "normal state" after an experience of trauma (Luthar, Cicchetti et al. 2000, Lester, Masten et al. 2006). "Positive adjustment" is another term used to describe when children achieve "better than expected" outcomes across multiple life domains (Luthar, Cicchetti et al. 2000).

A meta-analysis of the literature found that outcomes and behaviours are associated with resilience when they facilitate "good health" and are unexpectedly achieved by children who succeed more than their peers who come from similar conditions of adversity (Smith-Osborne and Whitehill Bolton 2013). These outcomes and behaviours include school attendance, academic attainment, and attributes such as social competence and avoidance of criminal or delinquent activities. In the literature these outcomes are contrasted with other outcomes and

behaviours considered less desirable, such as failure to reach developmental milestones, or engagement in behaviours associated with delinquency such as school failure and drug use (Hauser and Allen 2007). In the Western resilience literature, these activities are labelled "deviant" and are associated with poor health outcomes and negative life trajectories (Ungar 2001). Thus "healthy functioning" in the dominant discourse is associated with the child achieving outcomes that contribute to good health and development in a Minority World context.

2.5.1. Healthy Functioning as a Cultural Construct

A growing body of researchers who have studied resilience in the Minority World suggest that those circumstances that constitute healthy functioning in children are culturally defined (Noltemeyer and Bush 2013, Hart, Gagnon et al. 2016). Culture has been argued to be the basis of human reasoning styles, constructions of self, and notions of choice and fairness (Jones 2010). Overlooking culture and context ignores nuances in population groups, children with disabilities, rural populations, diverse racial backgrounds, children in non-Western countries, and even those individuals in Western countries who do not attend university (Liebenberg, Ungar et al. 2013). Culture can be understood as a cluster of "values, beliefs and everyday practices that are transmitted between individuals and reinforced through social discourse" (Ungar, Ghazinour & Richter 2013, p. 348). The social-ecological approach points out that resilience is a culturally embedded artefact and requires examination of those values that define what is understood as "healthy" development in children (Ungar 2008). This approach calls attention to how cultures define "adversity", as well as those factors that are attributed to enabling children to "do well" (Boyden and Mann 2005, Theron, Liebenberg et al. 2015). That is, it proposes that ideas about health and wellbeing are context specific and often reflect culturally normative values.

In the proliferation of tools devised to measure healthy functioning in children that have emerged over the years, cultural variance has been largely ignored (Windle, Bennett et al. 2011). Psychological studies that seek to understand human behaviour have been primarily investigated in the Western, industrialised, rich, democratic world, with sample groups often being American undergraduate university students (Henrich, Heine et al. 2010). Despite the narrow chacracteristics of the participant groups, these investigations have led to broad claims regarding human behaviour and assumptions that the findings are representative across culture and context (Jones 2010).

2.5.1.1 Child Growth and Development

In the Minority World resilience literature, indicators of "healthy functioning" are based on children demonstrating normative progression through developmental milestones. Piaget's theory of cognitive development has become a foundation for understanding child development as universal and biologically determined life stages associated with social, physical, cognitive and emotional progression (Boyden 2003). In Western countries, developmental milestones that are associated with resilience include academic attainment, demonstration of social competence and the ability to build and maintain close relationships (Hauser & Allen 2007). Early studies defined children as resilient when they demonstrated competence in meeting these developmental milestones despite negative experiences such as abuse and neglect (Masten & Garmezy 1985). For example, longitudinal studies of abused infants examined successful attainment of developmenal tasks such as the ability to develop secure attachments and the demonstration of pro-social skills (Farber & Egeland 1987).

The conception of the "ideal" childhood, unburdened by economic responsibilities, and reserved for learning and playing, is an important value in modern Western societies and arguably permeates Minority World conceptions of "healthy functioning" in children. Western normative ideas suggest childhood is a distinct phase of life that is separated from adult responsibilities and freedoms. In this understanding children are confined to the private sphere of the home or school and are reliant on the care and protection of adults for their survival. In this conception of childhood, children are neither political, social, or economic actors having primarily an emotional value to their parents (Zelizer 1994).

The notion of the "correct" childhood enshrined in international law such as the UNCRC has been criticised as not representative of the experiences of children in the Majority World (Al-Saadoon, Al-Adawi & Al-Adawi 2021, Adonteng-Kissi 2018, Tisdall & Punch 2012). The new sociology of childhood has pointed out the dominant construction is ethnocentric and instead suggests that childhood is a diverse social and historical category rather than a biologically determined fact, and can vary with the cultural, economic, political and social context in which the child lives (Beazley 2002, Mayall 2002, Boyden 2003, Morrow 2011, James & Prout 2015). Thus, in this understanding, risk and protective factors in childhood are understood differently across culture and context (Zolkoski & Bullock 2012). Understanding diversity in childhood recognises that classifications of risk are not universal, and that adversity is influenced by gender, evolving capacities, and social, cultural and economic

circumstances (Boyden & Mann 2005). Regardless of this critique, public commentary and research often positions a divergence from the construction of the "correct" childhood as harmful to children and their growth and development (Westwood 2013).Even though the UNCRC has been ratified by countries around the world, researchers such as Woodhead (1999) suggest that it could be regarded as a form of cultural imperialism, overlooking the relativity of childhood as determined by geography, poverty, cultural traditions and social norms. The notion of the "global child" implicit in the UNCRC is based on Minority World values that confine children to spaces considered appropriate for growth and development such as home and school (Leonard 2004). An important criticism has concerned the positioning of children as individual social actors, emphasising personal agency and overlooking relationships of mutual obligation towards family and community that remain across the life span (Al-Saadoon, Al-Adawi & Al-Adawi 2021, Adonteng-Kissi 2018, Tisdall & Punch 2012). In Africa, this tension between the UNCRC and conceptualisations of child responsibility led to an alternative articulation of children's rights in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990).

The discourse regarding children's rights within varied cultures and contexts is a key theme in international discussions regarding child labour (Myers 1991, Woodhead 1999, Aktar & Abdullah 2013, Taft 2021). Researchers and policy makers have drawn on the UNCRC Article 32 as a basis to exclude children from engagement in paid work enacted via international and domestic legislative instruments. This discourse argues for protection of children from economic exploitation and hazardous work, which are threats to optimal growth and development (Adonteng-Kissi 2018). Studies of children in the labour market have positioned work as a binary opposite to school attendance and have highlighted the vulnerability of children to abuse and exploitation (Myers 1991, Woodhead 1999). In doing so, such studies overlook children's own perceptions of work as essential for their own survival and that of their family (Leonard 2004). Critics have called for a more nuanced approach that acknowledges children's own perception of work and the value they ascribe to income generation within their culture and context (Aktar & Abdullah 2013). Children's efforts to claim the right to work are evident in the child worker movement which includes advocating for robust labour regulations that enable them to work in safety and live with dignity (Leonard 2004). In 2015 in Peru working children marched through the streets and demanded they be consulted in the development of child worker legislation and regulations. Such actions destabilise the perception that children are passive recipients of their rights and

instead suggest that children are capable political and economic actors (Taft 2019). Furthermore, they challenge the notion of a "global" childhood free of economic responsibilities that is dominant in Western industrialised nations and enshrined in the UNCRC.

2.5.1.2 Individualism and Collectivism

Ungar (2005a) points out that Western psychological research has been founded on understanding the individual experience, as opposed to that of the collective. In individualistic cultures, desirable personal characteristics that indicate children have achieved "healthy functioning" include a high degree of personal agency and associated qualities such as independence, goal-orientation and competitiveness (Kagitcibasi 2005). Researchers have observed that in the United States personal qualities associated with economic success are highly valued in children and include ambition, competition and goal attainment (Hui & Villareal 1989). In contrast, in collectivist cultures, personal attributes that include a deep connection to others, observation of duty and harmonious inter-personal relations are highly valued (Hui & Villareal 1989). In collectivist cultures, the individual has an extended sense of self in relation to their physical and social environment and seeks to live in harmony with their environment. The construction of self is considered "interdependent", with other people the focus of the individual experience (Markus 1991). In collectivist societies, the basic unit of social organisation is often the extended family, and this is associated with social, emotional and material interdependence (Hui & Villareal 1989).

In the Minority World construction of resilience, the parental dyad is identified as the primary source of attachment, with parents shaping desirable attributes in children that reflect individualist values (Jaffee, Caspi et al. 2007). The role of parents can be seen in the work of Martin Seligman (Seligman et al. 1995), the father of the positive psychology movement, who argues parents are best placed to develop a range of cognitive skills in their children, including optimism and persistence, that will enable them to achieve material, academic and financial attainment success in adulthood.

> Masterful action is the crucible in which preschool optimism is forged. Your child's task aided by informed parenting is to make a habit of persisting in the face of challenge and overcoming obstacles. Once your child enters school, the tactics for creating the optimistic child shift from masterful action to the way your child thinks – particularly when he fails. (Seligman et al. 1995, p. 12)

The values espoused as desirable by Seligman are compatible with American culture, which celebrates "self-made" individuals who achieve success despite hardship (Masten 2001). Thus the dominant construction of resilience remains concerned with personal achievement and attainment of desirable outcomes as defined by Minority World values (Walsh, Dawson et al. 2010).

The emphasis on agency and autonomy in Western nations has been elaborated in Weber's theory on the Protestant work ethic, which emphasised personal responsibility and sacrificing personal interests for the pursuit of economic goals (Weber 1930, Tamis-LeMonda, Way et al. 2008). Notions of "good parenting" within this context are associated with teaching children to be autonomous and to demonstrate personal choice, intrinsic motivation, self-esteem and self-maximisation (Tamis-LeMonda, Way et al. 2008). Parenting practices in collectivist cultures such as in many Asian, Latin and African societies facilitate strong relationships with multiple caregivers in the extended family and seek to promote the developmental goal of "relatedness" rather than independence and autonomy (Tamis-LeMonda, Way et al. 2008).

In collectivist cultures, orientation towards the family and respect and obedience towards elders is greatly valued in children (Tamis-LeMonda, Way et al. 2008). In the Philippines, a 1970s national study that found 60% of parents reported that the most valued characteristic in their children was to obey their parents (Alampay & Jocson 2011). In this study, the personal qualities of "independence" and "self-reliance" were cited as less desirable characteristics in children (Alampay & Jocson 2011). More recently, in a cross-cultural study, Durbrow and colleagues (2001) considered parental descriptions of characteristics of "good" and "competent" children in qualitative interviews with Filipino mothers in rural settings. Mothers described competent children as those who were "obedient" to their parents, "helpful with chores", undertook care tasks for younger siblings and prioritised the needs of their families over personal desires. Such findings suggest that, in some collectivist contexts, children are functioning well when they observe age-based hierarchies and demonstrate compliance to their elders. This emphasis on obedience and interdependency stands in contrast to the application of resilience in the discipline of psychology, which has emerged from Western industrialised nations, where autonomy and self-reliance are emphasised.

2.5.1.3 The Filipino Construction of "Healthy Functioning" in Street-Involved Children

This thesis suggests that, while the Filipino research draws on the Minority World resilience literature, the construction of "healthy functioning" is culturally nuanced and emphasises compliance with values and behaviours that are highly valued in children in the Philippines. The Filipino population is highly religious, with a large percentage of the population identifying as Roman Catholic (Enriquez 1987). Moreover, despite centuries of colonisation, Filipino society remains based on collectivist modes of social organisation that reflect Indigenous belief systems (Enriquez 1987, Reyes 2015, Lasquety-Reyes 2016). The systematic search and literature review summarised earlier in this chapter identified themes regarding children who are considered to be resilient, finding that they are consistent with Filipino values and include having a personal relationship with God that guides behaviour, prioritising family relationships and engagement in productive work. This thesis will argue that Filipino resilience researchers, while not always specifically citing Ungar, concur with his approach that suggests constructions of resilience in children are specific to culture and context.

A major theme in the Filipino literature is the capacity of street-involved children to have a relationship with God that guides their beliefs and behaviour, enabling them to achieve "healthy functioning" despite the vices and temptations of the street (Banaag 1997). The Filipino researchers draw on early Minority World studies that also defined children as resilient when they manage to resist engaging in behaviour associated with delinquency and crime (Smith, Lizotte et al. 1995, Benard 1997). However, the Filipino studies suggest a culturally specific conception of "healthy functioning" when they associate an absence of delinquency with religiosity and observance of morality consistent with Christian values that are dominant in Filipino society.

Banaag (1997, p. 68) suggests that a personal relationship with God is a "natural component of Filipino culture" and that faith in God enables street-involved children to believe that "things will get better". Banaag (1997, p. 25) argues that the belief in "something that is bigger than one-self" is a source of comfort that enables children to make choices that reflect standards of morality that are consistent with religious values. While global studies of street-involved children have also identified faith in God as a source of protection and comfort, the Filipino studies also associate religiosity with having a good and wholesome character, which

is evidenced when children make moral choices that reflect the teachings of the Bible (Cook 2000, Orme 2007).

> Many of the ten [participants] expressed their belief that the power of faith had helped them stay away from trouble … they admitted that they did not go to mass regularly …. nevertheless their behavior showed they had a personal relationship with God. (Banaag 1997, p. 25)

Banaag (1997) borrows the term "adaptive distancing" from Minority World studies that investigated children of alcoholic parents who managed to separate themselves from the dysfunction of their families and achieve success (Berlin, Davis et al. 1988, Kaplan, Turner et al. 1996, Kumpfer and Bluth 2004). Banaag suggests that resilient street-involved children are those who avoid engaging in delinquent behaviours such as "begging, stealing, lying, fighting, drug use, and prostitution" (1997, p. 17).

Building on Banaag's study, Bautista and her colleagues (2001b) also argue that the ability to avoid delinquency and crime is enabled by faith in God and observing the teachings of the Bible that promote morality. This study suggests that the Filipino conception of "healthy functioning" includes having a wholesome character and upholding standards of morality that are dominant in Filipino society. The most contemporary study of resilience of Filipino street-involved children has further explored the relationship between avoiding criminal behaviour and belief in God. Wartenweiler (2017) directly applies Ungar's concept of "hidden resilience" via case studies in which he suggests Filipino street children can engage in coping behaviours that may be seen maladaptive but, when combined with other resources such as a personal relationship with God, can lead to healthy outcomes.

The Filipino literature also emphasises other indicators of "healthy functioning" that are suggestive of specific cultural values, including children demonstrating an interdependent view of self and observance of mutual obligations to family members. In Bautista's study, being "other-person centred" is identified as a desirable "trait" and is evident when children consider and prioritise the welfare of others (Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001). The Filipino studies emphasise harmonious interpersonal relations that prioritise getting along with the group and making a contribution towards the survival and wellbeing of their families (Racelis, Aguirre et al. 2006). Banaag (1997, 2016) suggests that Filipino children observe a debt of gratitude towards their parents when they undertake productive work such as household chores, providing care for siblings and earning an income for their families. In Wartenweiler's (2017) study, participants talked retrospectively about early parenthood as a

source of inspiration and motivation to persevere and find an honest source of income, overcoming adversity for the sake of their children and family.

The Filipino studies also suggest that engagement in paid informal and formal work is an important indication of "healthy functioning" in children (Banaag 1997, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Wartenweiler 2017). In Banaag's (1997) study, children described being engaged in income-generating activities such as vending, scavenging, car washing and shoe shining, and described being proud of contributing towards the family income. Children identified that these activities were valued by other family members and were regarded as important as they contributed to the families' survival. Similarly, Sta. Maria, Martinez and Diestro (2014) argue that street-involved children seek to engage in activities that are valued by their peers and their communities. They argue that criminal behaviours are better understood as children searching for opportunities to engage in productive activities that are valued by their peers. They suggest that when society fails to provide children with protection, they will use other means, including those that are undesirable, in order to achieve their conception of competence. They quote one of their study participants:

> We also have gimmicks, we break glass windows, we steal … to have money. We get clothes from the ukay-ukay (used clothes) shop … we bring knives for our enemies … We join riots in Cubao against our enemies, throwing stones, breaking bottles stabbing … When we don't have goods to sell, we beat up those who have goods and get their goods to see …. among us there is no such thing as pity. (Sta. Maria, Martinez & Diestro 2014, p. 123)

They argue that engaging in productive activities enables children to feel competent and valued by their peers and to create relationships with others who care about them (Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014). Similarly Caparas (1998) found that young people who took part in community activities developed strong relationships and new skills that were valued by themselves and others. This study argues that engagement in productive activities can lead to increased self-esteem and belonging in the community (Caparas 1998).

Scholars of childhood have pointed out that normative ideals of children and child rearing vary across culture and contexts (Bourdillon 2006, Westwood 2013). In Western cultures, engaging in economic activity (except in carefully prescribed circumstances) is seen to transgress normative ideals of childhood and is seen as injurious to the child's health and development (Bourdillon 2006, Westwood 2013). Conversely in the Philippines, children are regarded as economic contributors who observe relationships of mutual obligation and

reciprocity (Tuason & Teresa 2013). Filipino children often engage in paid and informal work, being important contributors to the survival of the family. In a cross-cultural study of street children, findings suggested that Filipino youth expressed self-loathing when they did not engage in productive work (Verma, Sta Maria et al. 2011). In global studies of children in other Majority World contexts, engaging in work is seen as an important contributor to their survival (Orme 2007, Liebel & Saadi 2012, Westwood 2013). Children who grow up in resource-poor environments have been shown to consider engagement in income-generating activities as providing them with opportunities for growth and development from which they would otherwise be excluded (Libório & Ungar 2010). Thus in the Philippines, engaging in productive activities that contribute to family survival reflects a culturally nuanced conception of "healthy functioning" in children.

This section suggests that, without explicitly citing Ungar, the Filipino scholars concur with Ungar's thesis, offering a culturally nuanced conception of healthy functioning in children. The Filipino literature suggests that children who demonstrate healthy functioning are considered resilient when they demonstrate fidelity to culturally ascribed notions of desirable outcomes and behaviours in children. These values include demonstrating a personal relationship with God that enables them to avoid delinquent activities, as well as prioritising family relationships and engaging in work to ensure they are able to contribute to the survival and wellbeing of their families.

2.5.1.4 The Social-Ecological Approach to "Healthy Functioning"

The social-ecological approach to healthy functioning is evident in the Child Youth Resilience Measure-28 (CYRM-28), Ungar's (2004a) international instrument developed to accommodate culturally and contextually specific constructions of "healthy functioning". Led by Ungar, the Resilience Research Centre undertook an international study that examined the tension between global and contextually specific processes that promote healthy functioning in children: "The purpose of the Resilience Research Centre (RRC) and its network of collaborators globally has been to explore both etic (homogeneous) and emic (heterogeneous, indigenous) conceptualizations of resilience" (Ungar & Liebenberg 2011, p. 128).

The CYRM-28 is based on Ungar's sociological approach to resilience, which suggests good outcomes are negotiated "benchmarks" of psycho-social development between the child and those who are in power of the health discourse in the child's culture and context. Thus,

Ungar's indicators of "healthy functioning" are synonymous with resilience and involve the child meeting expectations of "functional competence in culturally relevant ways" (Ungar & Liebenberg 2011, p. 127).

The Resilience Research Centre sought to develop a culturally sensitive resilience measure that could be used in various contexts, accommodating the common and nuanced components of resilience (Ungar & Liebenberg 2013). The research involved the purposeful selection of 14 communities across 11 countries to develop the measure with 1,451 young people aged between 11 and 23 years of age (Ungar & Liebenberg 2013). In order to manage Minority World bias in the interpretation of results, the team examined Majority World countries that are currently under-represented in the existing body of resilience research, including an Aboriginal Innue community in Northern Canada, as well as young people in America, Hong Kong, China, Palestine, Israel, Columbia, Russia, India, South Africa and Gambia (Ungar & Liebenberg 2011).

Via qualitative processes, researchers identified and tested children's perceptions of resources that enable them to "do well". In the pilot CYRM, 58 items covering subscales that include personal, relational, community and cultural factors were identified, and subsequently reduced using exploratory factor analysis (Liebenberg 2011).

To what extent …

1. Do you have people you look up to?

2. Do you cooperate with people around you?

3. Is getting an education important to you?

4. Do you know how to behave in different social situations?

5. Do you feel that your parent(s) watch you closely?

6. Do you feel that your parent(s) know a lot about you?

7. Do you eat enough most days?

8. Do you strive to finish what you start?

9. Are spiritual beliefs a source of strength for you?

10. Are you proud of your ethnic background?

11. Do people think you are fun to be with?

12. Do you talk to your family about how you feel?

13. Are you able to solve problems without using illegal drugs and/or alcohol?

14. Do you feel supported by your friends?

15. Do you know where to go in your community to get help?

16. Do you feel you belong at your school?

17. Do you think your family will always stand by you during difficult times?

18. Do you think your friends will always stand by you during difficult times?

19. Are you treated fairly in your community?

20. Do you have opportunities to show others that you are becoming an adult?

21. Are you aware of your own strengths?

22. Do you participate in organized religious activities?

23. Do you think it is important to serve your community?

24. Do you feel safe when you are with your family?

25. Do you have opportunities to develop job skills that will be useful later in life?

26. Do you enjoy your family's traditions?

27. Do you enjoy your community's traditions?

28. Are you proud to be (Nationality: _____)? (Ungar & Liebenberg 2011, p. 146)

The subscales of the CYRM-28 can be examined to uncover implicit assumptions in Ungar's conception of "healthy functioning" including children's use of personal, relational, community and cultural resources. Scrutiny of questions in the "personal" subscale reveals an emphasis on self-esteem, social skills and compliance with behavioural expectations of children that are contextually specific. For example, Question 21 asks "Are you aware of your own strengths?" The measure also identifies persistence (Question 8): "Do you strive to finish what you start?", and social skills (Question 2): "Do you cooperate with people around you?" The CYRM also asks about the child's ability to comply with social expectations of children (Question 4): "Do you know how to behave in different situations?" and (Question

13): “Are you able to solve problems without using illegal drugs and/or alcohol?” Thus, measurement of personal skills associated with healthy functioning focuses on knowing how to comply with culturally specific notions of healthy functioning and facilitates positive growth and development in the context of where the child lives.

The second subscale addresses characteristics of physical and psychological care that facilitate resilience. Physical care includes (Question 7): “Do you eat enough most days?” and (Question 24): “Do you feel safe when you are with your family?” Psychological care includes (Question 5) “Do you feel that your parents watch you closely” and (Question 17) “Do you think your parents will stand by you in difficult times?” These questions appear to assume that the primary providers of physical and psychological care are parents, which is particularly appropriate to Minority World cultures.

The third subscale addresses contextual factors relating to context and culture, including (Question 9): “Are spiritual beliefs a source of strength for you?” and (Question 10) “Are you proud of your ethnic background?” Question 22 asks: “Do you participate in organised religious activities?” and (Question 28): “Are you proud to be (Nationality)?” The child’s attitude to education and community participation are also covered: (Question 3) “Is getting an education important to you?” and (Question 23) “Do you think it is important to serve your community?” These questions suggest that healthy functioning is reliant on navigation towards resources in the community including school, religious activities and celebrations, and national pride. They assume that resilience is dependent on the child sharing culturally normative ideals that are dominant in the context in which the child lives.

In order to progress his argument and explain the diverse processes by which children travel towards resilience, Ungar (2007) proposes that children who are resilient successfully navigate their way through seven tensions that enable them to achieve health and wellbeing in their culture and context. The seven tensions articulate the complex processes children employ by drawing on resources identified in the CYRM. These tensions cannot be seen in isolation but operate simultaneously and are resolved according to the strengths and resources that are available to young people in themselves and their environment (Ungar 2007). The tensions highlight the diverse processes in which children engage in order to achieve healthy outcomes:

1. Access to material resources, which include financial, educational, health, employment, food, clothing, and shelter in order to meet basic survival and development needs.
2. Access to supportive relationships, which include peers and adults in the family and community, who provide attachments, supervision and care.
3. A sense of identity that includes a personal and collective sense of purpose, self-appraisal of strengths and weakness, as well as a collection of aspirations, beliefs and values, and religious identification.
4. A sense of power and control that can be achieved by caring for self and others, being able to effect change in environment, particularly when accessing resources.
5. A sense of cultural adherence, which refers to observance of global and local cultural practices, values and beliefs.
6. Access to social justice, including being able to have a meaningful role in the community and a sense of social equality in the community.
7. A sense of cohesion, which involves balancing one's personal interests with the greater good, feeling that one is socially and spiritually part of something larger than oneself. (Ungar 2007, p. 295)

Ungar (2007) argues that these tensions are non-linear and dynamic, converging in different ways over time in relation to other tensions with which they interact and overlap. Thus, children who achieve healthy functioning do so by navigating their way through the seven tensions to a greater or lesser degree, depending on cultural and contextual values and meaning systems.

This thesis argues that the CYRM and seven tensions highlight variance in how "doing well" is defined across culture and context, including those resources children draw on in order to achieve culturally specific outcomes associated with good health and development. However, this thesis will suggest the CYRM downplays children's diverse conceptions of "doing well", which include outcomes that may not be associated with good health in their culture and context. Rather, this thesis suggests that Ungar's CYRM relies on culturally normative values in order to measure resilience, overlooking children's own diverse conceptions that may contravene culturally specific notions of healthy functioning in children.

In his conceptualisation of "hidden resilience" Ungar (2005a) allows some leeway in terms of how children negotiate resources when he suggests that children who are marginalised from

mainstream society engage in unhealthy behaviours in order to achieve good health outcomes. Engaging in transgressive activities can represent "diverse pathways" towards resilience that he associates with outcomes that are believed to promote good health and development and defined by the culture and context in which the child lives (Ungar 2005, 2007). However, this thesis will argue that Ungar inadvertently overlooks variance in children's own perceptions of desirable life outcomes, which may not comply with those that are dominant in the child's own culture or context.

Ungar's (2009) conception of desirable life outcomes as exclusively defined by the culture and context in which children live can be seen in his discussion of the troubled teenagers he treats in his social work practice in Canada. He argues that young people who are marginalised by mainstream society are labelled as deviant and dangerous when they engage in crime, early sexual activity and drug use (Ungar 2009). Ungar (2004a) suggests that these activities represent a discursive battle between young people and adult practitioners and policy makers who define what is healthy and what is not. He suggests that in his practice, he perceives young people's engagement in transgressive activities as efforts to present themselves as powerful, attached and well resourced, embracing these behaviours as a mechanism of achieving a powerful self-concept (Ungar 2009). As such, he argues that these behaviours represent efforts to achieve positive healthy outcomes, albeit via unhealthy means (Ungar 2004).

This thesis will argue that Ungar's approach assumes young people are motivated by a desire to attain life outcomes that comply with the normative aspirations for children and young people that are dominant in the society in which the child lives. For while Ungar's approach recognises the diverse pathways that children travel towards resilience when they engage in unhealthy behaviours, it overlooks children's diverse conceptions of desirable life outcomes that may not be related to good health as conceptualised in Minority World discourses.

This thesis will draw on studies that have been undertaken in diverse cultural contexts to suggest children have diverse relationships with normative notions of what it is to have a "good life" (Eggerman & Panter-Brick 2010, Panter-Brick & Eggerman 2012, Panter-Brick 2015). Panter-Brick (2015) points out that in the resilience discourse culture has been primarily treated as a single variable that impacts the lives of children in predicable ways. She argues that researchers have overlooked the perceptions of children when they hold diverse, contradictory and fluid goals for their lives that may include diverse material,

spiritual, economic and political aspirations that may contravene those of the dominant society in which they live (Panter-Brick 2015). For example, in a study in Afghanistan, Eggerman and Panter-Brick (2010, p. 71) found that cultural values are both "an anchor of resilience and anvil of pain", offering a source of hope as well as frustration that limits personal aspirations and plans for the future. This thesis will draw on these studies to suggest that children can hold competing and contradictory aspirations for their lives that are unaccounted for in Ungar's social-ecological approach to healthy functioning in children.

This thesis will also argue that Ungar's conception overlooks that "problem behaviours" can be mechanisms of political agency that are shared between children who protest collective experiences of injustice. To do this, the study will draw on critiques of Ungar that have investigated populations of disadvantaged young people and found they developed modes of coping that can be understood as resistance against collective experiences of social inequality (Bottrell 2002, 2007, 2013). Bottrell (2009b) suggests that understanding resilience in groups of marginalised young people means accounting for their social and political situations of adversity and the collective strategies in which they engage in order to resist these conditions. This thesis argues for an alternative approach to the resilience discouse that accounts for children's collective efforts to resist the effects of marginalisation.

2.6 Critique of the Social Ecology Approach to Resilience

This thesis will suggest that Ungar's social-ecological approach highlights the dynamic processes between the child and resources in their social ecology but overlooks the collective efforts of children to manage the effects of marginalisation and oppression as legitimate expressions of resilience. The CYRM-28 overlooks issues of powerlessness in the lives of children who are marginalised from mainstream society and downplays their political agency when they take short-term and long-term action to change their lives, and the lives of others. The CYRM privileges positive health outcomes associated with the navigation of personal, relational and community resources within a specific culture, but overlooks "adversity" as a shared experience between children and the personal and collective action they take to resist the effects of oppression.

This thesis suggests that studies of resilience in marginalised children must pay attention to young people's own conceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", which may diverge from those that are dominant in the mainstream society in which they live. In his conception of

“hidden resilience”, Ungar (2005a) recognises the use of transgressive behaviours as an individual effort to resist the effects of being labelled as delinquent and dangerous by those in control of the dominant health discourse. This thesis suggests that Ungar’s approach is significant in that it acknowledges the meaning of “unhealthy” behaviours, but inadvertently falls into an individual-level analysis when it fails to consider adversity as a collective experience by young people who live in an adult-centric society. Furthermore, these behaviours are only positioned as meaningful when they are mechanisms that facilitate the child attaining health-related outcomes that are associated with culturally specific notions of “healthy functioning”.

In seeking to contribute a social theory of resilience that accounts for the collective experiences of marginalised children, Bottrell (2002, 2007, 2009b) examined the lives of young women who live in an inner-city public housing estate in Sydney, Australia. Her findings suggest that the young women developed resistant modes of coping in response to collective experiences of social inequality. Bottrell acknowledges Ungar’s attention to young people’s social and cultural context, but suggests his approach overlooks issues of social inequality and young people’s capacity for resistance. She suggests that resilience researchers must account for the social and political contexts in which children live, which are integral to the experience of disadvantage, and that studies of resilience in marginalised children and young people must account for power differences that they experience in their day-to-day lives. She suggests the need to move beyond an individual-level analysis of resilience, and that this requires acknowledging acts of resistance as indications of resilience and measuring positive outcomes on young people’s own terms (Bottrell 2009b).

This thesis aims to provide evidence that supports Bottrell’s argument. Bottrell (2009b) acknowledges children’s complex relationship with the discursive powers that shape their lives and the lives of their families, particularly in circumstances of poverty and marginalisation. In this thesis, I aim to show that the children who participated in this study revealed an awareness of their powerlessness in an adult-centric society in which they experienced oppression and marginalisation. The findings will suggest that these children constructed adversity as an experience they shared with other street-involved children and their families, who were denied basic resources and oppressed by government policy. To do this, this thesis will draw on scholars of agency (Giddens 1984; Hoggett 2001; Lister 2004)

and on scholars who focus on power relationships between adults and children (Giddens 1984, Hoggett 2001, Lister 2004, valentine 2011, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017).

Lister's taxonomy of agency will form the basis of a discussion of the four emblematic case studies of Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla as a means of illustrating the diverse actions that children undertake in order to overcome "adversity" and "do well". Lister's taxonomy categorises actions, rather than actors, with the potential for one person to simultaneously express multiple forms of agency on both the everyday–strategic and personal–political axes. By drawing on Lister's taxonomy of agency and Ungar's social-ecological resilience, this thesis argues that children perceive resilience to be diverse and dynamic and that they draw on multiple resources in the context of their social ecology (Ungar 2016) . This study will draw on Lister's conception of "Othering" and her taxonomy of agency to further the social-ecological approach to resilience from the perspective of children, by highlighting their own narratives of collective experiences of social injustice and personal and collective acts of resistance. The study will aim to contextualise agency within the multifaceted social orders in which young people live, in ways that resonate with, and extend, the social-ecological approach to resilience in the context of extreme marginalisation and oppression. This thesis will therefore extend current conceptions of resilience to include a social and political critque that accounts for children's position in adult-centric societies and the various actions in which they engage in order to resist the effects of "Othering" (Lister 2004).

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by summarising the literature regarding street-involved children and resilience before examining the dominant discourse that has emerged from the Minority World, and critiques of this discourse when applied to the Majority World (Ungar 2006, Didkowsky, Ungar et al. 2010, Eggerman & Panter-Brick 2010, Rabaia, Giacaman et al. 2010, Panter-Brick 2014). The social-ecological approach to resilience pioneered by Ungar (2011, 2012) suggests resilience is a shared quality between the child and their environment, the result of complex processes between resources in the child, and their relationships, community and culture. The chapter provided an analysis of indicators of "healthy functioning" in children who "do well", finding that both the dominant conception, and Ungar's social-ecological approach, privilege processes that lead to health-related outcomes that are synonymous with growth and development in the culture and context in which the child lives.

The chapter has also analysed the existing evidence base regarding the resilience of Filipino street-involved children by reporting on the systematic search and literature review undertaken as part of this study. This review found a handful of resilience studies primarily undertaken within the field of psychology that have defined resilience as a phenomenon associated with achieving normative growth and development that is synonymous with dominant conceptions of "healthy functioning" in the Philippines (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). Analysis of the Filipino literature suggests a culturally nuanced definition of resilience whereby children are considered to demonstrate "healthy functioning" when they demonstrate a strong relationship with God and an interdependent view of self that is consistent with Filipino values. This chapter suggests that the Filipino studies concur with Ungar's thesis, even though they do not for the most part refer to his work, and suggest that resilience is a culturally determined construct based on nuanced conceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that are specific to culture and context (Ungar 2007, Ungar & Thomas 2013).

This thesis suggests an alternative approach, which suggests children's own perceptions of healthy functioning may not conform with normative notions of growth and development in the culture and context in which they live. To do so, this thesis will draw on studies of marginalised children who engage in a range of strategies that diverge from culturally ascribed notions of "healthy functioning" in children, but nevertheless are suggestive of resilience (Bottrell 2007, Davies 2008, Beazley 2003). I will aim to show that some children in this study considered themselves resilient when they met culturally normative notions of healthy functioning. However, I will also aim to show that others considered themselves resilient when they sought "unhealthy" outcomes such as being powerful underworld figures involved in gangs and crimes. This thesis will suggest that Ungar's (2005a, 2006, 2009) approach to hidden resilience goes some way to acknowledge the diverse mechanisms by which children facilitate resilience in the context of their social ecology However, analysis of Ungar's conception of "healthy functioning" in this chapter suggests that his approach still privileges health-related outcomes and behaviours that facilitate growth and development in the culture and context in which the child lives. Ungar overlooks children who seek out diverse conceptions of "doing well" that privilege an alternative conception of healthy functioning. Furthermore, this chapter has suggested that Ungar's approach overlooks the

social and political context of young people's lives and their collective efforts to resist marginalisation (Bottrell 2007, 2009b, 2013).

This thesis will make an original contribution to knowledge by bringing together Michael Ungar's (2011) social-ecological approach to resilience and Ruth Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency to suggest healthy functioning, in the context of extreme marginalisation, is a political expression of resistance and can include individual and collective action against oppression and marginalisation. In the following chapters, this thesis will aim to show that children in this study understood adversity to be a collective as well as a personal experience and engaged in multiple and complex processes in order to manage the effects of these circumstances. Like Bottrell (2009b), this thesis will suggest that resilience in this context is an overtly political process whereby children equate "doing well" with resisting the effects of oppression. I will furthermore argue that children in this study added an explicitly political dimension to their conceptions of resilience by identifying government policy as being at least partly responsible for their marginalisation and drawing on human rights discourses in response.

The following chapter will describe the methods employed to answer the research question. The chapter will lay the foundation for the study findings, which suggest that, while children sometimes perceive themselves to be resilient when they comply with cultural norms and expectations, they can also see themselves as resilient when they transgress these norms and engage in personal and collective acts of resistance against marginalisation.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology devised to answer the research question:

> *How do street-involved children construct resilience in the context of their social ecology?*

In order to address this research question, the researcher asked study participants about their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in the context of their lives. In particular, the researcher sought to uncover how children navigated and negotiated resources in themselves, their relationships, communities and culture in order to facilitate resilience in their social ecology. The findings suggest that Filipino street-involved children experience adversity when they are deprived of resources necessary for survival, excluded from structural resources in the community, and exposed to discrimination, stigma and victimisation. Further, children perceive themselves as "doing well" in highly diverse ways that both comply with and contradict culturally normative notions of healthy functioning in children that are dominant in Filipino society.

This study is based on anti-oppressive research methodology that seeks to contribute towards the evidence base regarding the resilience of street-involved children (Dalrymple & Burke 2006, Strier 2006, Rogers 2012). Anti-oppressive research requires recognising children as holders of rights who are active agents in their own lives, rather than objects of study (Kirk 2007). Conducting research in this way involves considering the power relationships between adults and children, ensuring the research design allows for children's evolving capacities and presuming their competence in participating in the knowledge-creation process (Barker & Weller 2003). It also requires that the researcher manage potential exploitation during the research process while acknowledging that children are best placed to provide insights into their lived experiences (Greene & Hogan 2005, Sakamoto & Pitner 2005).

This study was designed to uncover the lived experiences of children by employing child-focused research methods that offered choice and participation during all stages of the research process. Twenty-five street-involved children between 11 and 18 years of age, registered as Children in Need of Special Protection by Bahay Tuluyan, self-selected into the

study. A range of child-focused qualitative data collection methods in which children could choose to participate, based on their interests and capacities, were sequenced over several months (Darbyshire, MacDougall et al. 2005). This included a “talk and draw” art activity, a “child-led tour” of the child’s local environment and semi-structured interviews (Crump & Phipps 2013). In order to overcome language comprehension issues, a trained interpreter accompanied the researcher throughout the data collection activities.

The study was only possible due to a close relationship between the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan addressed the complex ethical challenges the study was likely to encounter. A Local Advisory Group, whose membership included social workers and Youth Facilitators, supported the project to ensure cultural and contextual relevance. Recordings of discussions with the children were transcribed by a Tagalog-speaking transcriber and underwent a process of narrative and thematic analysis in which key themes were identified and analysed. The research findings were disseminated to the child participants and Bahay Tuluyan utilised (anonymised) findings for further service development.

This chapter will outline the methodology and research design for this research project and is organised in the following sections. After this introduction, Section 3.2 outlines the research aims and guiding questions. Section 3.3 then goes on to describe the research methodology, including the foundations of anti-oppressive and child-focused research. Ethical issues, including child assent, confidentiality, and the required approval processes, are described in Section 3.4. The multiple qualitative methods that facilitated the child-led process of data collection and the mechanisms by which cultural and contextual sensitivity were addressed are then discussed in Section 3.5. Cultural considerations, including the role of the interpreter and transcriber is discussed in Section 3.6. In Section 3.7, the analysis of the interview data is summarised, and the dissemination of the study findings is discussed in Section 3.8. In Section 3.9 the challenges encountered during the research are articulated. The chapter is summarised in Section 3.10.

Documents relating to the research process are attached to this thesis as appendices and are referenced throughout this chapter. Table 3.1 outlines appendix numbers and titles and specifies the languages in which the document was made available to study participants.

Table 3.1: Summary of Appendices

Appendix No.	Document Name and Languages Available
# 1	Child Assent Form. Available in English & Tagalog
# 2	Child Participant Information Sheet. Available in English & Tagalog
# 3	Guardian's Information Sheet
# 4	Bahay Tuluyan Memorandum of Understanding with the Researcher and Flinders University of South Australia (including Confidentiality, Privacy and Informed Consent Protocol)
# 5	Local Advisory Group Terms of Reference
# 6	Data Collection Protocol for Child Participants. Available in English & Tagalog
# 7	Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement Interpreter Confidentiality Agreement
#8	Systematic Review – Search Terms
#9	Systematic Review – list of university libraries contacted for hard copies of publications only available in hard copy in the Philippines
# 10	Systematic Review PRISMA Flow Chart
# 11	Memo 1 to the Ethics Committee
# 12	Memo 2 to the Ethics Committee

3.2 Aims and Objectives

The research design and methodology have been guided by the research question, which seeks to understand how Filipino street-involved children construct resilience in the context of their social ecology.

In order to meet the aims of the research, the researcher identified a number of secondary questions based on the two components of resilience: "adversity" and "doing well". As such, the secondary research questions asked:

How do street-involved children perceive "adversity"?

How do street-involved children perceive "doing well"?

The final question asked:

How do street-involved children navigate and negotiate individual, community and cultural resources in order to facilitate resilience in the context of their social ecology?

The research methodology devised to address this question is discussed in the following section of this chapter. This discussion will examine the use of anti-oppressive and child-focused research methods when researchers seek to understand the lived experience of study participants who come from marginalised population groups.

3.3 Methodology

This study is based on the phenomenological research design tradition, which seeks to understand the lived experience of people and the phenomena being investigated from the perspectives of the study participants (Groenewald 2004, Lewis 2015). Drawing on qualitative methods, the study aims to explore the phenomena by accepting the plurality of meaning people ascribe to experiences that are important to them (Vaismoradi, Turunen et al. 2013). When seeking to understand resilience, Ungar (2003) suggests that qualitative research methods offer advantages in uncovering the complex processes that affect the lives of children. This study employed qualitative methods as they have been observed to be well suited to understanding cultural and contextually specific conceptions of resilience (Bautista 2000).

3.3.1 Anti-Oppressive Research

The epistemological basis of this study is post-positivist, acknowledging the non-neutrality of knowledge generation (Ryan 2006). Positivist research methods seek to investigate factual happenings via methods that are independent from the researcher. Often based on quantitative research methods, positivist research assumes the world is based on laws of causation that can be understood via processes of reduction. This study is post-positivist, acknowledging the relationships between the researcher and participants, with the motivation and commitment of the researcher being central to the research process. This approach seeks to understand lived experience by drawing on a range of research methods that uncover the complex lives of

human beings (Ryan 2006). Post-positivist research has been undertaken in both Majority and Minority world contexts and across a range of disciplines. The post-positivist approach is closely aligned with critical theory, and postmodern and feminist critiques that locate research within the social-political context and challenge the privileging of quantifiable data (Agger 1991, Habermas 1992).

This study is based on the notion that research that is rich with the voices and experiences of marginalised groups has the potential to challenge accepted policies and contribute towards social change (Maschi 2016). In the Philippines, street-involved children and their families face extreme marginalisation and victimisation and are subject to oppressive and inadequate social policies (Espenido 2018). The goal of anti-oppressive research is to contribute towards an evidence base that informs advocacy activities by challenging marginalisation and oppression (Strier 2006). Anti-oppressive research recognises that research with oppressed peoples can inadvertently replicate patterns of inequality and discrimination during the research process (Dalrymple & Burke 2006, Rogers 2012).

In this, anti-oppressive research diverges from more traditional research methods in that it challenges the expert status of the researcher as distinguished from the subject (Maschi 2016). Anti-oppressive research enables the participation of research participants, encouraging them to engage in research processes that generate new knowledge (Bryant 2016). When researching with children, anti-oppressive research involves working from a human rights approach that recognises that children are rights holders and therefore should be considered experts who are best placed to provide insights into their lived experiences (Greene & Hogan 2005). Researching in this way requires an examination of the power relationships between adults and children and a research design that addresses children's evolving capacities and provides opportunities for demonstrations of competence (Barker & Weller 2003).

3.3.2 Child-Focused Research

The research question that guided this study focused on issues that were pertinent to street-involved children and the study design sought to establish a process of mutual learning between the researcher and study participants. This study was planned in accordance with child-focused methodologies that seek to reduce the power discrepancy between the researcher and the child, and accommodate the varying capacities related to cognitive

development (Kirk 2007). Research activities were undertaken after a long relationship-building phase to establish trust with the children. In the Filipino resilience research, relationship building with study participants has been identified as critical when researching street-involved children (Bautista 2000). The children got to know the researcher and her family when they participated in activities at Bahay Tuluyan on community days, celebrations and events such as the Street Children's Congress. During these events the researcher and her family shared meals, participated in working bees and engaged in other community activities with the children. Engagement in these activities facilitated the development of relationships that were characterised by warmth, empathy and trust, which facilitated the co-construction of research knowledge. Working in this way required the researcher to plan strategies that built trust and allowed children to demonstrate their competence (Crump & Phipps 2013).

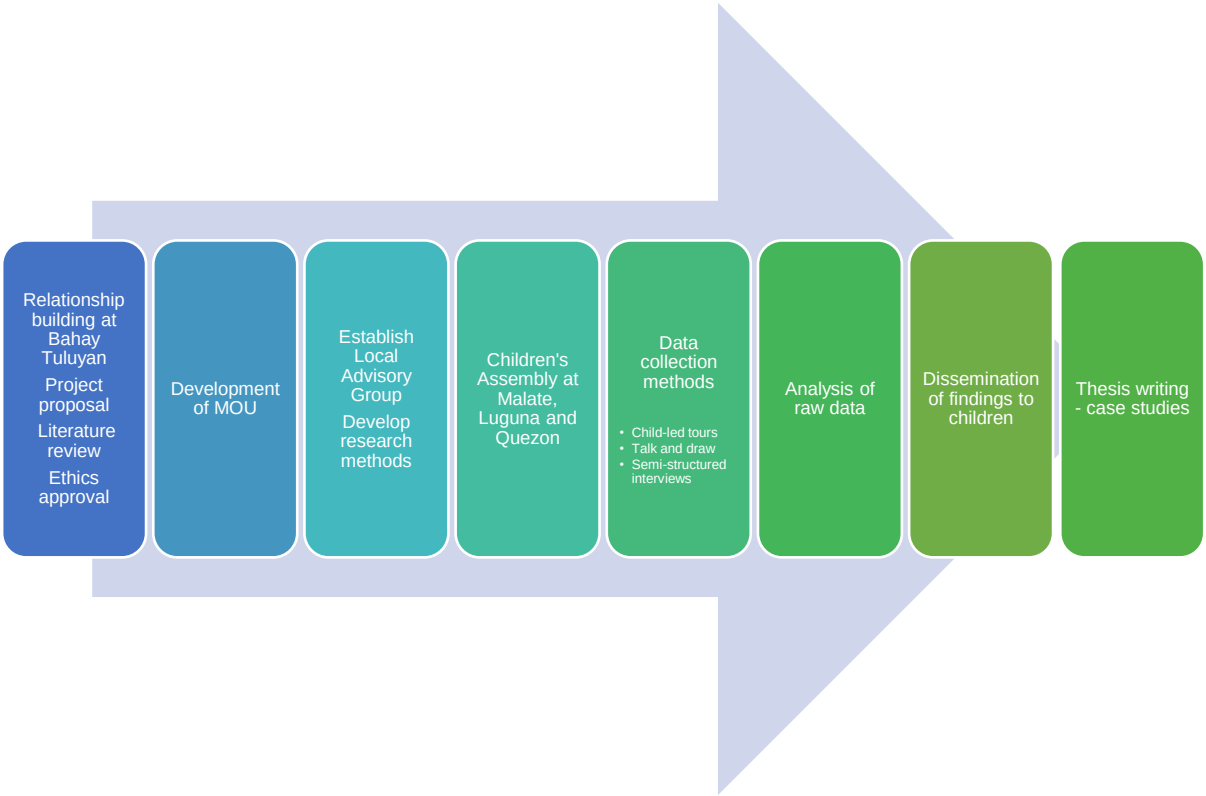


Figure 3.1: Research Sequence

Figure 3.1 illustrates the sequence of the research study. The study began with a long relationship-building phase at Bahay Tuluyan with children and staff that ran concurrently with preparation of the project proposal, systematic search and review of the literature and

the ethics approval process. The formalisation of the relationship with Bahay Tuluyan was documented in the MOU, which included agreed processes to establish informed consent, participant self-selection processes and criteria, and confidentiality protocols. At the Children's Assemblies children were informed about the research and were invited to self-select into the study. The children also had the opportunity to engage in a "talk and draw activity", which gave them the opportunity to articulate their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well". A range of data collection mechanisms was available to children. These included a child-led tour of their environment as well as a more private semi-structured interview, which took place at Bahay Tuluyan. The study findings were shared with the children and staff of Bahay Tuluyan who were able to provide feedback. Anonymised findings were made available to Bahay Tuluyan with the purpose of informing advocacy activities that aimed to improve the lives of street-involved children.

This project sought to differentiate itself from adult-centric research methods that replicated the unequal power relationships in adult-centred societies that position children as vulnerable, passive and incompetent (Kirk 2007). Adult-centred research has positioned children as research subjects who have been investigated as part of families, schools and communities through the lenses of their adult caretakers. The "missing child" has been observed in research traditions where children are researched as subjects to be investigated rather than contributors who are recognised as key informants on their own lives (Darbyshire, MacDougall et al. 2005). Adult-centric research methods are based on the assumption that children are incapable, and in a state of incomplete maturity (Woodhead 2015). In this approach, children are considered unable to understand their world and lacking the skills to conceptualise and verbalise their experiences (Darbyshire, MacDougall et al. 2005). Based on concepts of developmental psychology and universal stages of child development, childhood is a period of life in which the child is considered incompetent and in a period of incomplete development (Boyden 2003). The consequence of this conception of childhood in research is that children have been considered to be unable to provide insights into their lives and their experiences have been considered invalid. As a result, traditional research methods have privileged the views of adults and have failed to reflect the lived experiences of children.

The new sociology of childhood challenged this understanding as sociologists began to examine the "category" of childhood. Sociologists determined that childhood is a non-homogenous construct positioned in opposition to adulthood but one that is diverse in

different cultures and contexts and with differences in race, gender, disability and chronological age (James & Prout 2015). For the researcher, understanding childhood in this way means recognising the cultures of childhood and accepting that childhood is socially constructed (Harden et al. 2000). This suggests the need to design research methods that position children as experts in their lives, but that also take account of children's evolving capacities. Research with children in adult-centred societies is further complicated by (often legitimate) adult concerns about exploitation of children in the research process. For this reason, participation by children in research is often dependent on permission by adult gatekeepers.

The research method employed for this thesis was designed to address the research questions by privileging children's own voices. Researchers who are interested in child-centred approaches must use appropriate means to elicit good quality information from children while simultaneously protecting them from processes that fail to respect their ideas, exploit them, or ignore their right to privacy (Kirk 2007). Furthermore, children who are considered highly marginalised, and in special need of protection, such as street-involved children, can be harder to access and build rapport with, and therefore may be overlooked in mainstream research. Researchers who wish to understand the lived experiences of marginalised children must plan their research methods to minimise power discrepancies and address the methodological challenges of researching with this hard-to-reach group.

The research question that has guided this study focuses on issues that are pertinent to street-involved children and the study design sought to establish a process of mutual learning between the researcher and study participants. However, child-centred researchers face the dual challenge of enabling children to express their views about their lives, as well as understanding those views that they choose to express (Spyrou 2011). Discussed in further detail in Section 6.4, efforts to uncover the "authentic" voice may inadvertently assume a singular viewpoint for all children, or else overlook the diverse beliefs that individual children may choose to share about their circumstances at a point in time (Eldén 2013, Komulainen 2007, Spyrou 2011). Spyrou (2011) cautions that qualitative research with children tends to privilege the spoken word, overlooking the meaning of silences and those questions children choose not to answer. Skattebol, Redmond and Zizzo (2017) also observe this when they draw attention to the complex lives of children and suggest that in research it is not always clear if children's actions and decisions are reflexive, instinctive or collectively

made. To address these challenges this research project provided multiple data collection opportunities for child participants that took account of non-verbal communication and provided varied mediums for children to express themselves. These methods were planned with the intention of enabling multiple and deep insights into the complexities of children's experiences and beliefs about their lives (Eldén 2013). The next section discusses the special considerations that researchers have taken into account when conducting research with street-involved children.

3.3.3 Research with Street-Involved Children

Researching the lives of street-involved children is methodologically and ethically complex. Street-involved children experience the power differentials experienced by all children in adult-centred societies, but these are further intensified due to their exclusion from social, economic and political participation, and due to assumptions by many in mainstream society about their criminality and deviance (Young & Barrett 2001). Street-involved children's lives are complex and non-homogeneous, requiring researchers to understand a broad range of circumstances and experiences associated with street life (Berckmans, Velasco et al. 2012). Researching within an anti-oppression framework requires that the researcher adopt methods of inquiry that account for the complex ethical terrain inherent in any child-centred research and also respond to the unique experiences of street-involved children.

Furthermore, researchers face the difficult task of building relationships of trust with street-involved children who are highly mobile and difficult to find (Young & Barrett 2001, p. 384). Researchers may be seen by street-involved children as representing authority figures. Given that street-involved children are often in conflict with authorities, this can create further difficulties in building relationships. Researchers have observed that street-involved children often create elaborate subcultures in order to survive and thrive in the context of the streets (Beazley 2002, Beazley 2003, Davies 2008, Hills, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2016). These subcultures can seem impenetrable to researchers, who may be denied entry into street-involved children's lives. As a result, this population group is under-researched. There is therefore an incomplete evidence base concerning their lived experience (Bemak 1996). This incomplete evidence base means that policies and programs that aim to improve the lives of street-involved children are often based on good intentions rather than robust evidence (Berckmans, Velasco et al. 2012).

This study was designed to engage with street-involved children in order to obtain rich insight into their lives. The researcher was assisted by Bahay Tuluyan, a service with a 30-year history of working with children in Manila. The researcher attended the Children's Assemblies during which children were invited to self-select into the study, with their interest triggering a robust process of informed consent that was supported by the social workers at Bahay Tuluyan.

A variety of mechanisms were used throughout the data collection process to attempt to address the researcher–child power imbalance. The research was designed to enable child-led data collection activities that were flexibly delivered and paid attention to the interests and evolving capacities of the children (Lansdown 2005). The children were invited to participate in a variety of data collection activities based on their interests, including "talk and draw" activities, "walk and talk" activities, and semi-structured interviews. Several young people did not want to undertake the "walk and talk" activities, as they did not wish to be seen on the streets with a researcher. This was particularly the case for young people who were involved in gang activity, for which the streets are divided into territories, which they must observe. Several participants who were gang members chose not to undertake the tour as they felt it would put the researcher at risk to walk the streets with them.

In the semi-structured interviews, some children chose not to discuss topics that were sensitive or caused them emotional distress. In these instances, the researcher relied on the child's assessment and respected their status as the expert in their own life. The researcher took care to ensure that she dressed in a way that did not draw attention to her. During the child-led tours the child participant held the recording device and led the researcher through their environment. The frequency and duration of the meetings were determined by the child, with the researcher taking care to observe the child's verbal and non-verbal cues for tiredness, distress or boredom.

From the outset, the researcher entered the child's social ecology as a novice student who made clear her willingness to learn about his or her life. The data collection protocol (Appendix 6) guided the meetings with children. The researcher relied on the child participant for their interpretation of protective factors in their culture and context. This included when children talked about illegal activities or actions by which children transgressed social or cultural norms in the Filipino context. In most instances, the researcher adopted a non-judgemental, pleasant disposition, joking when appropriate and using play. For

example, prior to data collection the researcher would play ball with the children. In some instances, the researcher used the Wii in the drop-in centre. After data collection, the researcher would eat with the children. At times, the researcher's own children would attend the centre and play with the children at the centre.

3.3.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is necessary for the researcher to manage the ethical and methodologically complex challenges of studying street-involved children (Young & Barrett 2001). Reflexivity can enable the researcher to address the "culture gaps" between the child participant and the adult researcher, and to reflect on their own assumptions and how they might influence their research. This research design included reflexivity strategies that recognised the researcher is not an objective, politically neutral observer who stands outside and above the study (Denzin 2002).

In this study, the researcher kept a journal that accompanied the data collection process. This journal examined motivations, assumptions and interests in street-involved children. The researcher reflected on her position as an outsider, and on her historical, cultural status, and how this might impact on the research (Denzin 2002). The journal documented the process by which the researcher uncovered assumptions about the capacities of children and how her own cultural and social position influenced the study findings.

The journal also provided a mechanism for considering dilemmas that the researcher confronted during the process of data collection (Finlay 2002). The journal included reflections on the resilience literature in relation to patterns and themes arising from the fieldwork. It also reflected on conversations with the interpreter after each data collection meeting with a child regarding issues and concepts specific to Filipino culture.

The reflexive process employed during this study is discussed in detail in the prologue to this thesis. Sections of the journal were extracted and used as a basis for the prologue, which was completed at the last stage of thesis writing.

3.3.5 The Role of the Researcher

This study acknowledges that the relationship between the researcher and participant is central in knowledge generation. The post-positivist epistemological basis of this study

required that the researcher locate herself within the research process and acknowledge her own impact on the study findings. Reflexive activities undertaken during the research process included the examination of the power dynamics between the adult researcher and child participants including differentials between their social, economic and political status as well as education and access to resources (Mayall 2000, Morrow 2008, Graham, R. et al. 2013). These reflections are documented in the prologue to this thesis.

In an effort to reduce the power differential between the child participant and adult researcher, the research design was devised to afford children with maximum power within the study process (Graham et al. 2013). The relationship between the child participants and the researcher was central to the research design and method. Prior to the study commencement, the researcher and her family built a strong relationship with Bahay Tuluyan by regularly engaging in volunteer work over several years. This relationship enabled the development of trust between the researcher and the agency, which acted as gatekeeper and guardian to the child participants. In addition, the researcher's frequent attendance at Bahay Tuluyan meant that she blended into the environment without attracting undue attention from the children and community. This relationship reduced barriers between the child and the researcher and facilitated participation by child participants who were familiar with the researcher and her family.

Research and programming with street-involved children involves acknowledging children as rights holders and undertaking activities in a way that demonstrates respect for children as individuals (O'Kane 2003). Upholding the rights of street-involved children requires that the researcher acknowledge the specific challenges street-involved children face in realising their rights, including being subject to oppressive government policy and persecution (UN 2017). All Bahay Tuluyan services and programs are based on the child-to-child approach which recognises children as citizens who can competently contribute to solving problems in their community (Gibbs, Mann & Nathers 2017). The child-to-child approach is operationalised when Bahay Tuluyan staff talk with groups of street-involved children about their lives and their day-to-day experiences of injustice. These conversations take place at the frequently held Children's Assemblies where children learn about the UNCRC and their basic human rights. Within this context children are encouraged to select issues which they would like to address, take action on and create change. Children decide on advocacy activities and participate in campaigns, seminars and public meetings where they are supported to take a

lead role in advocating for themselves. These activities target duty bearers who have influence over the lives of street-involved children. For example, Bahay Tuluyan frequently holds meetings and seminars with police and other public officials who frequently interact with children in the street environment. These meetings provide the opportunity for children to speak to powerful adults about their experiences of injustice and, in doing so, initiate change.

During this study the researcher behaved in a way that was congruent with the child-to-child approach including privileging the voices and experiences of children and recognising their capacity for problem solving in their communities (Gibbs et al. 2017). Working in this way required that the researcher was sensitive to the views and perspectives of children and that all research activities were planned to address the power imbalances in adult–child relationships (Lansdown 2009). These included ensuring that children were able to choose to participate in data collection and determine the extent of their involvement in the project. For example, children were given the choice to engage in a child-led tour and/or art activities. Times and dates for meetings with the researcher were at the discretion of the child participants. The child-led tours provided children with the opportunity to "lead", with the researcher taking on the role of "learner" rather than an expert. At the conclusion of the study, the researcher also shared the themes that emerged from the study findings with the children, thus demonstrating respect for children's participation and contribution to knowledge generation (Maschi 2016).

During all data collection activities, the researcher aimed to be sensitive to the child's mood and emotional state. The researcher took care to avoid situations where children became distressed during the research process and was alert for verbal and non-verbal signals of dissent. In several meetings with children, the researcher halted the interview, as it appeared that the child was becoming distressed. After each contact with children, Bahay Tuluyan social workers were on hand to provide emotional support if requested by the child.

3.3.6 Research Site

This study was based at Bahay Tuluyan, a child's rights service based in Manila, Philippines. Bahay Tuluyan's mission is to prevent and respond to the abuse and exploitation of children through the delivery of child-centred programs and services at the grassroots level. Bahay Tuluyan works in collaboration with local and international partners for social development

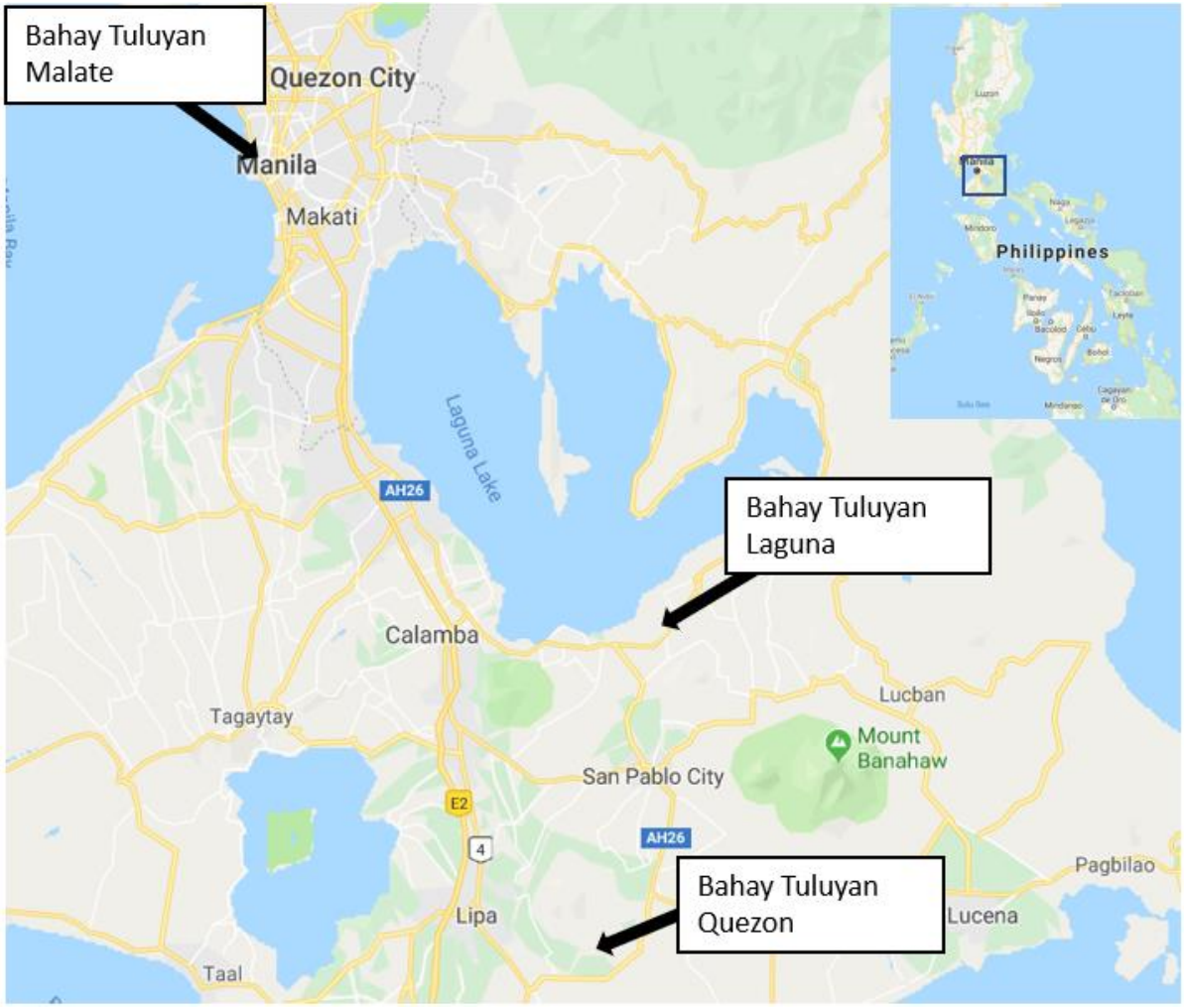
and change. Throughout all programs, Bahay Tuluyan seeks maximum children's participation and positions the best interests of the child as being paramount. The UNCRC is the overarching framework for all program activities. Based on the Child-to-Child Approach, young people are engaged in solving social problems via engaging in community action and advocacy activities. The model addresses the power relationships between children and adults in society and establishes a way of working that enables children to communicate their views, develop ideas, make decisions and take collective action (Kirby & Gibbs 2006). The Child-to-Child Approach originated as a health promotion tool and is now widely used around the world (Kirby & Gibbs 2006). The Child-to-Child Approach has been evaluated and found to be an effective method of empowering children and young people to take collective action with regard to issues that concern them (Kirby, Lanyon et al. 2003).

At Bahay Tuluyan, children are encouraged to identify issues of injustice that concern them and engage in advocacy and research activities that target duty-bearers who have influence over the community in the children live. For example, in 2004 in response experiences of rescue in which children are involuntarily removed from the streets of Manila and placed in detention, a group of young people formed a group entitled Pinag Isang Lakas ng Kabataan (PILAK) which means "United Strength of Youth" and decided to adopt the issue of rescue for its advocay campaign. Supported by volunteers at Bahay Tuluyan, the group undertook a study entitled "Sagip or Huli? Indiscriminate Rescue of Street Children in the City of Manila in December 2007 to January 2008." The results of this study were compiled into a report and resulted in changes to the policy of rescue and the introduction of new protocols for Police and public officials in the delivery of rescue operations. Changes to these protocol included the introduction of social workers who are required to liaise with families and child welfare organisations.

Bahay Tuluyan provides services to over 400 children per month across its three sites.

Figure 3.2 shows the geographical location of the three sites. Malate is located in metropolitan Manila, running alongside Manila Bay and the major tourist and red-light district of old Manila. The site is close to Tondo, one of the most densely populated areas of Manila that is dominated by urban slums. Many of the children who access this site come from families who live in temporary dwellings along the Pasig River. The Malate site offers emergency and residential shelters, and a drop-in centre that offers children a safe place to shower, eat, rest and play. The site also offers children bridging and formal education

programs, including a mobile unit that offers protective behaviour education and basic numeracy and literacy programs to children on the streets. Youth Leadership and Education is a program that trains children in child rights and then enables them to become Youth Facilitators, who teach other children their rights as part of the mobile unit. The service also offers social enterprise activities including the Makabata Guest House as a pathway towards



employment. Most children access Bahay Tuluyan at this site and are then referred to other sites as appropriate.

Figure 3.2: Map of Research Sites on the Island of Luzon, Philippines

The Laguna site is located about 100 kilometres from metropolitan Manila on the main highway and is accessible by car and public bus. The site was previously a children's home owned and operated by the Japanese government. Since assuming ownership in the early 2000s, Bahay Tuluyan has transformed the site into a working farm with small homes for the

children dispersed across the site. The site is located beside a small town, which includes a school, church and medical centre which the children access. This site is used for sibling groups, both boys and girls, who reside together with a house parent allocated for their care. The site also includes facilities for the children's families to stay with them for short periods.

The Quezon site is located about 200 kilometres from metropolitan Manila and is accessible by car and public bus. The site is isolated, several kilometres away from a small town that includes a school and church. This site operates as a fully functioning farm, producing rice and meat for the other Bahay Tuluyan sites. It provides long-term accommodation for young men; those who wish to remove themselves from Manila due to gang-related activity. The young men move here to learn farming skills and attend the local school. The site is set up with small group homes dotted throughout a farm that grows rice and breeds farm animals. Data collection occurred in and around all three Bahay Tuluyan sites, based on where the children who participated in the study resided.

Bahay Tuluyan has participated in numerous studies over its 30-year history, including the earliest Filipino resilience studies by Banaag (1997) and Caparas (1998). These studies and others take a child rights approach and focus on issues identified by children as problems they experience in their lives. In 2006 Bahay Tuluyan undertook a study entitled "Youth Pimps of Malate", which examined the experiences of six youth pimps and their pathways towards child exploitation. In 2014 they published *Sagip or huli? Rescue of street children in Caloocan, Manila, Pasay and Quezon Cities* (Bahay Tuluyan 2014). This study investigated the policy of rescue, finding that the removal of children from the street environment is indiscriminate, involuntary and ineffective in relieving problems faced by children and their families. Recent examples of participatory action research include a partnership with UNICEF in 2017 in which Youth Facilitators mapped children's services in Metro Manila, which was made available to service providers in the Philippines. Bahay Tuluyan also leads the Child Safe initiative in the Philippines, working with the Department of Tourism to reduce child exploitation in the tourism industry.

As noted above, the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan negotiated and signed an MOU prior to data collection activities. The process of development of the MOU included multiple meetings with social workers, management and the researcher where the terms of the agreement were brainstormed and problem solved. This included a process of identification of possible physical, psychological and ethical risks, and planning of mitigation strategies.

Ethical issues discussed and agreed included managing the possible perceptions of coercion to participate by child participants, developing a robust informed consent process and agreements regarding conditional confidentiality. Conflict resolution and problem-solving mechanisms were also agreed. Legal experts at Flinders University examined the MOU. At the conclusion of the negotiation the researcher and the Bahay Tuluyan Executive Leader signed the document. A copy of the MOU is attached to this thesis as Appendix 4.

3.3.7 Local Advisory Group

Bahay Tuluyan assisted the researcher in establishing a Local Advisory Group. Group members included Youth Facilitators who were previously street-involved children but who were now delivering child rights training on the streets of Manila to other street-involved children. Other members of the Local Advisory Group included social workers at Bahay Tuluyan and the Executive Director.

The Terms of Reference detailed the role of the group in providing local knowledge and support to the project. The Terms of Reference detailed the aims and objectives of the group as well as decision-making protocols. This group guided the development of the interview protocols and oversaw the testing of possible questions. The group also acted as a point of coordination for planning the logistics of data collection.

In total, the Local Advisory Group met on six occasions, at each phase of the study. The Local Advisory Group provided advice regarding the development of the interview protocol including the translation of key terms children were likely to discuss in data collection. The Local Advisory Group also supported the presentations about the study at the Children's Assemblies as part of the informed consent process. As the study progressed, the group also provided an interpretation of themes emerging in the study and provided cultural and contextual knowledge. The Local Advisory Group also provided a key point of contact for the coordination of the study and the support of child participants during and after data collection. The terms of reference of the Local Advisory Group is attached to this thesis as Appendix 5.

3.3.8 Participants

The UNCRC defines a child as a human being who is below the age of 18 years, unless otherwise stated by the country in which the child lives. This study involved child

participants who were aged 11–18 years and were registered as Children in Need of Special Protection under the care of Bahay Tuluyan. The Philippines Republic Act 7610 section 2 defines Children in Need of Special Protection as children "below eighteen (18) years of age or those over but are unable to fully take care of themselves or protect themselves from abuse, neglect, cruelty, exploitation or discrimination because of physical or mental disability or condition". Bahay Tuluyan is licensed and accredited by the Philippines Department of Social Welfare and Development to provide care and protection to such children. All participants who participated in this study were registered as being under the care and protection of Bahay Tuluyan. All participants had an allocated social worker and were case managed with a current assessment and case plan.

As there is no electronic client data reporting available at Bahay Tuluyan, management and the Local Advisory Group provided information about the client group who access services in preparation for this study. Children who access Bahay Tuluyan primarily come from Metro Manila, living in streets surrounding the Malate site, including Tondo, Manila Bay and the Smoky Mountain rubbish dump. Children often learn of Bahay Tuluyan via the Mobile Unit Street Education Program which travels the nearby streets and teaches children about their rights. Street-involved children are encouraged by social workers and youth facilitators staffing the mobile unit to access the nearby drop-in centre where they are provided with food, shelter, hygiene facilities, and are referred to other services at Bahay Tuluyan including the services at the Laguna and Quezon sites. This information is supported by the child participants in this study, of whom 24 of the 25 who participated described accessing Bahay Tuluyan via the Malate site in Metro Manila. Children described learning about Bahay Tuluyan via the mobile education unit or by accessing the drop-in centre for food or safety.

Children who access Bahay Tuluyan are between the ages of 5 to 18 years, although during this study staff told the researcher that children of all ages, including babies, have received services. Staff also advised that roughly even numbers of boys and girls frequent Bahay Tuluyan. They primarily identify as Roman Catholics, although a small number are Muslim. Many children are multilingual with their first language being Tagalog but often speaking English in addition to another language spoken by their parents and relatives from the province from which they originate. Children who access Bahay Tuluyan come from a variety of living conditions including living on the streets alone, with other children, or living in temporary dwellings with their families in nearby high-density urban areas. In most

instances, children present to the service with complex needs including not having access to school and medical services as well as experiencing abuse or violence at the hands of their parents or other relatives. Children are often engaged in formal or informal work including shoe shining and selling food. In some instances, they are also involved in illegal income generation including begging, drug dealing or engagement in petty crime either alone or as part of a gang.

Although comprehensive data regarding street-involved children in Manila is notoriously unreliable, this thesis suggests that the client group who access Bahay Tuluyan is broadly comparable to what is known about the broader population of street-involved children (UNICEF 2004). UNICEF (2004) estimates that most street-involved children in the Philippines are between the ages of 6 to 17 years, with approximately one in four having never been to school. Children are likely to have migrated from rural areas with their families, moving to urban areas that are highly populated with few services and amenities. Pomm (2005) suggests that street-involved children in Manila are primarily male, with up to 70% being boys, with girls likely to be less visible and more often engaged in domestic labour in the home. Bahay Tuluyan on the other hand advised that roughly an even number of boys and girls access their services.

Many of the children who access Bahay Tuluyan undertake formal and informal work to support themselves and their families. This is consistent with UNICEF's (2004) report that the majority of street-involved children earn an income for themselves or their families by whatever means they are able including car washing, vending and domestic work. Like the children in this study, UNICEF (2004) suggests that street-involved children are vulnerable to gang membership and drug-related activity as well as exploitation by unscrupulous adults. Researchers have ascertained that street-involved children often face significant adversities including being subject to abuse, violence at the hands of family members and public officials, and involvement with criminal justice (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista 2000, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Bautista & Rolder 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017).

This study acknowledges that street-involved children who reside at Bahay Tuluyan demonstrate varying levels of maturity and competency. The broad age range of the child participants in this study suggested the need to pay attention to the concept of "evolving capacities" referred to in Article 5 of the UNCRC, which stipulates that guidance provided by

parents or guardians must consider the capacities of the child to exercise rights on their own behalf. As such, children were invited to self-select into the study at the Children's Assemblies. Children's Assemblies are a regular occurrence at Bahay Tuluyan during which children participate in decision making about the services that Bahay Tuluyan provides, and their advocacy activities. The researcher attended a Children's Assembly at each Bahay Tuluyan site, several weeks before data collection was due to begin. At the Children's Assembly the researcher provided the following information:

- study aims,
- participant selection criteria (age, care and protection under Bahay Tuluyan),
- voluntary participation,
- study risks and benefits,
- process of informed consent and
- confidentiality and anonymity provisions.

Children were invited to participate in a "talk and draw" activity in order to facilitate conversations about resilience. Children were then invited to register their interest in participating by speaking with their social worker after the meeting.

The National Ethical Guidelines for Health Research in the Philippines specify that child participants must be assessed for competency prior to participation in a research study to ensure informed consent can be provided. In accordance with this requirement, the Bahay Tuluyan Management Committee considered each child in relation to the participant selection criteria after they had registered their interest in participating in the study during the Children's Assembly.

The selection criteria for participation were devised between the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan and documented in the MOU (Appendix 4). Criteria for participation included a willingness to participate in the research, including meeting with the researcher and translator at Bahay Tuluyan. Children in the study could participate if they were aged between 11 and 18 years, and were assessed as having the capacity to communicate, ask questions, and make an informed independent choice after assessing possible risks and benefits of participation. Children who participated had to be under the care of Bahay Tuluyan and reside in sheltered accommodation at the Malate, Laguna or Quezon sites, with an allocated social worker. Children were deemed suitable if they had enough time to participate in the study without

detracting from other activities such as education and life skill program involvement. It was also deemed important that children were relatively recovered from psychological, emotional or physical trauma, to ensure participating in the study did not exacerbate residual trauma. All children who registered their interest in participating at the Children's Assembly were deemed to meet the selection criteria. Initially twenty children were interested in participating; however another five asked to participate as the research progressed. An important component of the study process included the opportunity for children to be informed of the study findings.

One year after data collection, the study findings were presented to the Local Advisory Group for discussion of and feedback about the key themes. Six children could be reached, and these were provided with the key themes from the study findings. The children who could not be reached at the time of the delivery of the study findings had returned to the care of their parents or had left the care of Bahay Tuluyan. A summary of the complete thesis will be made available to Bahay Tuluyan to share with participants if and when they access Bahay Tuluyan at a future time.

The children's experience of the research process is summarised in Figure 3.3. The figure documents the child participant learning about the study at the Children's Assembly. The child was then able to self-select into the study and participated in a "talk and draw" activity regarding "adversity" and what it means to "do well" as an introduction to the concept of resilience. The child was then given the opportunity to meet with their social worker and confirm their willingness to participate and address any perceptions of coercion. After this, the child was introduced to the researcher and viewed the Assent Form. The child was then given the opportunity, if they wished, to undertake a child-led tour and semi-structured interview, after which they were offered a "debrief" from their social worker. One year after the data collection children who could be contacted had the opportunity to learn about the study themes and findings.

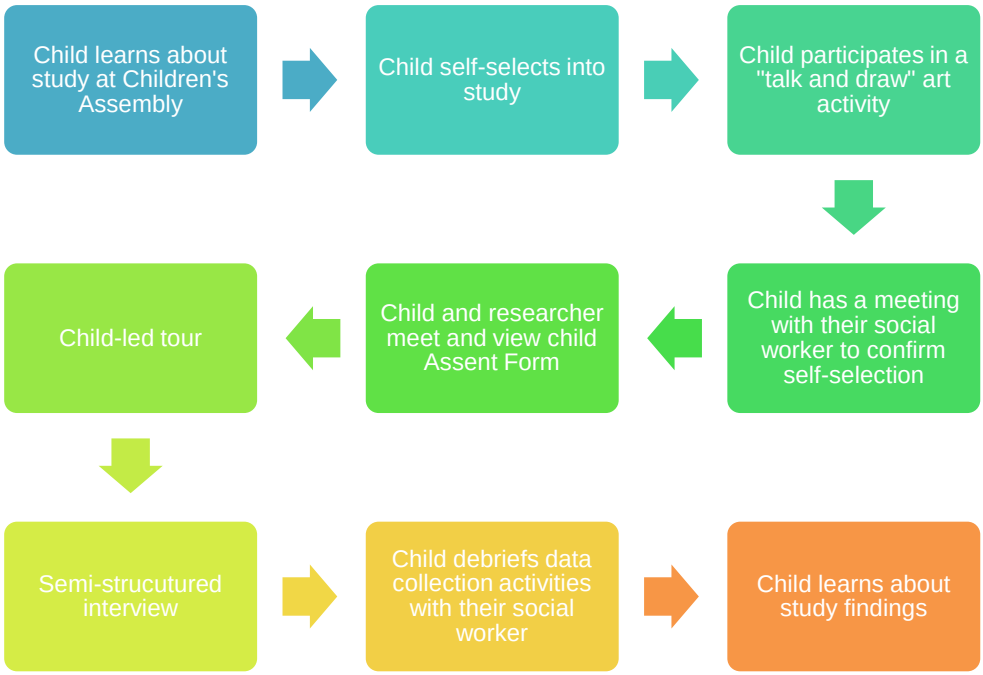


Figure 3.3: Child Participants' Experience of the Research Process

3.3.8.1 Summary of Children who Participated in the Study.

Twenty-five children participated in the study across the three locations of Bahay Tuluyan. Table 3.2 summarises the characteristics of the child participants and their engagement in the data collection activities.

Table 3.2: Summary of Children Who Participated in the Study

No.	Alias	Location	Age	Gender	Draw & talk	Child-led tour	Semi-structured interview
1	Angelica	Laguna	13	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Miguel	Laguna	11	Female	No	Yes	Yes
3	Mary Anne	Laguna	12	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	Joan	Laguna	12	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Nicole	Laguna	13	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Lyn	Laguna	12	Female	No	No	Yes
7	Reylin	Malate	14	Female	No	No	Yes

8	Gabriel	Malate	17	Male	No	No	Yes
9	Jose	Malate	13	Female	No	No	No
10.	Jasmine	Malate	13	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes
11	Kyla	Malate	17	Female	No	No	Yes
12.	Daniel	Malate	12	Male	No	No	Yes
13	Alfredo	Malate	15	Male	Yes	No	Yes
14	Dianne	Malate	15	Female	No	No	Yes
15	Jessance	Malate	14	Female	No	No	Yes
16	Joe	Malate	16	Female	No	No	Yes
17	Charles	Quezon	16	Male	No	No	Yes
18	Joyce	Quezon	15	Male	No	No	Yes
19	Jezz	Quezon	16	Male	No	No	Yes
20	Justine	Quezon	17	Male	Yes	Yes	Yes
21	Marcos	Quezon	17	Male	No	Yes	Yes
22	Jonus	Quezon	17	Male	No	Yes	Yes
23	Joshua	Quezon	17	Male	No	Yes	Yes
24	Bong	Quezon	17	Male	No	Yes	Yes
25	Andreas	Quezon	17	Male	No	Yes	Yes

Table 3.2 provides a summary of all participants who took part in the study including their alias which will be used to refer to them in this thesis. The table also indicates the Bahay Tuluyan site at which they resided, their age, gender, and the data collection activities in which they participated.

The table suggests that the mean age of the children who participated in the study was 15 years. At the time of data collection, six of the children resided at the Laguna, ten at Malate, and nine at the Quezon sites of Bahay Tuluyan. Thirteen children were female and twelve were male. Of note, the gender breakdown of the study was influenced by the locations of the Bahay Tuluyan services which served as the research sites. The Laguna site is reserved for female children or sibling groups of young children, while the Quezon site is reserved for older boys who go there to undertake a farm traineeship. The Malate site, located in Metro Manila, offers accommodation for both boys and girls and includes an outreach service including a drop-in centre, mobile school, and traineeships in hospitality at the Makabarta Guest House. These issues were discussed in Section 3.3.6 of this thesis, which presented the implications for the study of the research sites.

As discussed in Section 3.3.2, in all data collection activities children were provided with maximum choice for participation. This table summarises their choices of data collection activities. Eight children participated in the "draw and talk" art activity in response to the researcher's questions, and twelve children participated in the child-led tour. All children participated in the semi-structured interview. The impact of children's choices in data collection is discussed further in this thesis in Section 3.9 "Methodological Challenges", which examines the implications for data analysis and the impact on the study's findings.

3.4 Ethics

In order to manage the ethical challenges likely to be encountered during this study, a comprehensive risk assessment and mitigation plan was devised by the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan prior to study commencement. This process was undertaken under the guidance of the Local Advisory Group and included identifying risks and benefits to the participants, the researcher and the service. This risk assessment informed the development of the MOU and the associated informed consent and confidentiality protocol (see Appendix 4).

The Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Committee approved the study in compliance with the Philippine National Health Research System Act enacted in 2013. Approval was granted on 30 August 2017 with an expiry date of 31 December 2021. On two occasions during the course of the study the committee was notified and approved of amendments to the research design as per the ethics application and approval.

- Approved 1 November 2017: Modification to the application requesting the use of "flash cards" that articulated four Tagalog concepts to aid in interpretation and knowledge translation.
- Approved 10 November 2017: Memorandum advising the committee that the researcher was obliged to break the confidentiality of two child participants due to perceived risk of imminent harm (Appendix 11 and 12).

3.4.1 Child Assent Process

It was important that this study mitigated perceptions of coercion and, as such, a robust assent process was devised that ensured children's express agreement to participate in the research. Coercion was deemed a particular risk as these children are reliant on Bahay Tuluyan for their survival. As such, children were advised both verbally and in writing that participation

in the research was voluntary, and that if they chose not to participate, they would not be penalised in any way. Children were presented with verbal and written information on several occasions that was sequenced to enable time for consideration.

In child-focused research methods, assent processes ensure the researcher obtains the express agreement of children to participate in the study, considering their age and understanding. An assent process recognises that, while children are unable to provide formal consent as they are under the age of 18 years, they are still able to understand the research aims, benefits and possible risks of participation. In this study, the assent process was carefully planned with multiple opportunities for children to receive information and ask questions. A Child Assent Form was developed by the Local Advisory Group and underwent a process of translation and back translation. In addition, Bahay Tuluyan acted as guardian to the child participants and provided written consent for participation. This was deemed necessary as the participants were children aged between 11 and 18 years who were under the care of Bahay Tuluyan, having been assessed by the Philippines Department of Social Welfare and Development as Children in Need of Special Protection.

In recognition that this was a vulnerable population group, multiple opportunities for information and questions were provided for children to learn about the project. The assent process began with the Children's Assemblies which took place in August 2017 at each of the Bahay Tuluyan sites at Malate, Laguna and Quezon. During these forums children learnt about the study and were provided with a Child Participant Information Sheet which they could take with them to enable further deliberation. Several children had questions and asked about when the study would begin and how they could register their interest. After the session, children were invited to self-select into the study by approaching their social worker.

During the Children's Assembles participants were provided with an opportunity to deepen their understanding of "adversity" and "doing well" in an art activity. At the conclusion of this activity children were invited to leave the drawing with the researcher if they were willing for it to be used as part of data collection. The researcher stated in English "Please place your drawings in this box if you are willing for them to be used in the study." This instruction was translated by the interpreter into Tagalog. Several children dissented from this process, taking their drawings with them, and not sharing them with the researcher. Other children brought their pictures with them to their subsequent meetings with the researcher.

Based on the selection criteria, a Bahay Tuluyan staff member approached each child with an invitation to participate several days after self-selection indicated at the Children's Assembly. A Child Participant Information Sheet was provided again to facilitate discussion, which the child could take away if required, thus enabling further deliberation and decision making (Appendix 2). The Child Participant Information Sheet introduced the researcher and included information about the project's aims, proposed benefits, a summary of the risks, and details of the confidentiality and privacy provisions in simple, jargon-free language in order to enable informed decision making by child participants. The Information Sheet was developed via a process of translation and back translation and was available in Tagalog and English. The Information Sheet invited the child to ask further questions and provided contact details to get further information. The drawings completed during the Children's Assembly by children who did not complete the Child Assent Form were not used in the study and were stored securely in line with the Data Management Plan.

The researcher, with assistance from the interpreter, went through the Child Assent Form (Appendix 1) with each child in detail, prior to data collection. The researcher and the interpreter undertook this activity at a location and time that suited the child. At the first meeting with the researcher, the Assent Form was read out loud by the interpreter to the child. The child was invited to ask questions and sign if they agreed to the terms. For the purposes of this study, all child participants aged between 11 and 18 years completed an Assent Form as recognition of children's competency as decision makers in their own lives. Figure 3.4 shows the interpreter reading through the Assent Form. In this case, the Assent Form was signed under a mango tree at the Laguna Bahay Tuluyan site.

Figure 3.4: Interpreter Reading Assent Form to Child

3.4.2 Confidentiality

The Republic of the Philippines Act no. 10173, the "Data Privacy Act of 2012", requires that consent of the data subject is obtained in a way that is freely given by the subject who is informed of the collection and processing of personal information relating to themselves. The Act stipulates that consent shall be evidenced by written, electronic or recorded means (Section 3b). The Act also requires compliance in and outside the Philippines if the information pertains to a Philippines resident (Section 6a). General data privacy principles include that data must be collected for specific purposes and that data recording should be accurate and relevant, and retained only as long as necessary (Section 11).

In order to manage the complex confidentiality and informed consent challenges associated with this study, a Confidentiality Protocol that augmented the MOU was developed (Appendix 4). This protocol addresses the challenges associated with undertaking qualitative research in a relatively small service with few participants. The protocol outlines steps taken to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of children within the confines of the project and in accordance with the Philippines Ethical Guidelines for Health Research. This protocol was submitted as part of the Flinders University ethical approval processes and was subsequently approved.

The protocol documents the following procedures:

- The process by which managers apply the selection criteria to the participant population will remain confidential.
- The process by which the verbal invitation for the children to participate in the study will be delivered by the Bahay Tuluyan staff member at a time that is private and allows for discrete discussion.
- Agreement on under what circumstances the child's confidentiality may need to be violated.
- Anonymity of children's data during the data collection process including de-identification of children's data via numbering systems and pseudonyms.
- Agreements regarding data retention and storage at Bahay Tuluyan.
- Details of the interpreter and transcriber confidentiality agreements.

The protocol also documented the management and storage of all hard copy and electronic files including security during transportation. Social workers were supported to understand and comply with the protocol in staff meetings and in day-to-day contact with the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan management.

The Child's Assent Form and Information Sheet include an explanation of the limits of confidentiality and anonymity provisions (Appendix 1 and 2). During the data transcription and analysis process all children were allocated a substitute name that was randomly selected from a publicly available list of popular names in the Philippines. Similarly, the emblematic case studies presented in this thesis do not use the real names of the children in order to protect their anonymity.

3.4.3 Ethical Challenges

The study of street-involved children has long been understood as ethically and methodologically complex, with such children living lives that are difficult for researchers to access (Young & Barrett 2001). Power differentials experienced by all children in adult-centred societies can be further exacerbated for street children who are often excluded from political participation due to their presumed deviancy and homeless status. Street children often occupy spaces reserved for economic activity and are considered "out of place" in the streetscape, suffering exploitation by adults and harassment by the police (Ennew & Swart-

Kruger 2003). Researching this population group requires that the researcher undertakes deliberate strategies in order to reduce the power discrepancy between the researcher and the street-involved child and manage any potential physical and psychological risks to the child. Researchers who investigate the experiences of street-involved children must think beyond traditional research methods that are not necessarily appropriate for this population group who often lead transient and complex lives (Bemak 1996). Ethical complexities when conducting research with street-involved children include addressing potential issues of coercion, establishing informed consent and observing confidentiality in children and young people whose safety is precarious.

In order to manage the complex ethical issues associated with this study, a MOU was MOU devised by the researcher and the Local Advisory Group. The MOU included a risk analysis and mitigation plan that identified, assessed and addressed potential ethical challenges to children, staff and bystanders present during the course of the research (Appendix 4). Risks and burdens identified included psychological and physical safety concerns. Bahay Tuluyan, the researcher and Flinders University attached this plan to the MOU that was signed prior to data collection. These documents also formed part of the ethics application and approval process. The risk analysis and mitigation plan was drawn on several times during data collection in order to guide the navigation of complex ethical issues that arose.

Negotiating access to children required a long relationship-building phase with Bahay Tuluyan to establish trust and a transparent working relationship. The development of the MOU and risk analysis and mitigation plan was time consuming for both the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan and required a significant input of resources. It was appreciated during the data collection phase, however, as it assisted the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan to work together in order to manage difficult issues that emerged.

A significant risk was the potential for children to feel coerced to participate, which would compromise the integrity of the research. In order to manage this, children were provided with multiple forms of verbal and written information about the study in English and Tagalog prior to participation. Children could self-select into the study, and after agreeing to participate had a one-on-one discussion with their social worker about the benefits and risks of participation. In the first introduction meeting with the researcher, children were provided with written information regarding voluntary participation and their ability to withdraw from

the study at any time via the Child Participant Information Sheet and the Assent Form (Appendix 1 and 2).

During this study, the researcher took steps to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the children within the confines of the project and in accordance with the Philippines Ethical Guidelines for Health Research. In planning this study, the researcher and the Local Advisory Group anticipated ethical challenges concerning maintaining confidentiality of children who are exposed to extreme danger in their daily lives. Prior to research commencement, a robust risk assessment was undertaken that included identifying mitigation strategies for this eventuality. The MOU provided a framework for the resolution of these dilemmas that stipulated the limitations of confidentiality and the priority of child safety over the research process. The Child Assent Form, discussed with the child at the beginning of the research process, also specified the limitations to confidentiality based on child safety concerns and risk of harm to the child.

As expected during the research process, complex confidentiality dilemmas emerged. Three children during their data collection activities made disclosures regarding ongoing exposure to circumstances of extreme violence, extra-judicial killings and engagement in illegal activities that presented imminent risk of harm to themselves or other children. One young man revealed that he sometimes used small children to help him transport drugs in and around Bahay Tuluyan. In another interview, a child revealed that she had been trafficked by her father and remains fearful of him. In another instance, a participant revealed that he had witnessed extra-judicial killings and he became distressed, leaving the interview prematurely. These disclosures suggested ongoing exposure of risk to the child and therefore required extra-ordinary management by the researcher, Bahay Tuluyan management and the study supervisors.

In response to these situations the stipulations in the Confidentiality Protocol that augmented the MOU provided a guide for the researcher's response that sought to prioritise the safety of the child over the research process. Abiding by the stipulations in the MOU meant breaking confidentiality and discussing disclosures of children with Bahay Tuluyan management and the study supervisor. The researcher advised the Director of Bahay Tuluyan who worked with allocated social workers with existing relationships with the children, in order to undertake a risk and safety planning process that addressed the physical and psychological safety of the child and other children at Bahay Tuluyan. Of note, these risks are familiar to the staff who

are skilled in working with children who live in high-risk situations. The risk assessment and safety planning process at Bahay Tuluyan includes working with the child to identify risks from their perspective, as well as protective factors that mitigate safety and wellbeing concerns.

In two instances, the researcher was required to break confidentiality of a child and inform her thesis supervisors and the Flinders University Social Behavioural Research Ethics Committee via a memorandum in November 2017. This memorandum is included in this thesis (Appendix 11).

Another challenge involved children wanting favours from the researcher. This included requests for transport to "the city", and requests for candy after the data collection meetings had ended. In child-centred research, providing incentives and rewards for participating research projects is a controversial issue (Fargas-Malet et al. 2011, Hill 2005). Some researchers argue that compensation is a recognition of time committed by the child and is an appropriate acknowledgement of their contribution to the research project (Fargas-Malet et al. 2011). Conversely, others suggest that payments of incentives and rewards have the potential to unduly influence study findings and pressure children to participate (Hill 2005). In research with street-involved children, additional ethical issues concern the extreme conditions of deprivation that characterise their lives, as well as a perceived threat of coercion when research is conducted at the site on which the child is dependent for survival (Young & Barrett 2001).

In this study, prior to commencement, the researcher, the management of Bahay Tuluyan and the Local Advisory Group discussed the issue of incentives for participation as part of the MOU negotiation process. Bahay Tuluyan management had the strong view that incentives such as a small cash payment or voucher to secure participation were potentially exploitative in the participant group who experience such extreme deprivation. The provision of such incentives may be perceived by children as coercive and put undue pressure on children to participate. Furthermore, the provision of gift vouchers to supermarkets or department stores would also be inappropriate when street-involved children are actively discouraged from entering shopping centres by police and security guards who are known to use violence against them. To mitigate this challenge, the Local Advisory Group suggested participants should be encouraged to access a meal, watch TV and play games with other children after participating in data collection. In addition, they advised that the data collection activities

should be planned to be a fun and engaging experience for children with opportunities for debriefing with their social worker afterwards.

During data collection there were two instances in which children asked for rewards for participation. In one instance, after her semi-structured interview Jasmine asked the researcher to drive her to "the city". As described in Section 4.3 of this thesis, Jasmine is well known for leaving Bahay Tuluyan for several days to visit her friends on the streets, which she had just described. In this conversation, Jasmine had told the researcher that, although the staff discourage her from "running away" from Bahay Tuluyan as it exposed her to danger, she wanted to visit her "like family" who remain on the streets. As such, the researcher smiled and laughed in response to her request, laughing with her about her intention in a light-hearted way. Jasmine also laughed and smiled, appearing to be aware that her request would not be supported by the researcher. In another instance, Reylin asked the researcher for candy at the end of her child-led tour. When the researcher indicated that she did not have any, Reylin suggested they go to the kitchen and eat a meal together. During the meal, the researcher sat with Reylin and the other children, talking and laughing as they ate. This circumstance did not appear to disrupt the relationship with Reylin who saw the researcher at other times and talked with her.

3.5 Data Collection

Child-focused research assumes a process of mutual learning, with the researcher taking care to build a relationship with the child. Working in this way requires the researcher to plan strategies that build trust and provide children with the maximum opportunity to demonstrate their competence and knowledge (Crump & Phipps 2013). Throughout the data collection phase, the researcher adopted a position of inquiry and positioned the child as an expert in his or her own life. Children were given choices to participate in different methods of data collection based on their own interests and comfort.

The planning of multiple data collection activities is based on the principles of "facet methodology". This approach draws on the visual metaphor of a cut gemstone, which describes how multiple data collection methods can be employed in order to uncover different perspectives and critical associations in participants' experiences (Mason 2011). In facet methodology, the researcher can undertake multiple "mini" studies, drawing on a cluster of methods that are artfully put together in order to better understand the research question.

Facet methodology encourages the researcher to take a pluralist position, seeking out a range of data and methods in order to understand the lived experience of participants (Mason 2011).

In conjunction with the Local Advisory Group, the process of data collection was divided into three components: introduction to the study at the Children's Assembly, the child-led tours, and semi-structured interviews. These phases were planned in order to enable multiple opportunities for the researcher and the child to build rapport, overcome apprehension, and establish cooperation that enabled the co-construction of knowledge (Whiting 2008).

3.5.1 Phase One: Children's Assembly and the "Draw and Talk" Art Activity

The first data collection activity took place in the Children's Assembly. As a group the children were asked to engage in a "draw and talk activity". This activity aimed to reveal how children constructed resilience by uncovering how they conceptualised "adversity" and "doing well" in the context of their lives and was an important part of data collection. The researcher provided blank paper and a range of drawing materials including crayons, markers and pencils. Children were asked to draw two pictures or brainstorm some words in response to the following questions:

> DRAWING 1: "Can you draw a picture or write some words about the risks and challenges that children experience around here?"
>
> DRAWING 2: "Can you draw a picture or write some words that describe what it means to you to 'do well' in life?"

The children were given 40 minutes to draw and write. While they were undertaking the activity, the researcher walked around the room and talked with the children about their pictures and words, making notes on post-it notes regarding the children's interpretations of the images and words on the page. The researcher's notes regarding what the children had said were stuck on the page. The interpreter consulted with the children who wrote in Tagalog and wrote a translation in English on post-it notes that were adhered to the drawing (Figure 3.5). Of note, this "draw and talk" activity took place prior to the completion of the Child Assent Form that was explained in Tagalog by the researcher and the interpreter prior to the child-led tour and semi-structured interview. For this reason, a verbal assent process was devised by the Local Advisory Group and undertaken at the conclusion of Children's Assemblies. At the end of the discussion about the research project and the "draw and talk"

activity the children were advised they could hand their drawings to the researcher as they left the room if they were happy for their drawings to be used in the study. As children left the room, some of them gave the researcher their drawing while other children took their drawings with them. A number of these drawings of children who signed the Child Assent Form have been used in the study findings and are referred to in later chapters.

Figure 3.5: "Talk and Draw" Activity in Children's Assembly

3.5.2 Phase Two: Walk and Talk Child-Led Tours

After assent forms were signed and collected, the children met with the researcher at a designated time in order to undertake the child-led walk and talk tour. The intention of this process was to investigate the personal, relational, community and cultural resources that street-involved children draw on in their social ecology in order to facilitate resilience. The child-led tour was designed to enable children to demonstrate competence and provide spontaneous insights into their day-to-day lives in the context of the street environment. While walking, the children were asked to respond to a range of questions while holding a digital recording device. During these walks the researcher was guided by the child as to the course of the journey. In some instances, children walked through the neighbourhood for several hours, pointing out the people and places that were important to them including the local parks, schools and churches. Some children spent much of the tour in Bahay Tuluyan,

showing the researcher the school rooms, the drop-in centre, as well as the showers, kitchen and dining rooms.

At the conclusion of the data-collection, all data collection of the tour was transcribed by a Tagalog speaking transcriber including sounds from the environment that gave context to the tour. In addition, the researcher recorded details of the tour in the reflexivity journal that has been used as a basis for Section 4.2 Introduction to each child that participated in the study.

Some children elected not to undertake the tour. In these instances, the researcher asked the child why they made this choice and recorded the answer for data collection. Not all the children gave a reason. Some children seemed embarrassed, not answering the researchers' question. Others stated that they feared for their own safety or the safety of the researcher. In other instances, the weather was very rainy or very hot and so the child led tour was not practical. In these instances, the researcher asked the children if they would prefer to undertake the semi-structured interview in a private place away from the street which became the primary source of data collection. In total 16 children undertook child-led tours while 9 elected not to.

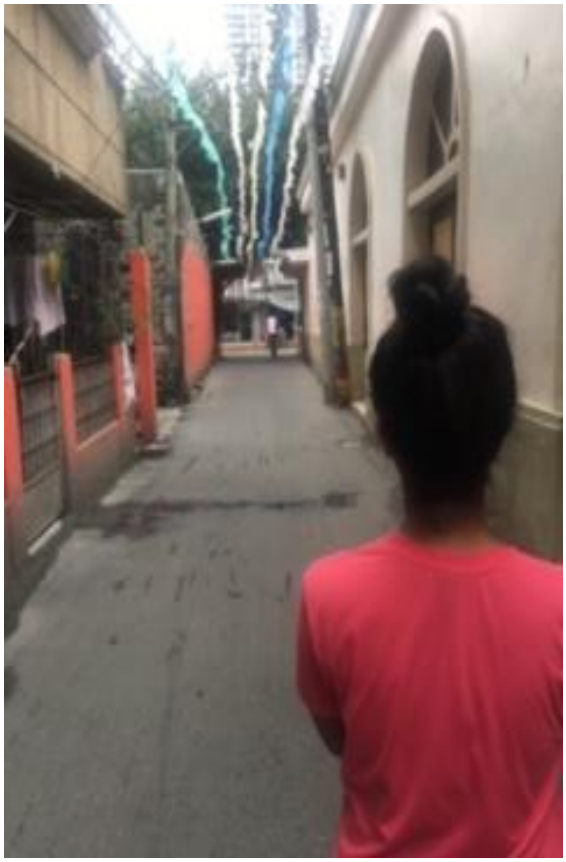


Figure 3.6: Child Participant-Led Tour 3 (Malate)

3.5.3 Phase Three: Semi-Structured Interviews

At the conclusion of the tour, each child was offered the opportunity to have a semi-structured interview in the privacy of the research site. The semi-structured interviews aimed to uncover insights into how the children used personal, relational, community and cultural resources in order to attain resilience in their social ecology. The semi-structured interviews provided the opportunity for a confidential conversation that could take place in addition to the child-led tour. The data collection protocol consisted of descriptive, explanatory and exploratory questions and was devised and tested by the Local Advisory Group (Appendix 6). The protocol included questions about personal qualities, relationships, community resources and cultural values that were likely to contribute to the child being able to overcome experiences of adversity. The protocol also asked children about their perceptions of "doing well" including their hopes and dreams for their future.

During the interview, flash cards were available that described specific Tagalog concepts such as “pakikiramdam”, “pagtittis” and “pakikisama”. The flash cards were used during the course of the interviews to aid discussion about Filipino cultural values. The Local Advisory Group identified these terms as important cultural values that enable Filipinos to overcome adversity. All interviews were digitally recorded. The transcripts underwent a process of translation and back translation. The data collection protocol is attached to this thesis as Appendix 6.

3.6 Cultural Considerations

The researcher was guided by the Local Advisory Group to ensure the study was culturally accountable and responsive. The Local Advisory Group advised the researcher regarding Filipino traditions and customs regarding interpersonal relationships that she was likely to encounter during the interviews. For example, the group advised that children were likely to observe age-based deference in keeping with Filipino cultural norms. The researcher found this to be true in some instances, for example where the child prayed for the researcher’s health prior to the interview beginning.

Culturally appropriate research methods as discussed in the Filipino resilience literature were also discussed and planned. This included establishing a two-way relationship between the researcher and the child prior to interview (Bautista 2000). The Local Advisory Group provided cultural advice about how data collection should be undertaken. For example, they advised the researcher that wherever possible interactions should be fun and light-hearted. The researcher also allowed for silences during the interview, taking care not to interrupt the child when discussing sensitive issues.

The Local Advisory Group provided advice regarding the data collection protocol development and assisted in translating the document into written form to be available to those children who could read. The Local Advisory Group also participated in the ongoing monitoring of the data collection and assisted in formulating amendments where required to increase cultural relevance. For example, after several “walk and talk” interviews were undertaken, the researcher worked with the interpreter and the Local Advisory Group to develop “flash cards” that articulated Filipino values. These flash cards were created in order to facilitate conversations with the children regarding cultural values that are specific to the Philippines and for which there is no English translation. They included “pagtitiis”, translated

as “seeing things in perspective”, “utang na loob”, a debt of gratitude owed by children to their parents, “pakikiramdam”, being sensitive to others’ needs, and “pakikisama”, which can be translated to mean patience and fortitude.

The Local Advisory Group also commented on the research findings. This included the interpretation of Indigenous concepts that the children referred to during the interviews. In total the Local Advisory Group met formally six times during the course of the study. The group convened again at the end of 2018 to hear and comment on the initial study findings.

Figure 3.7: Local Advisory Group

During the study, the researcher took care to ensure the children and the researcher could communicate with each other. This included consideration and planning for language competence. The Philippines is a culturally diverse nation of 105 million people with an estimated 14–17 million Indigenous peoples who belong to 100 ethno-linguistic groups. It is estimated that there are over 171 languages are spoken in the Philippines. The Philippines Constitution (1987) states that English and Tagalog are the joint official languages of the Philippines. The researcher is unable to speak Tagalog, while most children who participated were able to communicate in both English and Tagalog. During the research it became

evident that, even though many of the children were proficient in English, they often switched to Tagalog, particularly when discussing sensitive topics. The researcher encouraged this to ensure children were confident and comfortable expressing themselves during the interview. Children were also encouraged to draw and write during the meetings if that aided communication and made them feel more comfortable.

3.6.1 Role of the Interpreter and Transcriber

During this study the researcher engaged an interpreter for the duration of the data collection activities due to the researcher's lack of competence in Tagalog. Although most children who participated in the study spoke English, the availability of a Tagalog-speaking interpreter ensured children had a choice of language and could move between English and Tagalog as they chose. Prior to data collection the researcher and the interpreter met and discussed how they would work together. These meetings resulted in an agreement regarding the process by which interviews would be conducted including dates and locations of meetings and behaviour during the interviews that facilitated the best possible outcomes for the research. Bahay Tuluyan, which had used the interpreter on previous occasions, provided training in child protection and occupational health and safety prior to contact with children. Bahay Tuluyan also assisted the interpreter to undertake a police check. The interpreter also signed a Confidentiality Agreement (Appendix 7).

The data collection protocol was available in Tagalog in written form during the interview to aid in understanding and consistency. This document underwent a process of translation and back translation procedures during development as assisted by the translator.

During the research the interpreter acted as an informal two-way cultural guide and occupied a special position in the research process. In some instances, child participants asked the interpreter questions about the researcher, or asked the interpreter to explain a Filipino concept on their behalf. For example, when the researcher asked a child about the rules of a Filipino game she liked to play in her neighbourhood, the child asked the interpreter to explain on her behalf. After each data collection session the researcher and the interpreter debriefed to ensure synergy in understandings and to continuously improve the research process (Temple and Young 2004). For example, this included addressing instances in which children disclosed criminal activities such as drug use that made it difficult for the interpreter to remain impartial and non-judgemental.

Figure 3.8: Interpreter and Child on Child-Led Tour

All data was transcribed by a professional and experienced transcriber who spoke Tagalog and English. Prior to transcription, the researcher met with the transcriber and agreed the protocols for de-identifying client names and use of pseudonyms, location, time of day and duration of interview. The transcriber signed a Confidentiality Contract that documented these agreements (Appendix 7). Transcriptions included interaction data including documenting when the child participant laughed, cried as well as noises recorded in the street environment. File names and processes for confidential data storage were discussed and agreed in accordance with the data management plan that guided the study. Transcriptions were undertaken in MS Word and included line by line numbering. Transcription occurred from December 2017 to March 2018. At the conclusion of the study all audio files were uploaded onto the Flinders University One Drive system and all other records destroyed.

3.7 Data Analysis

In this study, the researcher undertook both a thematic and narrative analysis in order to understand children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in the context of their social ecology. Thematic analysis is a strategy for organising qualitative information and enables the researcher to identify patterns within the data and thus create an understanding

that is drawn from the participants' subjective experiences (Crowe, Inder et al. 2015). Themes are patterns in data sets that contribute to the description of a phenomenon and are relevant to the research question (Crowe, Inder et al. 2015). Thematic analysis in this study was inductive, allowing for categories to emerge from the raw data from the child-led tours, the "draw and talk" art activities and the semi-structured interviews via a process of coding and the creation of a "node hierarchy" titled "children's perception of resilience". A code hierarchy and workbook were devised that identified the parameters of each node of data. A "node" represented a cluster of data around a common theme. The draw and talk art activities revealed important insights into children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" and have been drawn on in this thesis to support the study's findings.

The node hierarchy was organised into three major categories. The first category was children's perceptions of "adversity" and included themes such as "broken family", "extended family inability to offer security", "child and family have inadequate resources by which to survive" and "living in a community that fails to uphold children's rights". The second category was children's perceptions of "doing well". Themes included "family is safe and united", "family has access to basic resources", "children observe dominant standards of morality and absence of delinquency" and "children are able to attend school". The third category was children's perceptions of resources that enabled them to overcome adversity in their social ecology. Major themes included "personal resources" (such as upholding standards of morality), "relational resources" (such as observing mutual obligations), "community resources" (such as being able to pursue an education) and "cultural resources" (such as a strong relationship with God). This process enabled the researcher to identify new themes that may have been overlooked in the existing body of knowledge regarding resilience. This included being a gang member and crime as resources that children identified in helping them overcome adversity. Children also identified knowledge of child rights as a resource that helped them "do well".

In order to ensure cultural sensitively in the data analysis, the researcher undertook a narrative approach to understanding children's stories and the meaning they attributed to their experiences (Connelly & Clandinin 1990). A narrative approach has been identified as culturally appropriate in the context of researching children in the Philippines (Bautista 2000). Narrative research uses stories as the primary source of the investigative focus (Czarniawska 2004). The approach is based on the belief that, via the examination of the

story, the researcher can uncover the belief systems that are specific to that time and place, culture and context (Bell 2002). The approach accepts that stories are socially constructed, the result of human beings selecting components that they consider important (Bell 2002).

3.7.1 Emblematic Case Study Selection and Presentation

The narratives offered by the children who participated in this study were developed into emblematic case studies that represented themes identified in the complete study sample and form the basis of the study findings.

Yin (1981, p. 59) defines a case study as a research strategy that "attempts to examine: (a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 1981). Stake (1995) suggests that a case study is a "specific, complex, functioning thing" that is bounded by time and place and enables important insights into the research question (Stake 1995). Case study analysis involves description of events as described by the participants, as well as analysis of themes that illustrate the key issues that "transcend" the cases that are being examined (Creswell 2013). The selection of multiple case studies can offer multiple insights that are usually set out with a detailed description of the cases, and a cross-case analysis that is followed by an interpretation of the cases' meaning and significance in relation to the study findings (Creswell 2013). Seawright and Gerring (2008) suggest that researchers should select a range of cases in order to demonstrate an array of perspectives in their research findings.

In this study, in order to demonstrate the range of children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", and their highly diverse use of personal, relational, community and cultural resources, the researcher selected and presented anonymised case studies. The emblematic case studies were selected based on thematic analysis nodes identified in the broader sample of children who participated in the study. A synopsis of children's perceptions of resilience is provided in Table 3.3. The table is divided into three panels, presenting the nodes identified in analysis that articulate "Children's Perceptions of Adversity", "Children's Perceptions of Doing Well" and "Resources used to Facilitate Resilience". Within each of these panels, the table lists concepts described by children in the broader study sample to describe their conceptions of resilience. The columns entitled "Angelica", "Jasmine", "Gabriel" and "Kyla" highlight corresponding themes that they exemplify and are presented as emblematic case studies.

Table 3.3 Summary of Children's Perceptions of "Adversity" and "Doing Well"

	Angelica	Jasmine	Gabriel	Kyla
Children's Perceptions of "Adversity"				
Broken Family	X			X
Lack of Parental Love		X		
Extended Family Unable/Unwilling to offer Social Security	X	X		X
Family has Inadequate Resources by which to Survive	X	X	X	X
Children have no Access to School	X	X (Siblings)	X	X
Children Exposed to Abuse and Violence	X		X	X
Unlikely to get a Job & Support Family in the Future	X	X		
Parental Drug Use		X		X
Children required to Work or Beg for Income	X	X		X
Living in a Community that Fails to Respect or Uphold Children's Rights	X	X	X	X
Policy fails to Support Poor Families			X	
Children experience Powerlessness, Stigma		X		X
Oppressive Government Policy			X	X
Children's Perceptions of "Doing Well"				
Family is Safe and United	X			
Family has access to Basic Resources needed to Survive	X	X (Siblings)	X (Siblings)	X
Children have Access to School	X	X (Siblings)	X (Siblings)	X
Children observe Dominant Standards of Morality	X			X
Children Contribute to Family Wellbeing Now and in the Future	X	X	X	X
Children Live in a Community where Children's Rights Respected & Upheld			X	X
Children have Loving Relationships		X		
Status and Belonging in the Community		X	X	X
Resources used to Facilitate Resilience				
Observing Mutual Obligations	X	X	X	X
Observing Gender Norms	X		X	
Upholding dominant Standards of Morality	X			X
Pursuing an Education	X	X (Siblings)	X (Siblings)	X
Establishing "Like" Family Relationships		X	X	
Gang Membership			X	
Engagement with Drug Use			X	
Involvement in Illegal Activities			X	
Strong Relationship with God	X	X	X	X
Drawing on Child Rights to Advocate for Change				X

Table 3.3 suggests that Angelica, Kyla, Jasmine and Gabriel all perceive "adversity" to be associated with families having insufficient resources to meet the needs of their children. All four emphasised their and their siblings' inability to attend school as an important "adversity". Furthermore, all children in the case studies identified "adversity" when adults in the community failed to provide food, shelter and safety in the community. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 and exemplified in the case study of "Kyla", children in this study who had been exposed to child rights training at Bahay Tuluyan understood these concepts to be related to a denial of human rights. This finding is significant in that it suggests street-involved children are aware of their status as "Other" from mainstream Filipino society who are denied the basic resources by which to survive (Lister 2004, Jensen 2011). This finding suggests a political dimension to resilience that is underexplored in the current body of literature and is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Table 3.3 suggests that commonalities in conceptions of "doing well" across the case studies include an emphasis on families. Children defined "doing well" when their families had adequate resources and they were able to contribute to their family's wellbeing now and in the future. Children emphasised the importance of observing mutual obligations with their families and the pursuit of education for themselves and their siblings as important resources needed in order to "do well". All children in the study identified God as an important

resource in overcoming “adversity”, suggesting an important theme regarding children’s perceptions of resilience.

In this thesis, the four emblematic case studies of Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla will be discussed in light of Lister’s (2004) taxonomy of agency and Ungar’s social-ecological approach to resilience, in order to illustrate the diverse actions that children undertake in order to overcome “adversity” and “do well”. Lister’s taxonomy draws on Hoggett’s discussion of agency to identify expressions of strategic agency when people make choices that have long-term consequences for them as individuals or their community, and she contrasts this with short-term everyday coping mechanisms employed to juggle the effects of poverty. Lister’s (2004) approach categorises actions, rather than actors, recognising the complexity of human experiences and ways of living. In this study the complete sample of children presented perceptions and actions that represent a diverse use of personal, relational, community and cultural resources that overlap with Lister’s categories of agency.

Angelica illustrates how children undertake personal, but strategic action when they act to “get out” of poverty by going to school as a means of reunifying her family and lifting them out of poverty. Jasmine takes day-to-day actions when she “gets by” by drawing on multiple relationships including her relationship with God as opportunity structures that enable her to manage the effects of poverty. Gabriel “gets back at” oppressive government policy by engaging in day-to-day criminal activity in response to being “Othered” by mainstream Filipino society. Kyla “gets organised” when she engages in political activities that challenge the marginalisation and oppression of street children. In doing so, this thesis will suggest, she seeks to disrupt the social order and bring radical change to social structures that are dominant in Filipino society.

These case studies will be drawn on to suggest that children’s perceptions of resilience include personal expressions of agency that focus on the individual, as well as political expressions that can be understood as acts of resistance to being “Othered”. This thesis will support Lister’s (2004) argument that agency is a pluralist construct and suggest that this is also true of resilience. Lister’s taxonomy categorises actions, rather than actors, with the potential for one person to simultaneously express multiple forms of agency on both the everyday–strategic and personal–political axes. Similarly, this thesis argues that children perceive resilience to be diverse, expressed in multiple ways in the context of complex lives that are marked by political oppression and “Othering” from mainstream society.

3.8 Study Dissemination and Impact

This study has been designed in the tradition of anti-oppressive research that emphasises the role of research in addressing oppression and promoting social justice. Bemark (1996), who investigate the lives of street-involved children, suggests that researchers are social change agents who need to make sure their findings are used to promote political, economic and social change. In this way, anti-oppressive research should have practical implications that serve to improve the lives of the participants.

In this project, the researcher was committed to ensure that this project was used to assist with advocacy activities in multiple ways. The study findings have been used by Bahay Tuluyan to develop a local, contextually specific resilience measure based on the International Resilience Project Child and Youth Resilience Measure (Cameron, Ungar et al. 2007). At the time of writing, Bahay Tuluyan is proposing to develop this tool and disseminate it among other non-government agencies working with street-involved children in Manila.

Several of the children who participated in the study had follow-up meetings with the researcher one year after data collection. In these meetings the researcher advised the children of the study findings and showed them how their stories were included in the case study format. Children were able to provide feedback regarding key themes in the study. After completion of this project, a copy of the thesis will be made available to Bahay Tuluyan and the children who participated.

3.9 Methodological Challenges

This study presented multiple methodological challenges associated with undertaking child-centred research and providing multiple data collection methods that maximised children's choice during the research process. This section will discuss these challenges and mitigation strategies identified and managed by the researcher with the Local Advisory Group.

The nature of child-centred research means following the child's lead and sharing authority over the data collection process (Crump & Phipps 2013). In practice, this meant that the researcher needed to be flexible in how the data collection activities proceeded. At times children chose not to engage in activities or answer questions. In the child-led tour it meant following a path through the streets that sometimes felt dangerous and uncomfortable for the

researcher. Working in this way required the researcher to develop a two-way trusting relationship with the study participants and assessing the safety of people and places in the environment.

3.9.1 Child-Centred Research and Multiple Data Collection Activities

Drawing on multiple data collection methods presented the researcher with significant methodological challenges. In keeping with child-centred research methods, the researcher met children multiple times and presented various data collection activities which they could choose to undertake. As a result, child participants relayed complex experiences and perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" via a combination of sources conveyed in the "draw and talk" activity, child-led tours and semi-structured interviews. Children expressed their perceptions via drawings, as well as verbal and non-verbal communication, often conveyed over multiple meetings. Moreover, in some instances children relayed information in both English and Tagalog, often in the same sentence. In the child-led tours, children used hand gestures to point out particular streets or landmarks in response to the researcher's questions.

The complex data collection methods presented challenges in presenting the data in this thesis. To address this challenge, in Chapter 4 a summary is provided for each child that highlights key themes relevant to the research question and specifies the child preferences for data collection. This summary includes an explanation of how the child conveyed their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" and the use of personal, relational, community and cultural resources in the context of their social ecology (Ungar 2016). In addition, the summary highlights children's use of hand gestures and other non-verbal communication methods if relevant. Wherever possible quotations or artwork provided by the children have been drawn on as a direct source of evidence to support the study's findings. In some instances, this has required including the researcher's questions and responses by the children in both English and Tagalog.

Children's preferences for some data collection activities over others presented other methodological challenges. In many instances, children were selective in their data collection activities. Eight children participated in the "draw and talk" art activity in response to the researcher's questions, while seventeen declined. Children who declined to undertake the activity appeared to be self-conscious, or disinterested, preferring to verbally answer the

researcher's questions. Of note, younger participants seemed more willing to undertake this activity, with one older child noting that the activity suited "the little ones". Some children referred to the drawing they had undertaken in the Children's Assembly rather than completing another drawing at the beginning of a semi-structured interview. This required a specific assent process at the Children's Assembly or relied on the child providing the drawing to the researcher at the time of interview. A summary of each child's preferences with respect to engagement in data collection is provided in Section 4.2.

Of the complete participant sample twelve children undertook the child-led tour. Some of these children confined their tour to the grounds of Bahay Tuluyan, while others took the researcher further afield to nearby streets. Many of the children appeared to enjoy the tour, talking with their friends, neighbours and staff at Bahay Tuluyan as they moved around the environment. In the emblematic case studies presented in Section 4.3, quotations from children's conversations with their friends and neighbours have been included in this thesis. Children who undertook the tour provided important data that contributed to answering the research question, including detailed perceptions of environmental factors that they self-identified as "adverse" as well as resources they described as helping them to "do well". Child participants were able to spontaneously interact with people and places in the environment, sparking conversations that may otherwise not have occurred. Walking and talking revealed surprising environmental resources that were important to children including the vegetable gardens, farm animals and play equipment where children played with their siblings. Some children appeared to prefer talking while walking, revealing more about their lives on the child-led tours than in the semi-structured interviews. As the research progressed, the researcher began to offer the tour as a method for encouraging children to relax if they appeared uncomfortable, disinterested or self-conscious during a one-to-one interview.

Thirteen children declined to undertake the child-led tour. In some instances children provided an explanation for refusing to undertake the tour such as bad weather or concerns about the safety of the researcher due to gang-related activity and "territories" in the neighbourhood surrounding Bahay Tuluyan. Other children did not provide an explanation or did not turn up at the designated time to undertake the tour. While it is difficult to determine why these children did not take the tour it is interesting to observe that most were residents of the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan. Malate is in the heart of the Manila entertainment district and is closely located to Tondo, a densely populated area of Manila that is renowned for

crime and gang-related activity. Most children access Bahay Tuluyan via the Malate site which acts as a "triage" service to the other service sites. For this reason, children there may be newer to Bahay Tuluyan with more recent experience of living on the streets. The researcher surmised that children who refused the tour had a range of valid reasons for not wanting to participate that they did not always choose to share with the researcher.

In instances where the child did not undertake the tour, the data collected at the semi-structured interview was relied upon to contribute towards the study findings. The implications for this include a reliance on verbal communication methods and the role of the interpreter in relaying information to the researcher. In some instances, including "Kyla" who is presented as an emblematic case study in this thesis, the reliance on verbal information resulted in an extensive interview that provided rich information that informed the study findings. Conversely, in some instances children's reluctance to talk in an interview was overcome via participation in the child-led tour that provided the opportunity to "walk and talk". Thus, the range of data collection activities offered the researcher the opportunity to tailor the research method in response to the child's preferences and thus yield richer data to inform the study findings.

The diverse data collection methods also presented a challenge for data analysis. The "art and draw" activity proved useful during the semi-structured interview as a point of discussion regarding children's conceptions of "doing well". The use of drawing and images meant that the researcher was required to ask about their meaning to ensure clarity and understanding. As the research progressed, the researcher began each interview with the opportunity for the child to talk about their drawing in detail, explaining the meaning of images and words which the interpreter recorded on yellow sticky notes. During each meeting between the child participants and the researcher a digital recording device was used that captured all background noises, pauses in conversation and sounds made by the child, researcher and interpreter. Sounds such as laughter were recorded and transcribed in data transcripts and included in data analysis. In addition, after each interview the researcher recorded the child's non-verbal communication such as pointing or leaving a meeting prematurely in her reflexivity journal. Further challenges to the research process are discussed in Section 6.4.

3.9.2 Environmental Challenges

At times, bystanders wishing to participate in the child-led tours compromised the confidentiality of participants. Over the course of the data collection, the community became aware of the researcher undertaking child-led tours. At times, this resulted in community members responding to the questions by the researcher. The researcher encouraging the participant to hold and speak into the digital voice recorder and directing questions to them addressed this challenge. At times, the researcher gently encouraged the child to move away from bystanders to prevent confidential discussions being overheard.

During the process of this study, environmental conditions presented challenges to the researcher and child participants. On several occasions it was very hot, and the children were reluctant to undertake child-led tours. On one day there was a significant typhoon and so a child-led tour had to be abandoned due to the heavy rain. Traffic was a significant hazard, with the researcher and interpreter guiding the children to safety when required. At other times, children would become distracted, choosing to follow a stray dog, take advantage of a free meal offer by a community member or take a swim in Manila Bay. While this presented challenges to the researcher, observing these distractions was considered critical for developing a deeper understanding of the child's environment.

3.9.3 Language and Interpretation

A significant challenge for the data collection activities was the researcher's limited comprehension of Tagalog. During the data collection meetings, the children often began in English but switched to Tagalog when discussing sensitive issues at the encouragement of the researcher and the interpreter. At times, language comprehension issues interrupted the flow of the conversation. Moreover, there are some Tagalog words that have no English translation. These words primarily described cultural values such as "pakikisama", "pakikiramdam" and "pagtitiis". In these instances, the interpreter was required to explain Tagalog words and meanings to the researcher in detail. Over time, via a reflexive process, the researcher and the interpreter devised several written "flash cards" with Tagalog words to facilitate knowledge translation.

The process of finding a single, appropriately qualified interpreter who was able to work in a child-centred way during data collection was difficult but ultimately successful. A single interpreter was recommended by the Philippines Social Service Association, a qualified

teacher who was trained in Montessori education pedagogy and who was undertaking an additional degree in psychology. The researcher and the interpreter worked together in a reflexive process that included the clarification of their roles during data collection. The interpreter was skilled in building rapport with the children and was an asset when trying to establish trust. On some occasions, the interpreter struggled to be objective when children were engaged in illegal or potentially dangerous activities. For example, early in the data collection activities, a child revealed that he regularly used illegal drugs in order to manage strong feelings. The interpreter spontaneously asked the child, "You know that isn't right?" The researcher managed this issue by talking with the interpreter after each interview to debrief and to establish impartiality for future interviews.

3.9.4 Familiarity with the Researcher

This research was enabled by the long-standing relationship between the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan, which acted as the gatekeeper to study participants. Prior to the study's commencement, the researcher had met many of the children who would go on to participate in the study. The familiarly of the researcher to the children prior to the study's commencement was advantageous, with children readily volunteering to take part, and many enthusiastically indicating their willingness at the Children's Assemblies. During data collection children familiar to the researcher appeared to feel comfortable to talk about their lives, thus yielding rich data that informed the study's findings. For example, "Jasmine" was well known to the researcher and thus felt comfortable to undertake extensive child-led tours that yielded rich information that informed the study's findings.

On the other hand, this familiarity also presented a methodological challenge, with the researcher's prior knowledge regarding children's experiences having the potential to unduly influence the study's findings. To manage this challenge, the researcher took care to avoid influencing the sample group of children who self-selected into the study. During data collection, the researcher followed the data collection protocol as consistently as possible, asking all twenty-five participants similar questions regarding their use of personal, relational, community and cultural resources to facilitate resilience in their local context. All interview transcripts were de-identified and then transcribed by an independent transcriber and remained anonymous during data analysis and coding of themes.

Despite being an experienced social worker with significant experience in the Philippines, an important challenge for the researcher was hearing about distressing events and experiences in the children's lives. The transition from the role of a social worker to the role of a researcher was unfamiliar and required analysis and consideration as part of the reflexivity process.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a summary of the research design and method employed during this study in order to address the research question: how do street-involved children construct resilience in the context of their social ecology? This chapter has described the research method by which the researcher engaged 25 street-involved children between 11 and 18 years of age who were under the care of Bahay Tuluyan. Child participants self-selected into the study and were offered a range of child-focused qualitative research methods in order to explore the question.

The chapter has outlined the study emphasis on child rights and the use of methods that enabled children to exercise choice, demonstrate competence and share power during the data collection process. During data collection children were given the opportunity to engage in a "talk and draw" art activity, a "child-led tour" and a semi-structured interview based on their personal preference (Crump & Phipps 2013). These activities were sequenced over several months, with the researcher meeting each child on multiple occasions (Darbyshire, MacDougall et al. 2005).

The chapter has also described efforts to overcome language and cultural comprehension issues, including the use of a trained interpreter who accompanied the researcher throughout data collection activities, and obtaining guidance from the Local Advisory Group. The raw interview data was transcribed by a Tagalog-speaking transcriber and underwent a process of narrative and thematic analysis in which key themes were identified and analysed. Emerging themes in the data analysis diverge from Minority World definitions of resilience that emphasise notions of healthy functioning in children that are reflective of Western notions of growth and development in children. Key themes in this study data include children's diverse conceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", which also deviate from dominant themes in the current body of Filipino resilience literature. The research findings were disseminated to child participants, with children having the opportunity to comment on them. In order to

manage the complex ethical and methodological challenges encountered during the data collection a range of documentation was developed to support the study. These documents are attached as appendices to this thesis.

This chapter has described the methods employed as the researcher sought to uncover how children draw on personal, relational and community resources in order to facilitate resilience. In the next chapter, will begin by introducing the complete sample of children who participated in the study, before introducing four anonymised emblematic case studies that exemplify key themes and form the basis of the study findings. The emblematic case studies will suggest that Filipino street-involved children perceive resilience in ways that in part conform with, and in part transgress, culturally ascribed notions of "healthy functioning" including engaging in acts of resistance against experiences of oppression and marginalisation. As such, each case study will detail the child's perception of "adversity" and "doing well" and the personal, relational, community and cultural resources they engage with to facilitate resilience in the context of their social ecology.

CHAPTER 4: CHILDREN'S DIVERSE PERCEPTIONS OF "ADVERSITY" AND "DOING WELL"

4.1 Introduction

This thesis suggests that street-involved children perceive resilience as a highly pluralist construct, as they overcome self-identified conditions of "adversity" in pursuit of highly nuanced conceptions of "doing well". As suggested in Chapter 2, the dominant construct of resilience in the discipline of psychology has been primarily produced by expert researchers in Minority World contexts, who have identified children as resilient when they demonstrate healthy functioning despite threats to normative development (Ungar &Thomas 2013). Analysis of the construct of resilience in the Filipino literature suggests that street-involved children have been defined as resilient when they achieve culturally normative growth and development despite their street involvement (Banaag 1997, Bautista & Rolder 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). The Filipino construction of resilience draws on the dominant Minority World conceptualisation, but is nuanced, informed by culturally and socially normative conceptions of healthy functioning in children in the Filipino context. Drawing on the social-ecological approach, this thesis proposes that street-involved children in Manila perceive "adversity" and "doing well" in ways that both conform to and contravene normative expectations of children in the Philippines (Ungar 2016). Supporting Ungar's approach, I will suggest that children perceive themselves to be "doing well" by drawing on personal, relational, community and cultural resources in complex, non-linear ways that enable them to overcome "adversity".

The primary contribution of this thesis will suggest that many children in the study experienced adversity as an overtly political concept, acknowledging the collective experience of marginalisation and oppression for children who are street involved and their families. Furthermore, I will argue that study participants perceived themselves to be resilient when they managed the effects of poverty in ways that in part conformed to and in part contradicted dominant cultural norms associated with healthy functioning in children (Eggerman & Panter-Brick 2010). Most children who participated in this study considered themselves to be resilient when they demonstrated behaviour and outcomes that are seen as desirable in children in the Philippines. However, some also considered themselves to be resilient when they engaged in personal and collective acts of resistance against political

oppression. This political dimension to resilience is not inherent in either dominant Minority World or Filipino conceptions of resilience.

This chapter will begin by introducing twenty-one of the children who participated in the study as per Table 4.1, and then present in more detail the narratives of Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla which comprise the emblematic case studies that exemplify key themes identified in the complete study sample. The narratives of the 21 children in the complete study sample are drawn on to show how they fit with the narratives of the four emblematic case study children. As per Lister's (2004) approach, which categorises actions rather than actors, while the emblematic case studies are broadly representative of themes expressed by children in the broader study sample, at times their narratives overlap and thus support more than one of Lister's categories of agency. Table 4.1 provides a summary of the child participants and what appeared to the researcher the most significant types of agency expressed via the corresponding emblematic case study, noting that some children's actions are relevant in multiple categories of agency.

Table 4.1 Summary of Child Participants and Corresponding Emblematic Case Study via Major Themes in Perceptions of "Adversity" and "Doing Well"

Emblematic case study	**Major themes re perceptions of adversity**	**Major themes re perceptions of "doing well" in accordance with Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency**	**Other child participants who are represented via emblematic case study**
Angelica	Broken family	"Getting out" of poverty via education (strategic/personal agency)	Miguel Mary Anne Dianne Lyn Jose
Jasmine	Inadequate resources by which to survive	"Getting by" via relationships (everyday/personal agency)	Andreas Reylin Bong-Bong Joshua Jean Joyce Jonus
Gabriel	Dangers of the streets	"Getting back at" in response to poverty and oppression (everyday/political agency)	Marcos Charles Jezz Jean

			Alfredo
Kyla	Denial of rights and oppressive government	"Getting organised" in response to government oppression (political/strategic)	Nicole Daniel Justine Miguel Jess

Table 4.1 provides a summary of the four emblematic case studies and the children in the broader study sample whose data supports key themes in relation to children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well". The emblematic case studies will serve as a foundation for discussing the children's perceptions of "adversity" and the personal, relational, community and cultural resources they engaged to facilitate resilience in the context of their social ecology (Ungar 2016). Each case study will also include a summary of the significance of the case with respect to the research question. In Chapter 5, the four emblematic case studies will be applied to Lister's taxonomy of agency as a basis for illustrating the diverse actions that children undertake in order to overcome "adversity" and "do well".

This will lay the groundwork for the study findings, which suggest that children in this study constructed resilience in highly nuanced ways, managing the shared experience of oppression and the denial of their rights by drawing on both internal and external resources to manage the effects of marginalisation and oppression. The case studies, supported by the narratives of all child participants, exemplify children's perceptions of adversity as an experience they shared with other street-involved children and their families, reflecting an awareness of their status as "Other" and distinct from the mainstream Filipino society (Lister 2004). In some instances, children defined resilience in political terms that included personal and collective acts of resistance against deprivation of basic resources for survival, and oppressive government policy. As such, the children's stories suggest that they conceptualise resilience in highly diverse ways and utilise unorthodox resources to manage the shared experience of marginalisation and oppression in ways that are currently underexplored in discourses on resilience.

4.2 The Complete Sample of Children who Participated in the Study

In this section, the complete sample of children who participated in the study is introduced in the order in which they volunteered to participate in the study. Each short pen picture

includes a description of their engagement with the researcher and their preferences in undertaking the data collection activities. In seeking to answer the research question, each pen picture will also provide a brief description of their perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", drawing on the words, images and reflections shared by children during the various data collection activities.

Themes raised by these children are represented in the four emblematic case studies presented in Section 4.3. In Section 4.4 "adversity" will be further discussed, with findings suggesting most children in the study perceive adversity to be associated with a "broken family", exemplified by Angelica and seventeen other children who participated in the study. All the children explained that street-involved children face adversity when they have inadequate resources to survive, providing examples of being hungry, not having a safe home or place to sleep, or being unable to access school or health services. All the children also discussed that, once on the streets, children are exposed to a variety of dangers including gang-related activity, drug use, exposure to bad weather, traffic and unscrupulous adults. Kyla and sixteen other children who participated in the study discussed these issues in relation to children's rights, identifying that the provision of basic resources is a human right that street children are denied.

Their stories will be drawn on in Chapter 5 to highlight the varied efforts children engage in to manage the effects of poverty in the context of marginalisation and oppression. The narratives from the broader study sample will be brought together with the emblematic case studies and theoretically framed by Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency in Chapter 5. The case studies will suggest that children draw on diverse resources to which they have access in order to facilitate resilience in the context of their social ecology (Ungar 2016). Angelica takes personal but strategic actions to "get out" of poverty, drawing on personal, relational and community resources that are available to her. She seeks to "get out" of poverty and reunify her family by studying hard at school with a long-term goal to get a well-paid job. Jasmine demonstrates everyday agency when she "gets by", developing a network of "like family" relationships that enable her to cope with the difficulties of her day-to-day life. Gabriel seeks to "get back at" oppressive government policies and "Othering" from mainstream Filipino society when he uses criminal and transgressive mechanisms to manage the effects of poverty. Kyla "gets organised" when she takes political action to challenge the oppression of street-involved children. The findings of this study suggest children hold

perceptions of resilience that include a political dimension, thus extending Bottrell's (2002, 2007, 2009b) critique of Ungar's (2016) social-ecological approach, arguing that it largely overlooks the socio-political context of children's lives.

4.2.1 "Miguel"

Miguel is 11 years old, slight in stature with hair that covers her face when she speaks. The younger sister of Angelica, she arrived early for each of her three meetings with the researcher, which included a child-led tour, waiting patiently under the shade of a mango tree in the gardens of Bahay Tuluyan. Miguel completed a drawing at the Children's Assembly regarding the adversities faced by street-involved children and brought it with her to her one-to-one interview. She explained that the stick figures in the drawing are depictions of her experience of sleeping beside a road and begging at the mall while caring for her younger brother. Miguel seemed to take her participation in the study very seriously, talking earnestly about her experiences. During her semi-structured interview, she talked quietly about her perceptions of "adversity" including her separation from her mother and fear of her father who is a "bad man" and a threat to her safety.

Figure 4.1: Miguel's Child-Led Tour

During her child-led tour, Miguel walked quietly but determinedly around the grounds of Bahay Tuluyan and surrounding neighbourhood, not answering the other children who called out or followed her. On her child-led tour she also took the researcher outside the locked gates of the local elementary school. Miguel shared with the researcher that her perception of

"doing well" included being reunited with her family and being able to go to school. She also showed the researcher the recreation room at Bahay Tuluyan where she attends Children's Assemblies and has learnt about child rights. At the end of her child-led tour, she smiled and said "Salamat Tita" (Goodbye Aunt) to the researcher, walking back towards her room where her friends were waiting for her.

4.2.2 "Mary Anne"

Mary Anne is twelve years old and wears prominent glasses that she pushes back as she speaks. She volunteered to participate in the research after she saw her friend Miguel leading the researcher on a child-led tour. Mary Anne spoke in English during her meetings with the researcher, answering questions with one-word responses. Mary Anne undertook the "talk and draw" activity in her first meeting with the researcher but chose to write rather than draw. In various coloured markers, she carefully wrote a detailed list about her perceptions of "doing well" suggesting God "is our father" and "my elder sister looks after me when my parents are not around". Mary Anne met with the researcher on three occasions for short semi-structured interviews that often finished prematurely when she grew restless, wanting to join her friends who were playing nearby.

During her child-led tour, Mary Anne showed the researcher the library at Bahay Tuluyan where she "learns to read". She also took the researcher to the social work office where she pointed out the plush toys that she likes to play with while talking with the social workers whom she described as "the nanays". Mary Anne also took the researcher outside on the busy road. Here, she explained how, prior to living at Bahay Tuluyan, she would beg for money from strangers to raise money for her family. She explained her "perception" of doing well included being able to "study" and for her family "be safe". At the conclusion of the child-led tour Mary Anne rushed off to join her friends.

4.2.3 "Nicole"

Nicole is 13 years old. She holds her hands over her mouth when she speaks, hiding her teeth which are badly decayed. Although Nicole waited with other children for her turn to participate in the study, once she met with the researcher she seemed shy, giving short, stilted answers in response to questions, and did not make eye contact. To engage her and ensure she felt comfortable, the researcher suggested they undertake a child-led tour. The following day,

Nicole turned up at the appointed time and took the researcher on a child-led tour of the grounds of Bahay Tuluyan. While walking she shared her perception of "adversity" as being "away from mamma". She showed the researcher the slippery dip and cubby house where she said she likes to play with her younger brother. While walking the grounds of Bahay Tuluyan, she pointed to her brother from afar, but did not speak with him as he passed by. While on the tour she pointed out a small hut where her mother stays overnight when she visits Bahay Tuluyan. Nicole identified this as an important place for her that "makes me strong". At the end of the child-led tour Nicole wandered away in the direction where her brother had been playing.

4.2.4 "Lyn"

Lyn is 12 years old and met the researcher on only one occasion, seeming to lose interest in the study after her initial curiosity was satisfied. Lyn arrived barefoot at the first meeting and was holding a small dog which she held throughout her meeting, which took place outside under the shade of a large mango tree. In Tagalog, Lyn explained that overnight the neighbour had thrown the puppy over the fence. She explained that now he was here, the "nanays" would "look after him" and that now he would live at Bahay Tuluyan. Via the interpreter, Lyn explained that she did not want to engage in the "talk and draw" activity and would give verbal answers via a semi-structured interview. However, when the interview began, Lyn appeared to be impatient with the questions, preferring to play with the dog. To garner her interest, the researcher suggested they "walk and talk" and undertake the child-led tour.

Lyn's tour began at the gates where she referred to the "beautiful surrounds" of Bahay Tuluyan. As she walked into the grounds, she explained that she likes the "trees", "grass" and "flowers" and being "away from the traffic". She explained her perception of "adversity" by talking about her own experience of living under the bridge at Manila Bay where "you are always hungry and no place to sleep". Now she lives at Bahay Tuluyan she "walks along to road" to collect rubbish that gathers along the fence line of Bahay Tuluyan to "keep the gardens tidy". She explained that for her "doing well" would be "my family come here to live at Bahay Tuluyan". At the end of the child-led tour Lyn left the researcher to join the other children for lunch in the kitchen, still holding the puppy under her arm.

4.2.5 "Reylin"

Reylin is a 14-year-old young women who has resided at the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan for several years. Reylin took an authoritative position with the other children during the research project, explaining she was "helping" with the study to those whom she passed by. Prior to the study being undertaken, Reylin was on familiar terms with the researcher, having met her several times at the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan and during the Children's Assembly where she regularly led discussions regarding matters of importance to herself and other children. Reylin met with the researcher on three occasions, each time arriving promptly for the meeting at the nominated time and place.

Reylin was confident during her three meetings with the researcher, giving long narratives of her experiences in Tagalog. Reylin declined to undertake the "talk and draw activity", instead beginning her semi-structured interview with a long narrative that told the story of her birth "on the streets" and her family's experience of intergenerational homelessness and poverty, which is discussed in this thesis in Section 4.4. Reylin readily identified her family members as her role models as they had overcome adversity by trusting in God.

During her child-led tour Reylin showed the researcher the offices of Bahay Tuluyan and explained that she hopes to become a social worker and "help the children" who "do not have families". She introduced the researcher to staff at Bahay Tuluyan, whom she described as "like a family" because they "care for me and give me what I need". At the end of her child-led tour, Reylin suggested the researcher and interpreter eat lunch with her in the kitchens of Bahay Tuluyan. After eating together, Reylin offered to wash the dishes, which she did, talking and laughing with the other children and staff as she worked.

4.2.6 "Marcos"

Marcos is 15 years old. He arrived neatly dressed and on time for both meetings scheduled with the researcher at the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan. Meeting in the social work office, Marcos spoke willingly about his experiences in Tagalog during the semi-structured interview. He declined to participate in the "talk and draw" activity, asking if he could just "talk instead". Marcos talked about his experiences of "adversity" when he explained how he came to live at Bahay Tuluyan after the breakdown of his family. He described the many dangers he faced on the streets including being involved with the "frat" (gang). Marcos'

conception of “doing well” included the reunification of his family and his relationships with children and staff at Bahay Tuluyan, whom he described as “like family.”

Marcos did not want to do the child-led tour initially after the interview but joined the researcher and the interpreter in the kitchen for lunch. Marcos was lighthearted during the meal, talking and laughing with the other children who were also eating. After lunch he washed his dishes in the sink before saying “goodbye Tita” (Aunt) to the researcher.

4.2.7 “Jean”

Jean is a 12-year-old girl who is well known to the researcher as she is a resident of the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan. When the researcher visited, Jean was often at the drop-in centre where she sat with the other girls her age, watching the TV and dancing to music. During her two meetings with the researcher, Jean spoke confidentiality about her life, switching between English and Tagalog in response to the questions. At the first meeting she brought with her a copy of the Child Participant Information Sheet which she had received during the Children’s Assembly, at the top of which she had had carefully written her name. She signed the Children’s Assent Form neatly and with great concentration before handing it to the researcher and beginning to talk about her life. Jean began her participation in the study with the “talk and draw” activity, which is included in this thesis in Section 5.3.

In the semi-structured interview, Jean talked sadly about the difficulties that brought her to Bahay Tuluyan, including “my mother and father fighting” and having “no house”. She recounted these events with her eyes down and looking at her hands in her lap. During her child-led tour Jean walked through the offices and drop-in centre at Bahay Tuluyan, enthusiastically introducing the researcher to the staff and other children. At the drop-in centre she showed the researcher the showers, TV and the kitchen were street children can shower, have their clothes washed, eat and watch TV. She explained her perception of “doing well” included being “safe to come here to eat”. Once outside Bahay Tuluyan, she took the researcher to a local shopping mall, pointing to the steps where she likes to sit with her friends. She finished her child-led tour by saying goodbye to the researcher at the mall, preferring to spend the afternoon with her friends.

4.2.8 "Joe"

Joe is 15 years old and, although he lives at the Quezon site of Bahay Tuluyan, he first met the researcher at the Malate site where he attended the Children's Assembly and skilfully drew a picture in response to the researcher's question regarding the adversities faced by street-involved children. Joe's picture is discussed in this thesis in Section 4.7, and depicts a young woman smoking marijuana in response to the researcher's questions regarding the adversities faced by street children. Several weeks after he completed this drawing, he met with the researcher at the Quezon site and spoke about his drawing.

Speaking in Tagalog with earnestness, he spoke about his own experiences of "adversity" when he explained that when he was a street child he had engaged in drug use, but now that he resided at Bahay Tuluyan he wanted to change his ways. He described how he sometimes goes to church to "ask for forgiveness" for his activities prior to living at Bahay Tuluyan when he lived on the streets, was part of a "frat" (gang) and "had my vices". For him, "doing well" involved living at Bahay Tuluyan where he can improve his life by learning farm skills. He explained that working on the farm was "hard work" and "sometimes tiring" but offered him a "place to live and a future". Joe told the researcher that he now holds ambitions to "become a teacher and be able to help street children".

Joe explained that now when he saw street children he identified with them and their hardships. He explained that they were "like they're my family" and "are kind even if they are just begging". He was grateful to the staff at Bahay Tuluyan, whom he also considers to be his family. He called the staff "nanay" and tried to "make them happy" by doing chores and helping with the animals on the farm. At the end of his one meeting with the researcher, he declined to undertake a child-led tour, instead leaving the interview, and walking away to be with his friends.

4.2.9 "Jose"

Jose is 13 years old. He has an easy smile and sense of humour that makes him popular with the other children, and well known to the researcher. Although small in stature, he is an attractive child with white, even teeth, and often wears a distinctive T-shirt that is a "strip" of an English soccer team. Jose indicated his interest in participating in the study at the Malate Children's Assembly, where he talked and laughed with the other children while he

completed his drawing in response to the researcher's questions regarding the circumstances of adversity faced by street-involved children. However, Jose had taken his drawing away with him after the Children's Assembly and during the interview ran to get it from his room to discuss it with the researcher. Jose did not draw an image but rather wrote a list that described the adversities faced by street-involved children including "when my parents are fighting, I try to stop them because they might separate".

Jose only undertook one semi-structured interview as part of the study. During this conversation, Jose spoke in Tagalog and answered the researcher's questions in short sentences. He described his own experiences of adversity as "beatings" from his mother and father who "did not have a proper home". Jose became restless during his semi-structured interview and said, "I am done", indicating that he wished to finish the conversation. He told the researcher he would come back later to take the child-led tour.

Later that month, during the child-led tour with Jasmine, Jose asked the researcher to walk with him to Manila Bay where a Filipino movie star was making a public appearance. The researcher agreed to meet Jose a short time later, but Jose did not turn up. In subsequent encounters, Jose talked with the researcher but he did not pursue any further data collection activities.

4.2.10 "Daniel"

Daniel is 12 years old. He has a serious demeanour, not smiling or laughing, even when Jose made funny faces at him through the window of the Bahay Tuluyan social work office. Daniel met the researcher on one occasion at the Malate site, after agreeing to participate in the study after attending the Children's Assembly. Daniel took his participation in the study seriously, carefully listening while the interpreter read him the Child Participant Information Sheet in Tagalog. Before signing the Child Assent Form, Daniel asked if he could go and wash his face. He declined to undertake the "talk and draw" art activity, preferring to talk to the researcher about his own experiences. He also declined to undertake the child-led tour, his decision influenced by the heavy seasonal rain that was flooding the nearby streets.

Daniel shared that his perception of "adversity" revolved around the death of his mother and becoming "lost" from his extended family. He explained that Bahay Tuluyan are trying to help him find his extended family, but "they are far away, I don't know where". Daniel has

attended child rights training at Bahay Tuluyan and hopes to become a Youth Facilitator teaching other children about their rights with the mobile unit on the streets of Manila. Daniel was animated in his responses to the researcher's questions about the government and how they might help street children, which are included in this thesis in Chapter 5. He explained that his ambition is to "study" and become "police or a social worker" to help other street-involved children. Daniel ended his meeting with the researcher by saying goodbye and taking the researcher's hand and touching it to his head, a mark of respect in Filipino society.

4.2.11 "Alfredo"

Alfredo is 15 years old, and wears his hair shaved, revealing several deep scars on his head that suggest a serious injury. He has a serious manner, listening carefully to the researcher and the interpreter, attempting to speak in English but often switching to Tagalog. Alfredo first learnt about the study at the Children's Assembly at Malate, where he attended and sat with the other young men his age. Alfredo agreed to meet with the researcher on one occasion during which he undertook a one-on-one interview. Alfredo carefully read the Child Assent Form and asked prior to signing, "What if I don't say anything?" After being reassured by the researcher about the voluntary nature of the questions, Alfredo spoke formally to the researcher addressing her as "Po" (like "Sir", a formal term that indicates respect.)

Albert resided at the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan where he has trained as a Youth Facilitator and learnt about the UNCRC. Once trained, he often accompanied the mobile unit of social workers who teach street-involved children about their rights on the streets of Manila. He valued this role, explaining that he wanted to "help the children learn". Prior to his involvement with Bahay Tuluyan, Alfredo told the researcher that he was a member of a gang which he referred to as a "frat" (fraternity). He said, "I went here [Bahay Tuluyan] to change" and was thankful to the staff at Bahay Tuluyan for giving him the opportunity to do a traineeship. He explained his perception of "doing well" involved "leaving the frat" and undertaking his traineeship at Bahay Tuluyan. At the end of the meeting, Albert declined to go on a child-led tour, telling the researcher that the streets around Bahay Tuluyan are "not so bad, but there is bad language". He said goodbye to the researcher and left the room, asking if he should shut the door behind him.

4.2.12 "Dianne"

Dianne is a 15-year-old young women who is neatly groomed, wearing the uniform of the Makabarta Guest House, a social enterprise run by Bahay Tuluyan where children can undertake hospitality traineeships. At the first meeting Dianne seemed keen to participate in the study, arriving promptly at her appointed meeting time and freely talking about her life. Dianne described herself as "talkative" and "happy" and said that she had learnt about the study at the Children's Assembly at the Malate site of Bahay Tuluyan.

Dianne indicated that it was her preference to only participate in the one-to-one interview and she ended up meeting with the researcher on two occasions. She asked to speak in English as she wished "to practise" her language skills. In her first interview she talked freely about her own personal experiences and her perceptions of the adversities faced by street-involved children.

Figure 4.2: Dianne at Her Traineeship at Bahay Tuluyan

While Dianne did not wish to undertake a child-led tour, she did take the researcher to the guest house where she works, where she proudly demonstrated her barista skills. While making a coffee she explained that at Bahay Tuluyan she had obtained a birth certificate and so would be able to enrol in school. Dianne's perception of "adversity" included living on the streets with "no school" and "no future". She explained that her perception of "doing well" included "having a complete family. Going to school, having a house. Eating well and being

happy." Dianne explained that her traineeship may one day lead to employment and generate an income that will help her have a "good future". Dianne ended her last meeting with the researcher by re-joining the other trainees working behind the reception counter at the guest house.

4.2.13 "Jessance"

Jessance is a fourteen-year-old young man who appeared nervous when he first met with the researcher, sitting on the edge of his seat for their only meeting. Jessance was a new arrival, taking up residence at the Malate site of Bahay Tulyan several weeks before his engagement with the study. Jessance had learnt about the study at the Malate Children's Assembly and was encouraged to take part by his friends Gabriel and Alfredo, who had also participated.

Jessance had an allocated social worker, whom he explained is "like a mother" in that she "cares for me". Jessance did not wish to undertake the "talk and draw" activity, saying, "I don't like to draw". Instead, he carefully wrote several words on the page including "gangs who kill people" and "police" in response to the researcher's questions about the adversities faced by street children.

In a long monologue, Jessance talked about his experience of witnessing an extra-judicial killing during a drug inspection by police in his neighbourhood. After this discussion, the researcher assessed that disclosure of this incident presented a risk of emotional and physical harm to the child and so ceased the interview and enacted the protocol as per the Memorandum of Understanding. The researcher explained to Jessance that social workers at Bahay Tuluyan would talk with him about this experience to ensure he was safe. Jessance nodded his head to indicate his understanding and left the interview room, re-joining his friends at the drop-in centre.

The researcher immediately sought out the Deputy Director of Bahay Tuluyan and explained the disclosure, enacting the Memorandum of Understanding agreed at the beginning of the research process. Although Jessance said he would come back later to conduct the child-led tour, he did not return to meet with the researcher at the designated time. The researcher did see him several times at Bahay Tuluyan during which he greeted her happily.

4.2.14 "Charles"

Charles is 16 years old and was the first young man scheduled to meet with the researcher at the Quezon site at Bahay Tuluyan. Charles is enrolled in a traineeship at the Quezon farm, learning skills in managing livestock and rice farming that will enable him to "get a job to support my family" in the future. Due to the remote location in relation to Metro Manila where the researcher was based, and the busy schedule of young men working on the farm, the researcher prearranged appointments with the participants over multiple Sundays. On the first Sunday, the researcher arrived late, held up by traffic in Metro Manila, and arrived to find Charles patiently waiting in the recreation hall with drinks and snacks set out in anticipation of the meeting.

After signing the Children's Assent Form, Charles readily completed a "draw and talk" art activity in response to the researcher's questions. He drew a stick figure of a child and beside this image wrote a numbered list that identified "riots", "trouble", "killed" and "police" as the "adversities" faced by street children.

Charles explained that he hopes to "finish studies" and become a social worker at Bahay Tuluyan so that he could "help the poor". He described his strong relationship with "Papa Jesus" to whom he prayed every day to help him solve problems and stay on a "good path in life". He declined to undertake a child-led tour and ended the meeting by thanking the researcher, leaving the room, and shutting the door behind him. Over subsequent Sundays, the researcher interacted with Charles who talked and ate with her on several occasions at lunch time in the kitchen.

4.2.15 "Joyce"

Joyce is fifteen years old and lives at the Quezon site of Bahay Tuluyan. Joyce had heard about the study at the Children's Assembly at Malate which he attended while he was visiting his parents in Metro Manila. Joyce's cousin Jasmine, who lives in Malate, had also undertaken several child-led tours in Manila, and told him about the experience. Joyce met with the researcher on a Sunday in a small office located away from the view of the other young people on the farm. He was curious about the study, asking questions such as "Where is Flinders University?" He carefully read the Tagalog version of the Children's Information Sheet and Child Assent Form, asking "should I sign in cursive?" before signing.

During his interview, Joyce talked frankly about his life, writing a statement regarding the adversities faced by street-involved children rather than undertaking the "talk and draw" activity. In his semi-structured interview, he described the adversities faced by street-involved children by talking about his own experiences of "being beaten" by his mother. Joyce described how at Bahay Tuluyan he had friends and "nanays" who were now his family because "they feed me and help me go to school". He described his perception of "doing well" as living in "a house with electricity". Joyce described how he loved to play basketball with the other residents of Bahay Tuluyan. He said playing basketball helped him cope with difficulties in his life because he "can pour out all the emotions".

Figure 4.3: Basketball Court at Bahay Tuluyan Quezon

After the one-to-one interview was over, Joyce ate lunch with the researcher, sitting on the side of the basketball court watching the other young men playing. After he finished eating, he "high fived" the researcher and walked over to join in the game. On subsequent Sundays, Joyce was friendly with the researcher, smiling and saying hello as he passed by.

4.2.16 "Jezz"

Jezz lives at Quezon. He is 16 years old and was over an hour late for his first and only appointment with the researcher. On arrival at Quezon staff directed the researcher to wait in the social work office located at the back of the farm and near the recreation area. When Jezz finally arrived for his appointment he was flustered, sweaty and apologetic after running back

from the nearby rice fields. At first, he appeared tired, hard to engage and gave short answers to the researcher's questions. He signed the Tagalog version of the Child Assent Form quickly, without reading it, and did not wish to undertake the "draw and talk" art activity.

As the one-to-one interview progressed, Jezz began to relax and talk about his life in Tagalog. He explained how he is inspired by Manny Pacquiao, a Filipino boxing champion, who had experienced adversity as he "used to be poor and sell balut [Filipino delicacy and snack] on the streets" but "now is a boxing champion and an important person for the government". Jezz explained that his conception of adversity included being separated from his parents and family. He explained that his perception of "doing well" included "study" and "going to church". He discussed his commitment to change his life by "learning new things" at Bahay Tuluyan "like learning how to live, and how to treat children". He explained that at Bahay Tuluyan he avoids "my vices, like cigarettes". Jezz declined to undertake a child-led tour but after the interview walked with the researcher to the basketball court and introduced the researcher to another young man who had expressed an interest in participating in the study. While there, he mentioned that in his spare time he enjoys playing basketball with the other young men at Bahay Tuluyan, calling them "kuya" (brother) as they played.

4.2.17 "Bong-Bong"

Bong-Bong is 15 years old and spoke softly about his life, providing short answers in Tagalog to the researcher's questions. In answer to the researcher's question about the adversities experienced by street children Bong-Bong explained, "they don't have any parents" and "they wander around on the streets". Bong-Bong did not wish to undertake the "talk and draw" art activity but spoke about his own experiences in the one-to-one interview. Over the course of a single interview, Bong-Bong explained that he ran away from home for reasons that he did not want to discuss. He was found on a street by a social worker who took him to Bahay Tuluyan so that he "could have a future". Bong-Bong earns a small income from his farm traineeship and uses his money to visit a local dentist and pay for braces on his teeth. He explained that his conception of "doing well" was having a future where he can "earn money and feed my family … I want us to be together."

During the child-led tour Bong-Bong took the researcher to a small creek behind the farm. He explained that this is a quiet place where he sits and thinks about his family. Bong-Bong

finished his tour by taking the researcher back to her car that was waiting on the road. Bong-Bong thanked the researcher and said "Salamat Po" (Thankyou Ma'am or Sir).

4.2.18 "Justine"

Justine is 17 years old, a serious young man who has a tanned face and strong body that is suggestive of hard physical labour. Justine was playing basketball on the court at Bahay Tuluyan prior to his meeting with the researcher, and at the prearranged time he left the court and came into the kitchen where the researcher was waiting. He suggested they talk inside the social work office where it was cool and air-conditioned.

Initially, Justine was very quiet during his meeting with the researcher, switching between English and Tagalog as the conversation progressed. He declined to undertake the "draw and talk" activity and child-led tour, preferring "just to talk … it is too hot". Once comfortable, however, Justine spoke in detail about the lives of street-involved children by reflecting on his own experiences. He talked about his experiences of being part of a "frat" (gang) and engaging in "riots", a term he used to describe violence between rival gangs. He revealed that his conception of "doing well" included being reunited with his family and joining the military to "see other places, see how they live" and earn an income by which he can "support my family". At the end of the semi-structured interview, Justine walked with the researcher and introduced her to the next young man scheduled to meet with her.

4.2.19 "Jonus"

Jonus is a 15-year-old young man who had self-selected into the study after learning about it at the Children's Assembly, but when the appointed meeting time with the researcher arrived, he seemed reluctant to participate, preferring to continue his game of basketball. With the encouragement of the other young men, he eventually met the social worker in the recreation room. He signed the Child Assent Form without reading it and did not appear to be following the interpreter as she read the Child Participant Information Sheet in Tagalog. The researcher reiterated the voluntary nature of the study and Jonus nodded his head to indicate his understanding.

To engage him in conversation, the researcher suggested they go for a short walk and talk along the way. Under a shady pergola, Jonus explained his conception of "adversity". He explained that he came from a family who had lived on the streets "since the time of my

grandfather". In response to the researcher's question, Jonus identified that he was inspired by his family as "even if we're having difficulties, we just push through". He explained that he most admired his mother as "even if we don't have food, she still looks for anything to eat so we can survive". He identified that his mother was "my inspiration – she does everything she can so we can be together".

Jonus and the researcher walked a little further for a short while, stopping outside a small hut where the young men are encouraged to read and study. Jonus explained his conception of "doing well" when he described how his ambition is to "study hard so the family can reunite". He said, "My dream is to have my family complete, and so us to have a good life." Jonus ended the tour by joining the other children at the basketball court and did not speak with the researcher again throughout the study.

4.2.20 "Joshua"

Joshua is 15 years old, a finely featured young man, who expresses himself using hand gestures and speaking animatedly about his experiences. From the researcher's first visit at the Quezon site, Joshua indicated his enthusiasm to participate in the study, although he failed to attend two of his pre-arranged meeting times. Joshua eventually met with the researcher on two occasions spontaneously, when the researcher had finished meeting with other study participants.

Joshua spoke primarily in English, although he switched to Tagalog when he chose. At his first meeting, he suggested they sit inside the social work office in the air conditioning and away from the other residents of Bahay Tuluyan. He did not wish to undertake the "talk and draw" activity, but verbally explained that the adversities faced by street-involved children were the result of their own "bad habits" and "not wanting to change their ways". Joshua's narrative is interesting as he appeared to blame street-involved children for their behaviours and implied that they can change if they choose. Joshua's perceptions of "adversity" are discussed in this thesis in Section 4.4.

In his second meeting, Joshua described his personal adversities by explaining the circumstances of his illegitimate birth and conflict with his stepfather. He explained how he ran away from his family and lived at the police station, becoming an errand boy before leaving to live with a prisoner with whom he formed a friendship. They lived together for

several months before the prisoner took him to Bahay Tuluyan so that he could study and have a better life.

Joshua took the researcher on a child-led tour. As they walked past the pigs and chickens, he revealed that he did not enjoy farm work because it "is hot and tiring".

Figure 4.4: Josh's Child-Led Tour

He described his conception of "doing well" when he described his hope to one day "go to school and finish my studies". He described his close relationships with the staff and other children at Bahay Tuluyan who are "like my family because we are now siblings". At the end of this tour, Joshua told the researcher that they would meet again and talk further. Although the researcher spoke with Joshua again several times, there were no further opportunities for formal data collection.

4.2.21 "Andreas"

Andreas is a seventeen-year-old young man who has a small moustache, which makes him look older than the other young men at Bahay Tuluyan in Quezon. Andreas agreed to participate in the study after his friend Bong-Bong took part and told him about the experience. He told the researcher that he wanted to participate in the study as he wanted "people like you" to "know about the lives of street-involved children". He initially declined to undertake the "draw and talk" activity but then, as he was speaking, drew small images using a paper and pen to describe his perception of "adversity". Andreas' drawings included

illustrations of discrimination that suggest an awareness of the political context of street-involved children's lives and are featured in this thesis in Section 4.4.

Andreas took the researcher on a lengthy tour of the farm at Bahay Tuluyan. He showed the researcher the pigs, which he enjoys caring for "because we will not be hungry". Andreas also works in the chicken house and helps farm the rice paddies, which he described as "tiring and hard". In answer to the researcher's question about his perception of "doing well" he explained that "at the farm I can earn money that I send for my siblings". On the final part of the tour, he took researcher to a "very special place" beside a small creek. He told the researcher that he comes by himself to sit and think about his family.

Figure 4.5: Andreas' Child-Led Tour

He is also able to catch fish that he and his friends can eat. Andreas ended the tour by walking the researcher back to the office and holding her hand to his head, a sign of respect in Filipino culture.

4.3 Emblematic Case Studies

This chapter will now introduce the narratives of Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla, which comprise the emblematic case studies that exemplify key themes identified in the complete study sample. The emblematic case studies will serve as a foundation for discussing the children's perceptions of "adversity" and the personal, relational, community and cultural

resources they engaged to facilitate resilience in the context of their social ecology (Ungar 2004). Each case study will also include a summary of the significance of the case with respect to the research question and provide a summary of how they engaged in the research activities.

These cases will lay the groundwork for the study findings, which suggest that children in this study constructed resilience in highly nuanced ways, managing the shared experience of oppression and the denial of their rights by drawing on both internal and external resources. The case studies, supported by the narratives of all child participants, exemplify children's perceptions of adversity as an experience they shared with other street-involved children and their families, reflecting an awareness of their status as "Other" and distinct from the mainstream Filipino society (Lister 2004). Drawing on Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, these case studies will suggest that children take diverse actions to manage circumstances of poverty and oppression as they seek to "get out", "get by", "get back at" and "get organised". The findings of this study will suggest that, in some instances informed by the child rights training at Bahay Tuluyan, children defined resilience in political terms that included personal and collective acts of resistance against deprivation of basic resources by which to survive, and oppressive government policies. As such, the children's stories suggest that they conceptualise resilience in highly diverse ways and utilise unorthodox resources to manage the shared experience of marginalisation and oppression in ways that are currently underexplored in discourses on resilience.

4.3.1 "Angelica"

This section will introduce the emblematic case study of Angelica, beginning with a summary of her life story and engagement in the research process before presenting her empirical evidence regarding her perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well". Angelica is 13 years of age, a softly spoken young woman; she smiles easily and is carefully presented, her school uniform clean and pressed and her hair pulled away from her face in a neat ponytail. Angelica seemed to be eager to participate in the study, arriving early to the designated meetings and waiting with her sister for the researcher to arrive. Angelica undertook the "talk and draw" activity, drawing detailed pictures of her perceptions of "adversity" and what it is to "do well", which are included in Section 4.4.1. Via this activity Angelica revealed her understanding of "adversity" to be related to "broken family" and deprivation of resources by which to survive as well as oppressive public policy including the detention of children. She

shared her dreams of "doing well", which included completing her studies and getting a well-paid job that would enable her to honour her familial obligations and reunify her family. Angelica also revealed that "doing well" includes a close relationship with God, whom she can ask for help and seek comfort in times of stress and danger.

Angelica also accompanied the researcher on two child-led tours on separate occasions, walking around Bahay Tuluyan at Laguna and the nearby streets. She appeared to enjoy walking through the environment, regularly calling out to her friends as the tour proceeded:

> I am here Kuya (brother) with Tita (Aunt) from Australia.

During the child-led tour, Angelica pointed out the kitchens and bathrooms where she cares for her siblings while they live at Bahay Tuluyan. Outside on the street, she took the researcher to her school. which she described as an important place for her:

> They say I am a good student. Especially at maths and English.

She showed the researcher the road that she takes to the local church, explaining that she goes every Sunday to pray and listen to the priest:

> He shows me how we should live and have a good life.

During her one-to-one interviews, Angelica talked freely about her life, lowering her voice when she described situations that were painful for her to recall. At the conclusion of her last child-led tour Angelica thanked the researcher for listening to her story and caring about the lives of street-involved children:

> God bless you and thank you for caring about me other children here … at Bahay Tuluyan.

In a one-to-one interview, Angelica explained how she grew up in Tondo, one of the most densely populated regions in Metro Manila, which is characterised by temporary dwellings along the Pasig River. Angelica's parents had migrated from a nearby province to seek a means of earning an income. As the eldest daughter, Angelica was responsible for domestic chores including providing care for her younger siblings while her parents worked.

> I care for them. I feed them and help them do chores as I am the elder.

In her early years, Angelica's school attendance was interrupted by her family's inability to pay school expenses and by relocations as her parents searched for work. Angelica described a series of catastrophic events that plunged her family into homelessness:

> My house got burned, and also my mother and father divorced. So I had no father, then my grandfather and grandmother died, the parents of my mother … Then the only one to look after me and my siblings is my mother and the parents of my father. Then my other grandfather died. The father of my father. Then there is only my mother who will take care of us and we don't have a house, so she brings us here.

Angelica's perceptions of "doing well" includes emphasis on reunifying her family and this is also a strong theme in the narratives provided by other child participants in the study. Angelica desires a house to live in with her family, which is "big and safe for children". She defined a "good life" as:

> A good life is you have a job, comfortable life and family. You have a family and a house. Your family can stay together. The children at school. You can eat food when you need. That's a good, simple life.

When talking about her aspirations for her future, Angelica described her desire to fulfil her responsibilities of mutual obligation to her family members. She dreams of getting a job and being able to generate enough money to enable her family to live together, eat and send her siblings to school. Thus, Angelica is making a long term, strategic plan to "get out" of poverty that is reminiscent of Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency. For Lister (2004), "getting out" of poverty describes personal, strategic decisions and actions that are encouraged by policy and society as approved means of overcoming poverty.

She describes how when she first arrived at Bahay Tuluyan she was distressed at being separated from her mother.

> I cried and prayed but when I told my mother she said that would not change anything. She said I should study hard so we can be together.

Thus, Angelica decided to reconcile herself to living away from her mother so that she would study, get a job and to reunify her family. Angelica described how Bahay Tuluyan enrolled her in school and financially supported her ongoing attendance including extracurricular activities such as dance class.

> They pay for me to go to school. My books, everything. They find money … for me to go to dance and enter the competition … They pay for me.

In the Philippines, many poor families aspire to send children to school with the aim of lifting the family out of poverty (Durbrow, Pen et al. 2001, Tuason and Teresa 2013). Angelica concurred:

> School to me is a key for a good life. If I study hard, I can be, I can reach my dreams. I can be a doctor, anything and help my family.

Angelica draws on those resources that are available to her in Filipino society to plan her escape from poverty. Angelica's perceptions of resilience reflect her ability to meet culturally normative expectations of healthy functioning associated with children who "do well" despite exposure to adversity. Her accounts of her use of resources in her relationships, community and culture are suggestive of an aspiration to change her circumstances and improve the lives of her family via strategies that are culturally normative for Filipino children. In the Philippines, researchers have suggested resilience is evident in populations of street-involved children who comply with notions of healthy functioning in children, despite the vice and temptations associated with street life (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista and Rolder 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). These researchers have found resilience in street children who demonstrate culturally desirable personal attributes, prioritise family relationships and uphold standards of morality and religiosity (Banaag 1997, Caparas 1998, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017).

Angelica's case is emblematic, in that seventeen other children who participated in this study also described their perceptions of resilience to be associated with using socially approved resources that are available to children in the Philippines in order reunify their families and get out of poverty. Like Angelica, many of the children who participated in the study described the importance of going to school and studying with the purpose of getting a well-paid job and being able to provide for themselves and their family in the future. Miguel, Angelica's sister, in her child-led tour, took the researcher to her elementary school where she explained the importance of Bahay Tuluyan in helping her go to school:

> I will study hard so that one day I will get a job to support my family.

Similarly, other children also discussed attendance at school and making long-term plans for family reunification, which they associated with "doing well". Justine shared with the researcher that one day he hopes to have his own family and that he aspires for them to remain together and for his future children to attend school:

> that won't be like my family, that got separated, I won't let that happen, the children will go to school and have a good life.

Jose also explained that his conception of "doing well" was "Just simple, I want us to be complete. Have a proper life, proper family always happy."

The emphasis on study as a mechanism to earn money and achieve family reunification was suggested in the child-led tour with Nicole who took the researcher to a small hut located on the grounds at the Laguna site of Bahay Tuluyan. It is here, she explained, where she can sleep overnight with her mother who visits her children at Bahay Tuluyan. Like Angelica, she explained she lives at Bahay Tuluyan "so I can study hard and one day be together again".

> We stay there together until we can be together one day. I will finish my studies so we can be together.

Thus, education as a means of achieving family reunification was an important theme in children's perceptions of "doing well".

Angelica 's narrative is also suggestive of a desire to observe familial obligations. This was an important part of doing well for many of the children who participated in the study. Seven children described how they cared for their siblings at Bahay Tuluyan while they were separated from parents. Mary Anne explained her perception of familial obligations during her child-led tour when she took the researcher to the roadside and described how she would beg to raise money to support her family prior to living at Bahay Tuluyan:

> When I was with my family I would beg on the street, like this. I had no school, but I helped my siblings and my mother.

Thus, in these cases, compliance with culturally dominant notions of familial obligations were an important part of children's conceptions of "doing well". Like Angelica, other children suggested that "doing well" was associated with compliance with culturally specific modes of interpersonal relationships. Reylin described "pagtitiis" as "like a blessing" after suffering. She said that suffering is an important part of "doing well", as "When you endure something, something good will happen."

As will be elaborated in Chapter 5, Angelica's perceptions of resilience concur with definitions described in existing Filipino resilience literature (Banaag 1997, Banaag 2016). In particular, she uses personal, relational and community resources to comply with notions of "healthy functioning" in children that are normative in the Philippines. It will be argued that

this perception of resilience is suggestive of Lister's concept of agency in the context of poverty as "getting out" – engaging in socially approved and individually focused strategies to get out of poverty. For Angelica, like other children in this study, "getting out" involves using education as a mechanism to get a well-paid job in future and achieve the reunification of family. In this study, as exemplified in this case, "getting out" also has a cultural dimension that includes faith in God as a means of making good moral choices in life. In addition, Angelica like many other children in the study expressed a desire to observe familial obligations and desire to lift her family out of poverty. Thus Angelica's case is emblematic of children who uses those resources that are available to get herself and her family out of poverty.

4.3.2 "Jasmine"

This section will introduce the emblematic case study of Jasmine, beginning with a short summary of her engagement in the research process before presenting her perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well". Jasmine is 15 years of age, a gregarious young woman whose fun-loving manner makes her well-liked by children and adults in the community. Prior to the study commencement, the researcher knew Jasmine, having met her many times at Bahay Tuluyan. Jasmine also knew the researcher's own children, regularly playing with them when they visited Bahay Tuluyan. Jasmine was the first child to indicate her interest in participating in the study after learning about the study at the Children's Assembly in Malate, regularly reminding the researcher of their allocated appointments as they neared.

In her first meeting, Jasmine completed the "talk and draw" activity, drawing images of "drugs", "no school", "broken family" and the image of a jail she entitled "RAC" and the words "Reception and Assessment" (Centre), which is the formal name of the institution where street-involved children are taken when they are "rescued" from the streets by the authorities. Jasmine explained her drawing represented her experiences of extreme deprivation and exposure to danger when she was rejected by her immediate family and her extended family refused to step in and support her in their place:

> This happened to me, many times. No house. No food. No privacy. Because my family don't love me and don't want me there.

Her drawing is discussed in this thesis in Section 4.4 to illustrate children's perceptions of adversity.

In her one-to-one interview, Jasmine explained that, while she lives under the care and protection of Bahay Tuluyan, she often runs away to be with her friends who still live on the streets, returning when she is hungry and tired of sleeping on the sidewalk. She explained that she considers her friends to be her family, in addition to the staff and other children at Bahay Tuluyan:

> I come here to eat, sleep in a bed, and see my family. They are like my family also.

Jasmine took the researcher on multiple child-led tours, with each tour being several hours in duration where she pointed out those resources she draws on in order to cope with circumstances of extreme deprivation. While walking the streets, Jasmine joked and laughed with the researcher as well as other people who passed by in English and Tagalog:

> I am here … cant ninoyo ako kausapin (you can't talk to me) … I am abala (busy) here with Tita (Aunt).

She often paused during the tours and told her friends and neighbours about her involvement in this study and her friendly relationship with the researcher, whom she called Tita (Aunt).

In her one-to-one interview, Jasmine shared her life story, explaining how she grew up in the slums of Tondo with her mother, father and siblings. Her large extended family lived close by.

> We live in a small house. It is not nice. Only made of wood and paper and other things.

Jasmine's mother and father are drug dependent and when she was a child there was very little food or money available for the children:

> They are always with drugs. They are not there at home. We are always asking for food … "please can we have rice", but it is not there.

Jasmine's parents engaged in crime to support their addictions, frequently being incarcerated for short periods of time. Jasmine explained how she spent many hours on the streets, socialising with her friends, seeking out and sharing food:

> We are laughing … playing with the others. We find food … we share it with each other.

As a young child she was not sent to school due to the family's financial position:

> I didn't go to school because there is no money and school is boring. Just there all the time.

Later in her interview she revealed that at school poor children are subject to bullying, suggesting an awareness of the discrimination experienced by street-involved children:

> [at school] children experience bullying because they don't have a family … where is your mother, where is your father … something like that.

In this she was alluding to the discrimination that street-involved children experience in mainstream Filipino society and suggested that her unwillingness to attend school was related to these experiences.

Jasmine conceptualised "adversity" and "doing well" within the context of her relationships, using the term "like family" to describe her relationship with people who helped her cope with circumstances of adversity. For Jasmine, "like family" described a range of adults and children who provide her with emotional, material and spiritual support including her friends, neighbours and staff at Bahay Tuluyan. Jasmine described multiple relationships with other children that helped her manage with the day-to-day difficulties of her life. She described groups of children she called her "bakarda" (Tagalog street slang for a close group of friends) who love each other when families fail to do so: "I don't experience that love from my family, I experienced it from other people. The bakarda." She suggested that these relationships were compensatory:

> Their family doesn't treat them as family. Even if they have a house, they go home, but the support and love that the parents are supposed to give, it's from the bakarda.

In accordance with Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, Jasmine draws on her relationships in order to "get by," baring the many adversities she experiences in her day to day life via the emotional resources her "like family" provides. She distinguishes a bakarda from a "gang" by suggesting that relationships between children are non-hierarchical, are based on emotional connection, and observe reciprocal obligations. Jasmine revealed that she had three bakardas: one on the streets of Tondo where she grew up, another at Bahay Tuluyan, and another from her early childhood days when she had a home. She spends her time visiting all of them, including those who live far away.

> They make me laugh. When I laugh I forget my problems.

She also suggests that children on the streets look after each other. Sharing resources to survive. While walking through a local park on her child-led tour, Jasmine explained that when she was homeless, she regularly slept in small temporary structures that she built with other children. When walking through the local park, she pointed out such a structure made from plastic and cardboard and waved at the children who were gathered nearby who shouted to her in Tagalog in response.

> Look, see, the street children sleep there. We have a little house there.

Thus, Jasmine draws on her personal relationships to help her cope with the difficulties in her life. Jasmine's case is emblematic in the sense that she forms alternative "in-group" relationships with children and adults who are not biologically related, to cope with the demands of street life. She makes few long-term strategic plans, coping with day-to-day challenges as they arise. Jasmine focuses her energy on her friends and those she considers "like family." In this sense, Jasmine's agency in the context of poverty fits with Lister's concept of "getting by" when she uses relationships to manage her day to day experiences of poverty and deprivation.

At Bahay Tuluyan, Jasmine has formed relationships with other children who are "like" siblings. Jasmine suggested that they ate and prayed together and helped each other with chores.

> I feel like they are my siblings, because we are so noisy when we eat. It is so noisy it is like at a market. We sleep in the same room. We help each other by cleaning together and doing jobs.

Jasmine suggested that she had "sibling-like" relationships when she contributed to daily rituals and chores in ways that echoed traditional sibling relationships in Filipino society.

Jasmine's case study exemplifies themes dominant in the narratives of eighteen other children who participated in the study. When children were unable to access warm, loving relationships with family members they reported developing relationships with adults and children in the community that were "like family". These relationships did not replace birth family relationships, but rather augmented them and provided access to physical and emotional resources that enabled them to "do well".

Other children in the study sample identified multiple relationships with children and adults that enabled them to overcome adversity. Mary Anne's illustration (Figure 4.6) exemplifies

relationships which were important to her in managing the difficulties in her life. She nominated her relationship with her immediate and extended family, her friends, professional relationships at Bahay Tuluyan and God.

Figure 4.6: Mary Anne's Drawing of Relationships that Help Her Overcome Adversity

Like Jasmine, Andreas reflected on the pain of being estranged from his family when he explained that his perception of the adversities faced by street children are based on their "separation from their families" and this causes them to be "sad and alone". Like Jasmine, he also found solace in relationships with children and staff at Bahay Tuluyan and, while he did not want to describe his own circumstances of how he came to live there, he said that his relationships enabled him to live from day to day.

Researcher:	Can you tell me how you manage the pain of being separated from your mother?
Andreas:	Being with the others here.
Researcher:	And how does this help you?
Andreas:	It helps me bear the pain.
Researcher:	What do you do with them that helps you?
Andreas:	They comfort me, and I talk to them, play basketball, like that.

Other children who participated in the study called staff and children familial terms, such as "nanay,"(mother) "tita" (aunt) and "kuya" (brother) that are suggestive of being "like family." On his child-led tour, Bong-Bong explained that for reasons he did not wish to discuss he is estranged from his family, stating "they hate me". He explained that Bahay Tuluyan are now "my family who care for me when no one else is there". He told the researcher that he can tell they are family because the children "help each other with our tasks. For example, tomorrow I'll clean there, then next time, it's your turn. We help each

other." Thus Bong-Bong suggested that staff and residents of Bahay Tuluyan are "like family" as they help each other by providing emotional and physical help and support.

Children in the study negotiated relationships with teachers, social workers and helpful adults in the community such as street vendors, sports coaches and religious leaders. The children perceived professional relationships as important sources of emotional and physical support. They described relationships with professional support workers, for example, social workers, as more meaningful when they used personal resources to help a child. Mary Anne told the story of seeing her teacher giving money to a child who was begging.

> She gave them her own money because they are hungry. It was from her own bag. She was like a mother to them.

Mary Anne perceived that the teacher's use of personal resources was evidence of the teacher having "family-like" relationships with children. Children valued social workers who helped them access other resources such as school, recreational facilities and medical care. Jezz supported this when he talked about the house parents at Bahay Tuluyan:

> They are kind in the heart. They are like our parents, they feed us and help us eat, even when they have nothing.

Similarly, Joshua described running from home and refuge at the local police station where he built a relationship with a prisoner, eventually leaving the station under his care:

> When a prisoner finished his sentence, I went away with him. Because I wasn't feeling safe with the policemen anymore. They were hitting and harassing most of the prisoners. And they were treating me as a slave at the police station. That's why I went with the ex-con. We lived in Manila. I lived there for a long time.

Joshua perceived this relationship with the prisoner as familial when he "became like an older brother.

> He talks to me, told me things, and gave me advice.

Jasmine also used her relationship with God as an important resource when overcoming adversity. On one of her child-led tours, Jasmine took the researcher to a small chapel located away from the busy street. She explained that in the chapel she likes to pray to God, whom she called "our father". She explained her relationship with God was one of her most important relationships, and that she can trust that God will help her with her problems.

> I can say my problems to God. He is the most trust worth person that you will know. He won't tell others your problems.

As discussed in detail in Section 5.4, all the other children who participated in this study discussed their relationship with God and identified this as an important resource that enabled them to manage the difficulties of life in order to "do well". Reylin explained that she admires her family for their perseverance and faith.

> Because no matter what happened, they didn't give up. They trusted in the Lord that they can get past it, that no matter what burdens they bear, they still carry it upwards to rise above.

As discussed further in Chapter 5, Jasmine's case exemplifies the use of relational resources in a way that is not well articulated in the existing resilience literature in the Philippines. She demonstrates the capacity to cope with the challenges of street life by moving between her relationships as she manages her immediate needs. Jasmine's use of relationships makes the challenges of living in conditions of extreme poverty more bearable, including her relationship with God. Her case exemplifies an important theme in the complete sample of children who participated in the study who draw on relationships to manage the effects of poverty. In accordance with Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, this emblematic case will be drawn upon to exemplify how children "get by" and cope with the circumstances of adversity they experience day to day.

4.3.3 "Gabriel"

This section will introduce the emblematic case study of Gabriel, beginning with a short summary of his life story and engagement in the research process before presenting his perceptions of "aversity" and "doing well". Gabriel is a physically imposing young man, tall and powerfully built. He is 17 years of age, although he looks considerably older. Gabriel learnt about the study from one of his friends and then attended the Children's Assembly at Malate where he indicated his interest in participating.

Gabriel was selective about his engagement in the research activities. He was disinterested in the "talk and draw" activity, gesturing to the coloured pencils and paper and saying, "that is for the little ones". He also declined to take the researcher on a child-led tour, preferring to undertake his semi-structured interview in the social work office at Bahay Tuluyan, away from public view. During his interview, he explained his reasoning:

> Leveriza down around … United Nations Ave … walking out there is not safe for you, you don't want to be with me on the street.

He explained how the streets of Malate are divided into "territories" occupied by rival gang members who are his enemies. Gesturing with his hands he pointed out those streets around Bahay Tuluyan which are most dangerous for himself and the researcher:

> Since the time of our grandfathers we don't go there unless there is a riot.

When talking with the researcher at Bahay Tuluyan, Gabriel spoke primarily in English, switching to Tagalog when he found something difficult to explain. At the end of his participation in the research, Gabriel thanked the researcher, saying "Salamat (Thank you)" before walking out of the offices of Bahay Tuluyan. The researcher saw him several times over the course of the rest of the research process, including during child-led tours with other children in the neighbourhood. At these chance meetings, Gabriel did not acknowledge the researcher.

During the one-to-one meetings, Gabriel spoke easily about his perceptions of adversity, including exposure to extreme violence, reflecting on these experiences as difficult but unexceptional within his peer group. In Gabriel's first semi-structured interview, he explained what he understands to be his story of how he came to live in Manila. He believes that when he was an infant, his parents, who lived on a farm in a rural province, passed him into the care of his aunt who lived in the slums of Tondo. Gabriel is unsure of the details, but he believes his parents gave him away as they were unable to provide for him.

> The are there in the province. I haven't been there. They must have been poor and have no money. But I don't know. I don't know them. My sister has been there. She says they are poor with no food, no money.

When he arrived in Manila, he lived with his aunt and sisters in a dwelling along the Pasig River. He described the conditions of his life with his aunt:

> Those small houses there. There is no floor and no fan because my aunt has no money. We are all just there and we have no food.

Gabriel explained that the dwelling was cramped and hot, and there was very little food. After a time, his aunt could no longer afford to send him to school, and so Gabriel spent time on the street playing, and finding ways to generate food and money:

> So, we go outside. Sometimes we sleep there one time and another. We are with our friends and get food because there is nothing in the house.

Gabriel explained that after a while he began to "sleep outside", and eventually joined a local gang. He explained that today the gang offers him attachment and protection that compensates for the love he did not get from his family:

> I get love from my friends. My family cannot be called a family. So, I get love from them.

Gabriel acknowledged that gang activities are dangerous, describing many personal injuries:

> In truth, I've been stabbed. A lot of times. I have a lot of wounds too.

Throughout his interviews Gabriel described multiple violent incidents with his peers, rival gang members, the police and members of the public. Despite this, being a member of a gang offers protection and collective power.

> When we fight with our enemies together, we say, "We're brave, we're in your territory. Don't do anything, it might be your last."

As a gang member, Gabriel is recognised for his size and skill in fighting. He explained that he now earns an income by taking part in organised illegal fights around Manila. He said that he is considered one of the best fighters and is thus able to generate income for those gambling on him:

> Wow. I feel like I won at a professional fight. Like, I have money! I've also beaten up someone. I'm a man. They all respect me for what I can do. What I can earn.

His status as a winning fighter protects him within the gang and gives him a position of privilege in the gang hierarchy. Gabriel also deals drugs to supplement his income, passing his earnings to his nephews so that they can go to school. His success as a street fighter makes him popular with the police, who overlook his drug-related activity if he wins his fights and generates an income for those who gamble on his success. He recognised that these activities are very dangerous but suggested that the gang members protect each other:

> We keep each other safe. We have a safe house. The safe house is alive today. Even if Duterte is president. There is still an operation.

He described his drug-dealing activities including how he outwits the police, whom he considers corrupt and unjust:

> We put the … drugs in the cans … like we have the rubbish. They don't know it's there but it is always.

Gabriel also described using drugs to manage his strong feelings as well as to ease the physical pain caused during his fights:

> I smoke and it makes me feel comforted … I lean back … like, I can sleep. I let all the pain go.

Gabriel's construction of "doing well" can be achieved via the use of violence, a resource not traditionally associated with resilience. Gabriel described being both a perpetrator and a victim of violence in the street. He said that he often "picks fights" with people as a mechanism to solve problems:

> I beat them up if they annoy me or someone else. I can do that because I am the best.

Gabriel's perception of "adversity" included a political narrative in which he was critical of the government for failing to provide resources for poor children and their families. He suggested that the government's War on Drugs is not the real problem in the Philippines:

> People in the Philippines are poor … parents cannot support their children … so the children go on the street to earn money. Drugs are not the real problem.

In his interviews he revealed that his perception of adversities included the oppression by police and public officials employed by the Barangay to enact the policy of rescue, which is known to target street-involved children.

> The police they are dangerous like that … They will kill you if they want … but not me.

The Filipino resilience literature, as discussed in Chapter 2, defines resilient street-involved children as those who demonstrate healthy functioning when they meet culturally normative expectations of growth and development, despite their street involvement. Gabriel's case shows a different perception of a response to poverty and life on the street than either Angelica or Jasmine. Unlike Angelica and Jasmine, Gabriel draws on dangerous internal and external resources which threaten his safety but simultaneously enable him to demonstrate outcomes and behaviours that he associates with resilience. He justifies these acts by calling attention to the failure of politicians to adequately meet the needs of poor families and their children.

Gabriel's critique of oppressive government policy suggests that he sees his criminal activities as acts of resistance and demonstrations of political agency. Gabriel's case disrupts the Filipino understanding of resilience that privileges culturally normative perceptions of growth and development in street-involved children. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, his agency in the context of poverty can be categorised within Lister's taxonomy as "getting back at" – that is, a response to his circumstances on the streets that is at the same time personal, political and irregular, having disregard to a range of laws and social norms.

Gabriel's case exemplifies themes in the narratives of other children who participated in this study. Many male children who participated in the study discussed gang membership as a mechanism to achieve a powerful self-concept, protection and belonging. Jonus described being a member of a gang and being required to "fight" at the behest of powerful gang leaders whom he fears. Jonus described gang leaders as powerful figures whom he and his friends would obey in exchange for protection and access to resources:

Researcher:	Can you describe what you do with the frat?
Jonus:	We fight with bottles and knives, when they tell us, we do it.
Researcher:	Is it frightening?
Jonus:	Yes … But then we get the nanays of those who are hurt. We can rest and eat.

Similarly, Bong-Bong suggested that obeying gang leaders was a means of rising in the gang hierarchy and having a greater share of power, status and resources. He explained that fighting demonstrates loyalty and protects the territories of the gang leaders:

Researcher:	Why would you fight?
Bong-Bong:	It is only when needed. For territory. Or the frat leader has an insult, those are the things.

Like Gabriel, other children in the study also used drugs as a mechanism for managing the adversities associated with street life. Male and female children described using inhalants and marijuana to manage hunger pains and strong emotions, and to build relationships with other children. Justine described his perception of why street-involved children engage in drug-related activity. He said that children "want to feel the love of their parents" and "to go to school" but are unable to do so "as there is no money". As a result, he explained that "the children do the things that they do – like their vices".

The researcher clarified this in the conversation below.

Researcher: What are the vices you mean?
Justine: They smoke cigarettes, marijuana, sometimes dice. I did that.
Researcher: What do you mean? Can you explain?
Justine: Before I didn't have the love of my parents, I did those things. But now I don't because I am here [Bahay Tuluyan]. Here you can have a quiet life, not having anyone abuse them, using drugs.

Gabriel's case exemplifies that, just as conceptions of resilience vary *between* cultures, conceptions also vary *within* cultures when marginalised children associate their engagement in risky or transgressive behaviours with resilience. Specifically, Gabriel described these culturally undesirable activities as political acts of resistance that challenge the existing Filipino definitions of healthy functioning, as reviewed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, Gabriel engages in these transgressive activities to improve his own personal circumstances, exploiting the protection offered to him by the police who he sees as unjust and targeting street children. Thus, Gabriel's perspective of "doing well" is associated with "getting back at" mainstream Filipino society from which he is excluded. This perception of resilience is currently inadequately considered in the existing body of Filipino research, which privileges culturally normative demonstrations of healthy functioning in children.

4.3.4 "Kyla"

This section will introduce the emblematic case study of Kyla, beginning with a short summary of her engagement in the research process before presenting her perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well". Kyla is 17 years of age; she is a quietly spoken and thoughtful young woman whose face bears several scars from years of living on the streets. Kyla first learnt about the study in her role as a Youth Facilitator at Bahay Tuluyan, self-selecting into the study after careful consideration.

> I want the world to listen to the voices of street-involved children … about the difficulties … I want to talk to people like you … Flinders University … it is important to hear the voices of street children.

Kyla was selective in how she engaged in research activities, meeting with the researcher formally on only one occasion for an interview that spanned several hours. During this interview she spoke to the researcher quietly and seriously, often pausing to consider her answers before speaking. She did not wish to undertake the "talk and draw" activity, shaking her head to indicate her preference. She did not take the researcher on a child-led tour, explaining that she was very busy and keen to get back to her daily activities. She ended her

interview with the researcher by thanking her for listening to the voices of Filipino street children:

> Thank you for listening to the children here.

Over the course of the study, Kyla regularly spoke to the researcher and asked about how the study was progressing. On several occasions she also encouraged other children to take part in the study.

During her interview Kyla explained that she is the eldest daughter of four children who grew up in the port area of Manila Bay, in a temporary dwelling built from disused refuse. When Kyla was a small child, her mother and father separated. Kyla and her siblings were left in the care of her father. One day, Kyla's father left home and did not return.

> We were there in the house. But he didn't come one day and then another.

Alone, Kyla took her younger siblings to find their grandparents who lived in a neighbouring barangay (Tagalog for local government area).

> We went to my Lolo as we had no food and no money.

Her grandparents agreed to take them in, but Kyla was expected to leave school and earn money. She described being sad to leave school but was motivated by the desire to contribute to the care of her siblings.

> School is the best but I have no way to go. I have to support my siblings. So I help them so they can go to school.

Kyla found informal employment doing small jobs for street vendors, such as selling food to commuters in cars at traffic lights. At night, she begged in shopping malls and parks.

> I begged from strangers whoever was there who would give coins. In the traffic and cars … I knock on windows and ask for coins … sometimes my siblings also … come [with me].

Kyla described this work as tiring and hazardous due to traffic and bad weather. When she begged, people in the community regarded her with disdain.

> They look down on me and my siblings when we are there begging for coins. It is not much, sometimes all day for one peso ... so we are hungry all the time.

She described how begging yielded small amounts of money that were inadequate to support her siblings.

Kyla's perception of "doing well" changed after she was exposed to the concept of child rights. She first learnt about children's rights when she lived on the streets and met social workers from the Child Asia Foundation. They offered her the opportunity to go into sheltered accommodation:

> At first I really didn't want to go to a shelter, I was happy being there on the street. Not really OK because there's no proper place to sleep, I can't go to school properly, but it seemed to be that I can do it.

Kyla was inspired by the social workers who told her that at Bahay Tuluyan she would have her basic human rights met.

> I would have a place to live, be safe, food to eat and I can go to school.

At the Foundation, Kyla learnt about the United Nations and how children should be protected and able to access resources needed for survival. She says that learning about her rights changed her views about children.

> I learn the basic rule of law … and how children should be treated.

She also learnt that children deserved to live free of abuse and violence. She was surprised to learn about "duty bearers" and that the Filipino government had agreed to uphold the rights of children.

> The government has to hold up the rights of children to be safe, not to be abused, and go to school.

Kyla explained that learning about children's rights empowered her to protest when adults in positions of authority abuse children. She illustrated her point by retelling an experience when she stood up for a child who was being abused.

> I did that once, the guard in front of Shakey's [fast food franchise], he was kicking a child. It happens often. Sometimes pouring water, but getting kicked in the head is painful, especially with heavy shoes. And that time I felt so hurt, I approached. When I approached, because I was a child, they didn't listen to me. They won't listen to a soft voice, because I was just a child. So that time I yelled, "That's not allowed! That's child abuse. We can file a case against you, you can get imprisoned, you can lose your job, and you have no right to do that. You can just wake him up kindly." I yelled so that I can get everybody's attention. That time I was so angry, and we really complained against him. We went to the barangay and filled out the police blotter. It

> is hard to complain, but we did complain. We did get someone in jail, but only for a while. But at least it taught a lesson somehow.

This story contrasts with her experience prior to learning about her rights when she witnessed the abuse of her brother in which she described herself as "powerless" and "weak". When her brother was assaulted by a guard, she was unable to protest and could not protect him.

> I was powerless and weak … just there. I couldn't do anything. I didn't know what words to say.

The themes in Kyla's case study are evident in the stories of other children in the study sample, who described their vision of a "good life" as having their rights respected and upheld. Nicole explained her conception of children's rights:

> A child should have a name, to be born, be safe, to live in a good community, to go to school. They should also be able to live in a peaceful community.

Joshua identified his exposure to child rights as a stimulus to change the course of his life.

> Being a child, I get to play, I get to sleep well, and they returned my childhood. I can eat what I want, I can sleep, I can bathe.

He suggested that learning about child rights enabled him to:

> Realise that I'm a human, I shouldn't have to endure, especially since I'm a child, I don't have to endure that kind of hardships, illegal acts. I shouldn't be mixed in those illegal organisations, gangs. It made me realise the importance of the life of a person and a child.

Kyla's case study bears some similarities to those of Angelica, Jasmine, and Gabriel, but also has important differences. In common with Angelica, Jasmine and Gabriel, Kyla perceives the denial of human rights as a source of adversity for herself, her family and other street-involved children. Kyla's case diverges from other emblematic cases presented in this thesis in that she also sees human rights as a critical component of "doing well" and draws on these convictions as a basis by which to engage in personal and collective acts of resistance against victimisation and political oppression. Kyla's exposure to knowledge about the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) fuels her political awareness and transforms her perception of what it is to "do well". In common with Gabriel therefore, Kyla's agency in the context of poverty has a political character. Unlike Gabriel, her agency is not simply focused on her own situation but on street-involved children more generally,

whose rights she seeks to defend. Kyla's agency therefore fits with "getting organised" in Lister's taxonomy of agency in the context of poverty.

4.4. Children's Perceptions of "Adversity"

In this thesis, the narratives of Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla's are presented as emblematic case studies that exemplify the broader perceptions of resilience held by the twenty-one other children who participated in this study. In answer to the research question, this study sought to understand children's self-identified perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in order to understand their unique conception of resilience. All twenty-five children who participated in the study identified that street-involved children face "adversity" with themes emerging from within the data. All of the children also discussed that, once on the streets, they are exposed to a variety of dangers including gang-related activity, drug use, exposure to bad weather, traffic and unscrupulous adults. Angelica identified a "broken family" as her primary circumstance of adversity, sharing this perception with seventeen other children who participated in the study. Kyla and sixteen other children who participated in the study discussed these issues in relation to children's rights, identifying that the provision of basic resources is a human right that street children are denied.

As residents of Bahay Tuluyan, many of the children had been exposed to child rights training and therefore perceived these "adversities" to be associated with the failure of duty bearers such as the government to uphold the rights of children and discussed experiences of being powerless in relation to the broader Filipino community. This section will explore the key themes in the broader study sample regarding children's perceptions of "adversity": "Broken Family" (Section 4.4.1); "Inadequate Resources by which to Survive" (4.4.2); "Dangers of the Streets" (4.4.3); and "Denial of Rights" (4.4.4).

This section will therefore suggest that children hold perceptions of "adversity" related to inadequate and oppressive government policy that unjustly targets street-involved children and threatens their lives. These observations will form the basis of the study findings discussed in Chapter 5, where it is argued that many children hold political conceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that are underexplored in dominant notions of resilience, as well as in the Filipino literature regarding the resilience of street-involved children.

4.4.1 "Broken Family"

Angelica, like many children who participated in this study, described her perception of "adversity" within the context of her familial relationships. Angelica described herself as coming from a "broken family", a term she and other children used to describe the separation of parents, siblings and extended families due to relationship breakdown, abandonment, parental incarceration or death. In the context of a collectivist society where the family is the primary unit of social organisation, a "broken family" represents significant risk for children:

> Because sometimes, children don't have family because sometimes, their parents abandon them. Sometimes, their father … just abandon them because they have … mistress. Maybe the mother can't keep the family together. She has to work. The family can't be together.

In Figure 4.7, Angelica tells her own story via her illustration and expresses the cascading effect when her father had an affair with a "mistress" that caused him to "abandon his own family". In her image, Angelica identifies that a "broken family" represents an important risk for children, associated with vulnerability to deprivation of basic resources, violence and oppressive government policy including detention in the "Reception and Action Centre" (RAC).

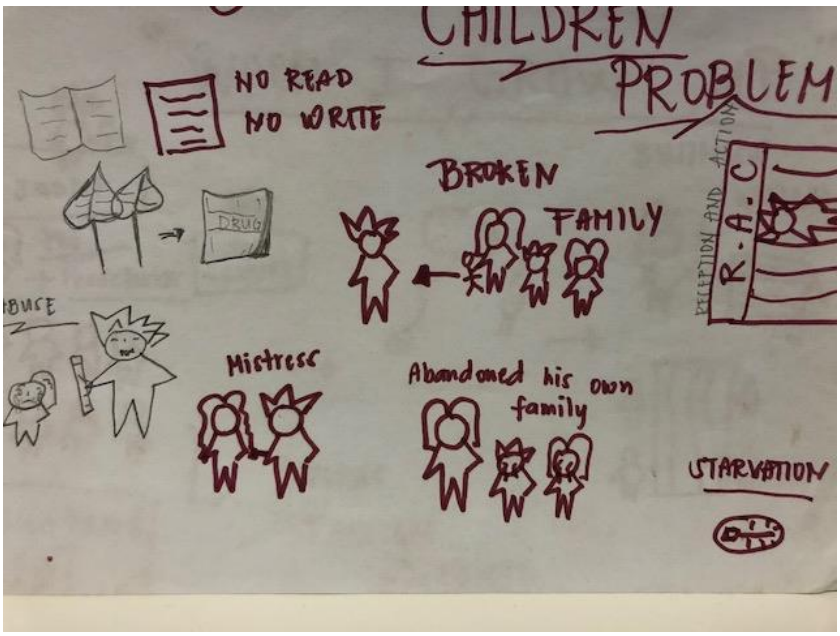


Figure 4.7: Angelica's Illustration of "Children's Problems"

For Angelica, “broken families” led to a series of adverse circumstances including “starvation”, “abuse”, “drugs” and “no read, no write”. Similarly, other children in the complete study sample described the risks a “broken family” presented to children. Jose described the vulnerability of children when families break down and the effect that parental separation was likely to have on his chance to access school and get a well-paid job in adulthood. In his “talk and draw” activity, he wrote a list of adversities experienced by street-involved children.

Translated from Tagalog, Jose wrote: “When my parents are fighting, I try to stop them because they might separate.” He went on to describe the cascading effects that family breakdown can cause when he wrote: “My problem is that I want to finish my studies because if I do not get to finish my studies, I will be unable to get a job other than just a sidecar boy.”

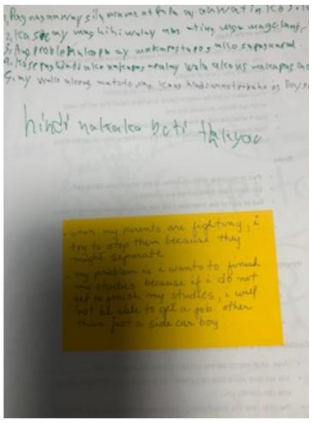


Figure 4.8: Jose’s Talk and Draw Activity

In Filipino society, a “sidecar boy” is a person who rides a tricycle, transporting passengers for a small fare. Tricycle riders are often very poor, living in their sidecar when they are not working. Thus, Jose is suggesting that a well-paid job is dependent on his family remaining together and his access to school.

Similarly, in Jonus’s “talk and draw” art activity he listed the catastrophic effects of the abandonment of children by their parents and extended family. He listed number one as “children abandoned by their parents”. His second risk was being “unable to access basic resources by which to survive”. The third risk he identified is when “children are abandoned by their relatives”. Thus, “broken families” or the inability of immediate and extended

families to provide care for children was an important theme in the broader study sample's perceptions of "adversity".

Like Angelica, Jasmine discussed the inability of her immediate and extended family to provide emotional resources but elaborated to suggest this is a deliberate action rather than the result of inadequate resources. Unlike Angelica who loves, and is loved by, her mother and other family members, Jasmine suggested that her primary hardship relates to her mother and father who do not love her. Jasmine suggested that it is the inability of her parents to provide love that leads to her having inadequate resources by which to survive.

> I love my mom more than everything. She never love me but I love her. She said when I go to see her: "What are you doing here?"

Jasmine suggested that street-involved children face further adversities when they are not afforded parental love and familial obligations are not observed:

> Because their family doesn't treat them as family, even if they have a house, they go home but the support and love that the parents are supposed to give, it's from the bakarda, the streets, the support, the things they are supposed to learn about, it goes elsewhere.

To Jasmine's way of thinking, it is the lack of parental love that leads to the other dangers that face street-involved children and force them to build relationships with their bakarda.

Other children in the complete sample discussed "adversity" regarding the emotional distress caused by separation from their parents. Charles exemplified this when he described his perception of "adversity" as related to his family with whom he has no contact. He described his strong feelings when he meets other children at Bahay Tuluyan who have intact families:

> I am jealous that they have a family. We are separated and my parents don't know where we are.

Similarly, Reylin expressed the longing she feels for her parents when she described her dreams in which she is reunited with them:

> Sometimes I dream about me waking up, and my parents are looking at me. I like that dream. I always dream like that.

Kyla discussed the many difficulties faced by street children but suggested the emotional anguish of not having a loving parental relationship is the hardest:

> It's very hard to be on the street, nowhere to sleep, often hungry. One of the hardest and most painful things is not having your parents.

The emotional anguish of separation was also evident in the child-led tour. Nicole took the researcher to a small hut where she sleeps with her mother when she can visit her children at Bahay Tuluyan. Pointing to the hut she explained, when her mother visits "we do bonding" and can "sleep together at night". When the researcher asked her to describe "bonding" she looked confused, and laughed, asking the interpreter to explain the concept to the researcher in English. The interpreter explained "bonding" is "love between people". Thus, Nicole suggested that the emotional anguish caused by separation from parents is an important source of adversity for street-involved children.

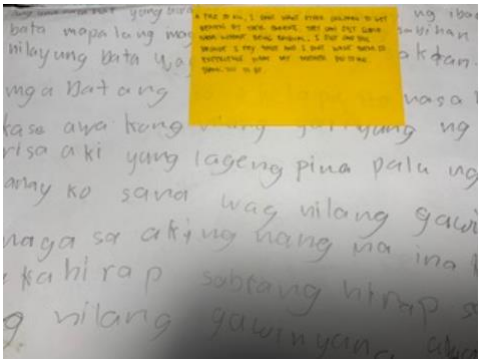
Many children also discussed "broken family" to describe circumstances of emotional, physical and sexual abuse between family members. Jose expressed this when he explained that he did not have a home due to the violence between his mother and father.

> My mother and father, they always fight, and we aren't cared for. Even on the streets, they beat each other. They do not have a proper home.

Children described abuse directed at themselves, perpetrated by immediate and extended family members including mothers, fathers, brothers, uncles, aunts and grandparents. They also described violence at the hands of "step relatives". Jean exemplified this when she explained that, after her father died, her mother's new partner beat her siblings:

> My stepfather always beats her and my younger sibling. Of course, when I see that, my father didn't do that, so I talk back to him.

Other children in the complete study sample also described their perception of adversity as family members being sexually, physically and emotionally abusive towards them. Joyce explained that he came to live at Bahay Tuluyan after his parents "beat each other, my siblings, every one of us". He explained that his family "did not have a house" and lived in a temporary dwelling that was "very hot as it had no fan" and was "owned by stepfather's friend" who "took pity on us". In his "talk and draw" activity he chose to write a statement that exemplified how some street-involved children do not have a safe home environment.



Transcription: First of all, I don't want other children to get beaten by their parents. They can just scold them without being physical. I just said this because I pity those and I don't want them to experience what my mother did to me. Thank you BT

Figure 4.9: Joyce's Talk and Draw Activity

Angelica's perception of "adversity" centres on the breakdown of her immediate family as well as the subsequent failure of her extended adult family members to provide for her needs and those of her siblings. Angelica pointed to the role of extended family in supporting children when she described how her father abandoned his family. However her grandfather observed his responsibilities of familial obligation. The death of her grandfather meant Angelica's mother and siblings no longer had the safety net that enabled them to live. Angelica and her siblings went to live with an uncle in a province where she was subject to abuse and neglect. She was forced to sell ice creams on the streets rather than attend school, and when she was unable to generate an adequate income, her uncle beat her:

> I did not sell enough to support my siblings so he raised his hand to me.

Angelica took her younger siblings and returned to Manila, living on the streets until she located her mother. Like Angelica, other children's circumstances were compromised when extended family members were unable or unwilling to support them. Mary Anne explained that inter-family disputes resulted in relocation to another province where she "lost" her extended family. Unable to rely on their support, her mother brought her and her siblings to Bahay Tuluyan so that they "can eat and study".

Like Angelica, Jasmine described her perception of "adversity" as also related to the failure of her extended family to act as a safety net. After she was abandoned by her parents, Jasmine and her siblings went to live with an uncle who lived close by. Like Angelica, as an

elder sister, her uncle expected Jasmine to "earn the money to feed my siblings". Having no means of earning an income, Jasmine resented "having to beg from strangers for coins". Jasmine left her siblings in the care of her uncle and went to live on the streets with her friends. During her "walk and talk" child-led tour, Jasmine pointed to the street on which her uncle lived and expressed resentment at his failure to support her when she most needed it. She said that, although the extended family lives close by, they have an acrimonious relationship.

> They don't want me to visit them. They hate me. And I hate them too. They always said, "Where's your money? Where's your money?" If I don't have money, they say, "Go home."

Jasmine's strong feelings about her extended family suggest she believes that they value her only when she can generate income for them. This circumstance results in Jasmine being deprived of love, as well as unable to access the safety net of the extended family that is normative in Filipino society. Thus, like other children who participated in the study, both Jasmine and Angelica described their perception of adversity as a twofold process by which they migrated to the streets. This process began with parental abandonment and was compounded by the subsequent failure of the extended family to provide security in their absence.

4.4.2 Inadequate Resources by which to Survive

All twenty-five children who participated in this study perceived "adversity" to be associated with inadequate resources by which to survive. Children described being without food, clean water, access to hygienic facilities or a safe place to sleep. When speaking of their own experiences, children described being unable to go to school, or access medical care when they are sick. In some instances, children's narrative suggested an awareness of the social and political context of their lives, suggesting that street-involved children experience lack of essential resources due to political and economic issues in the Philippines.

In one of Jasmine's child-led tours, she showed the researcher a small hut in a park where she said she slept at night with other children. While walking through the streets, she also pointed out street vendors who had fed her when she was hungry, explaining that sometimes she would wash dishes to earn a meal. Similarly, Angelica described being unable to access basic resources needed for survival when she ran away from her abusive uncle and lived on the

streets while looking for her mother. As the eldest sibling, she described how she provided food for her siblings by generating a small income via begging.

> It is hard to do anything when you and your siblings are hungry, except try to find food and money.

Likewise, Miguel, who is Angelica's sister, depicted this circumstance in her "draw and talk" art activity. She drew an image of a small child and an older child "sleeping by the road" and "poking" (begging) at the mall to raise an income in order to eat.

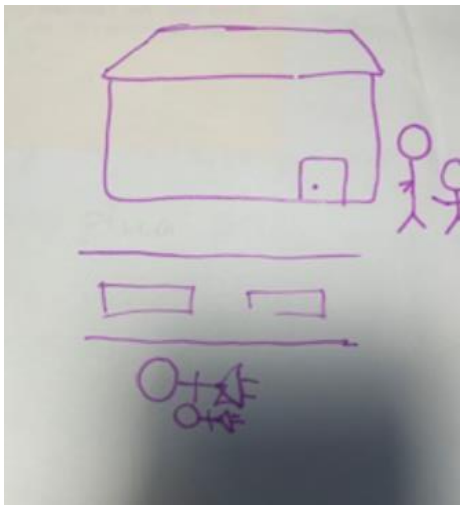


Figure 4.10: Miguel's Talk and Draw Activity

In some instances, children described that they were born into families who experienced intergenerational homelessness with inadequate access to safe accommodation, food or health care. Reylin also exemplified this theme when she told of her family's experience, which included unstable accommodation that was lost due to bad weather as well as habitual strategies to manage when they had no food.

> When my parents were still young, when my mother was still young, my grandmother had no home. They only eat, they only beg from the eatery, only stale rice and salt water, and sometimes when they don't have anything to eat, they just sleep instead …there was a storm. They lost their house, and my Tita (Aunt) died.

The extreme deprivation of this family is suggested by the fact that they were unable to afford the costs of burying a deceased relative and by Reylin's own birth, in which she was born on the streets of Manila:

> When my Tita died, they had more difficulties, they couldn't bury her because they had no money, no money for a casket. And then when I was born, my mother said I was born on the street, and was just rushed to the hospital when I was already out.

Similarly, in Marcos's semi-structured interview, he elaborated on this theme when he identified his perception of "adversity" faced by street children. He associated this with families being unable to meet the needs of their children:

> That's the problem with family, they can't provide for their needs. So the find their own way and they can't eat. They do wrong things, like stealing. Sometimes they go home but their parents are not safe for them.

Thus, Marcos elaborated on this theme to suggest that when families are unsafe, or not adequately resourced, children migrate to the streets to find other ways to support themselves.

Many children also reported engaging in income-generating activities to support themselves and their families and discussed this in the context of powerlessness and oppression. Charles explained this: "I worked in a factory. They made me work. They treat me like a slave, so I run away."

Informal incoming-generating activities included running errands, guiding drivers into car parks, calling for jeepneys (a public minibus service) and sorting rubbish for re-use. Many children described begging or "poking", in which they asked strangers for food. Like Kyla, Jezz explained that the only course of action a child can take is "run away from parents". However, they need to earn money by any means they are able including "begging" or "sometimes they sell their own bodies".

At Bahay Tuluyan, children are exposed to training in child rights. As such, children in the study sample discussed having inadequate resources by which to survive, which they associated with a political narrative that suggested an awareness of the social, economic and political context of their lives. Jasmine's perception of "adversity" can be seen in her "draw and talk" art activity which she entitled "Kids' Problems". She depicted a broad collection of circumstances that affect the lives of street-involved children. In the centre of the picture, Jasmine drew a house and wrote "homeless", "broken family" and "a mother or father who died". The picture also includes a large mouse who has a label on its chest named "Population" and underneath she wrote in English in capital letters "STARVATION". She also highlighted "poor education", "drugs" and an image of a jail she labelled "RAC".

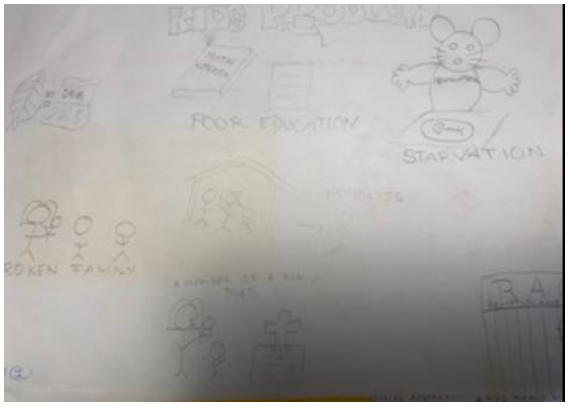


Figure 4.11: Jasmine's talk and draw activity

Jasmine's drawing is suggestive of a political perception of "adversity" in which having inadequate resources is linked to the broader social and political context of the Philippines. Her depiction of the mouse labelled "population" and "STARVATION" suggests a sophisticated understanding of the impact of population growth on the lives of poor people and engagement in political discourse. Further, her depiction of child in "RAC" suggests a political dimension that includes the targeting of street children via the policy of rescue that removes children from the street and places them in detention.

Similarly, other children who participated in the study perceived "adversity" as associated with inadequate resources by which to survive, which included a political narrative. Gabriel, who is also featured as an emblematic case study, constructed adversity in a way that reflected his own life story. In the neighbourhood where Gabriel grew up, many street children did not have parents. He explained that these circumstances deprived children of basic resources needed to survive:

> The children sometimes don't have parents. When you don't have parents, you can't get to school, you don't have a proper home, no clothes. And most of the children here are from Tondo. From the houses made of garbage there. The actual problem the Philippines has is poverty.

Other children in the sample described the effects of urban poverty and inadequate government policy that supports poor families. Jezz perceives poverty to be related to why children are required to work to support their families, rather than attend school:

> The children want to go to school, but their parents need them to work instead. Maybe because of poverty. There is no one to help them. Their parents can't send to school or support their daily needs.

In these circumstances, Alfredo also identified the responsibility of government to respond to the needs of children when he calls for services to help street children:

> The government should help the children on the street left by their parents, just roaming the streets. I've been a street child. They need someone to take care of them. They should get to a centre like Bahay Tuluyan.

In the Philippines, there is limited publicly funded social policy infrastructure that supports children whose parents are unable to provide them with the means by which to survive (Son 2008). Thus, after being exposed to child rights education at Bahay Tuluyan, children in the study sample included a political narrative about their circumstances that included an awareness of their social and economic context.

4.4.3 Dangers of the Streets

In this study, participants in the complete study sample described "adversities" faced by street-involved children including the dangers they associated with street life such as gang-related violence, exploitation by unscrupulous adults and targeting by government officials. Of note, children in this study included a political, social and economic analysis of their situation, identifying alienation from mainstream Filipino society and being subject to oppressive government policy including rescue and the war on drugs. In Kyla's semi-structured interview, she provided a general overview of the many dangers street children experience when she told her story of migrating to the streets as a small child and sleeping under the bridge at Manila Bay:

> All the bad things that can happen to you will happen to you. Sleeping in a house without a roof, getting wet because of the storm, or because of the rain, being starved the whole day, being judged by other people, being physically abused by someone, or being abused in any way they know how.

Children in the study sample reported other acts of violence at the hands of adults in the street environment. Children described being "stomped on", "thrown", "dragged", "pouring water on their head" and "kicked on the head". Children also described "riots" over gang territory and to settle interpersonal conflicts that were potentially lethal, with children commonly using weapons such as hammers, bottles, knives, rocks and broken glass with the potential to result in death. Justine described how sometimes during these fights his friends are injured

and he has to “run to get the nanay of the one that is hurt”. Justine described that riots are frequent and take place “anytime and all over” the streets of Manila in response to the demands of gang leaders.

Gabriel’s case study exemplifies the extreme physical dangers faced by street-involved children. Gabriel’s engagement in an illegal fighting syndicate has resulted in many physical injuries that are evident via the scars that are visible on his face, neck and hands. When asked about how he heals his body he said, “I just bear it, I bear the pain.” Gabriel is a gang member who uses violence to solve problems on behalf of others: “If someone fights with them, I beat them up a bit. But I don’t kill them.” These activities endear him to gang leaders and other powerful people in the community, including the police.

The lethal danger of gang-related violence and police brutality is exemplified in Charles’ “talk and draw” art activity. In Figure 4.12, Charles’ list of “adversities” experienced by children emphasised violence. He listed “riots”, “trouble”, “killed” and “police”.

Figure 4.12: Charles’ Perception of Adversity

In his semi-structured interview, Charles explained that this list represented the difficulties he faced as a street child when he was a member of a “frat” (gang) who regularly engaged in “riots” with other gangs over territories. Like Gabriel, he also mentioned his perception that drug use and exposure to drug-related activity, such as drug dealing, is an important danger for street-involved children. He explained that since coming to Bahay Tuluyan he has realised that “drugs make you insane” and that “you can’t have a good life” when you are a member

of a gang. He explained that he is frightened of "police because they kill people, anyone who use or sell drugs".

Dianne talked about the lives of female street-involved children, naming drug use as a risk for girls when she said "they also experience drugs. Like that, smoking, marijuana too. Because they are just hanging around." Andreas revealed that he believes, although these activities are dangerous, street-involved children "do crime and drugs" to "escape poverty". He explained that, prior to coming to Bahay Tuluyan, he used drugs and alcohol to "lessen the pain" of being a street child. For him however, coming to Bahay Tuluyan changed his life:

> You can have problems because of alcohol, drugs and other things. You should avoid those. I experience that too before, drinking, smoking, but I stopped when I came here. I changed myself.

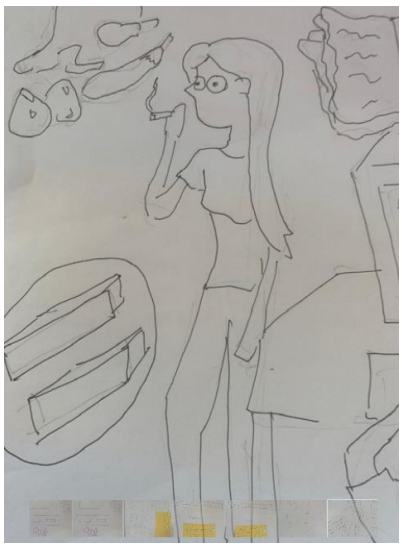


Figure 4.13: Joe's Talk and Draw Activity

Joe drew a picture of a young women smoking in the Malate Children's Assembly. In his semi-structured interview several weeks later, he explained that drugs are a problem faced by many street-involved children. He explained that "drugs do not help you, they do not let you do things in your life …..they lead you down the wrong path."

Gabriel's case study exemplifies an important theme that emerged in the complete study sample regarding the dangers that police present to street-involved children. He presented a

political narrative when he explained that poor children like him are often targeted by oppressive government policy that fails to solve the social problems of the Philippines:

> It is on the government now. It is not a solution to wipe out the drug pushers. They should give the children's parents livelihoods. Or they should make a lot of organisations to take in children. Because if you look at it now, there is a lot of children involved in drugs. That is the government's problem, from the poorer communities. They should find a solution for that. Not make it up.

Thus, Gabriel suggested that the root cause of children living on the street is that their parents are too poor to care for them. He is critical of the government's war on drugs and he believes this is a misrepresentation of the social problems of the Philippines.

Like Gabriel, other children in the sample highlighted oppressive government policy that targets street children, often resulting in injury or death. Nicole referenced oppressive government policy that targets children:

> Sometimes they kill children because they get blamed as a drug runner. Even if the child is a drug runner, they shouldn't kill them. Because they still have rights.

Children who participated in the study also told of experiences of extreme danger that included the death of children at the hands of the police. In Jessanth's semi-structured interview he explained how he had witnessed the extra-judicial killing of a young man whom the police wanted to search:

> They weren't supposed to kill him, but he ran. He was chased by CSG until they reached the end, but he fired, they shot him here. They were supposed to inspect him, because he was hiding something. "Kuya, don't go out because there's CSG", he was told. But he really came out. Then he ran. They shot at him.

In Jessanth's statement he named "CSG", which is an acronym for the Police Civil Security Group that includes volunteer "chapters" across the country, who are empowered by the government to assist drug investigations.

Several other children who participated in the study had also witnessed extra-judicial killings and human rights abuses at the hands of public officials. Bong-Bong's "talk and draw: activity suggests this in Figure 4.14 and illustrates this finding. This picture illustrates a person holding a gun. The letters "EJK" (which stand for extra-judicial killings) appear over a child's face.

Figure 4.1: Bong-Bong's Illustration of "Adversities" Faced by Street Children

Thus, the theme of extreme danger exemplified in Gabriel's case study was an important theme in the definition of "adversity" in the broader sample of children who participated in the research. Children's perceptions of these dangers included gang and drug-related activity as well as exploitation and violence at the hands of adults who included police and public officials empowered by the government. Importantly in this study and discussed in the study findings in Chapter 5, children's perceptions of "adversity" included a social and economic analysis of their situation, identifying being "Othered" by mainstream Filipino society and being subject to oppressive government policy.

4.4.4 Denial of Rights

At Bahay Tuluyan, children are exposed to child rights training that includes discussions about the UNCRC. Drawing on the child-to-child approach to community advocacy, children are regularly asked to express their opinions about what matters to them. Like other children who participated in the study, Kyla's perception of "adversity" identifies that street-involved children are denied their basic human rights and subject to extreme violence and oppression by adults in Filipino society. Kyla identified that not knowing about children's rights is a major factor in the vulnerability of street children:

> It was hard. It's hard if you don't know anything. If you don't know your rights, you don't know how to protect yourself. You wouldn't know that there are limits to what people can do to you.

On the streets, Kyla suggested that street children are also powerless to claim their rights due the inequity in adult-centric societies:

> And one of the things that hurt most in being a kid, is that no one wants to listen to you, no-one would dare defend you, especially in the places that you're just alone. A lot of people will stay away from you, will be disgusted by you.

Thus, Kyla revealed a political narrative about the experiences of street-involved children, suggesting they are disempowered and not protected by Filipino society. Furthermore, she suggested that Filipino society alienates street-involved children, who are regarded as unsavoury and distasteful.

Similarly, in Jasmine's one-to-one interview, she also described circumstances in which the basic rights of children are not upheld. She used the term "bullied" to describe the stigma and discrimination street children experience:

> I see problems in families, like drugs, drugs, so kids learn how to do drugs, they get bullied, they go hungry, they lose their freedom, they lose their privacy, they have no home even if they have a family … they don't have any rights.

In talking about her own life, Jasmine described how problems in her family forced her onto the streets where she experienced the loss of her rights including "their freedom", "privacy" and a "home". She made the point that even if a street child has a family their rights are denied.

When asked about her conception of "privacy" Jasmine explained that street-involved children are removed from the streets without their permission:

> Researcher: Can you explain what you mean … privacy …?
> Jasmine: The police, they pull you into the truck and take you to RAC. You don't even want to go. That happened to me.

Later in her narrative, Jasmine went further to explain that street children are targeted and mistreated by police for being dirty in public places such as shopping malls:

> When they see the police, instead of approaching them when they need something they run away. They are already traumatised. Like for example when they play around SM [shopping mall] of course they are dirty, who wouldn't be dirty if you live on the street!

Jasmine identified this experience as one of powerlessness.

> Like those police. They just drag around the children wherever they want, they can do what they want with them. They use their body as they want.

Thus, Jasmine suggested a political understanding of "adversity" that was also reflected in the broader participant group who were critical of adults in positions of authority over children.

In her semi-structured interview, Angelica elaborated her political perception of adversity when she described how street children who do not have their rights respected are vulnerable to abuse and victimisation when they are "stomped on" and "can't do anything". She told the story of her brother who was picked up off the streets under the policy of "rescue" and was locked up in a "children's prison" where he experienced physical abuse and was unable to go to school:

> The children don't want to. Because in RAC, it's so difficult and hard. I remember my brother caught by RAC. They put him in RAC and then when he came back, he told me that it's so difficult in RAC because they don't have much food. Then, they don't have clothes and sometimes, they … the guards there abuse them. They hurt them. When I saw my brother, he had so many wounds. He had so many wounds.

Miguel described how at Bahay Tuluyan she learnt about child rights: "A child has the right to education, a child has the right to play, a child has the right to learn, a child has the right to feel love from a parent."

In her semi-structured interview, Kyla told her story of how she migrated to the streets in the context of being denied her human rights. She explained that she ran away at 8 years of age after her grandfather regularly beat her. Although she was frightened of living alone "outside", she made this decision as she felt safer on streets than in her grandfather's home:

> I became a street child because I ran away. I ran away from my Lolo [Tagalog for Grandfather], because I didn't like how I was treated there, always getting hurt. I ended up on the street and then I just stayed there.

Kyla shared this experience with other study participants including Angelia and Jasmine, who described their experiences of abuse at the hands of adults and suggested this is a human rights issue. Jezz spoke about how children "experience abuse, sometimes at the hands of their parents" and referred to the difference of power between adults and children when he said "if this happens you can't do anything".

Children in the study sample identified that street-involved children experience stigma and discrimination from mainstream Filipino society.

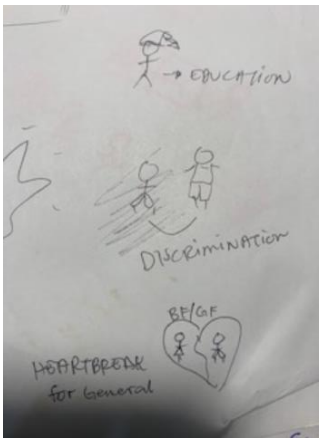


Figure 4.15: Andreas's Talk and Draw Activity 1

In his semi-structured interview, Andreas penned a picture to describe his perception of "adversity". In the centre of his drawing in which he identified other adversities, including romantic "heart breaks" between "boyfriends and girlfriends", he also depicted a child and an adult accompanied by the word "discrimination". These images suggest that children's conception of "adversity" includes an awareness of their position of "Othering" from mainstream Filipino society and their social and political context.

Kyla, like Jasmine and other children in the study, identified that street-involved children face extreme danger at the hands of adults, some of whom are public officials, and articulated that this is a human rights issue. Kyla identified these adversities as a collective experience when she suggested that all street-involved children are powerless to protect themselves against exploitation by adults who are in positions of authority.

In Kyla's semi-structured interview, she described the policy of "rescue" that removes children from the streets and puts them in a Reception and Assessment Centre (RAC). She explained that children are taken to the RAC involuntarily as it is a "jail for street children". She explained how the police remove children from the street:

> They were just quietly there. They are taken even though they didn't do anything wrong. They should help them. Not take them to jail.

She described one instance when her brother was abused by a police officer:

> He was just picked on [by the police]. When I saw that, it was different when it's your brother. I couldn't speak. I wanted to scream, but nothing came out of my mouth. I felt very shocked. I was weak.

Like Kyla, other children identified oppressive government policy, in particular when the police "rescue" children. Both Jasmine and Angelia discussed and drew images of RAC during their data collection activities. In her semi-structured interview, Angelica related her own experiences of RAC:

> RAC is scary. They don't feed you there. You don't want to go there.

Similarly, in Jessenth's "draw and talk" activity, he carefully wrote the words "I was poor" in Tagalog in response to the researcher's questions about the adversities faced by street-involved children. He went on to talk about his own experiences and explained that he used to sleep under the bridge at Manila Bay and spent his days begging with other children. He explained that living under the bridge was "not safe" and exposed him to "bad weather", "traffic", "police" and "gangs who kill people".

Similarly, in the picture penned by Andreas in his semi-structured interview, he identified that street-involved children experience adversity at the hands of "Gov. corrupt/abusing of their power, or position". Like Kyla, he explained that police and public officials are in positions of power over street-involved children.

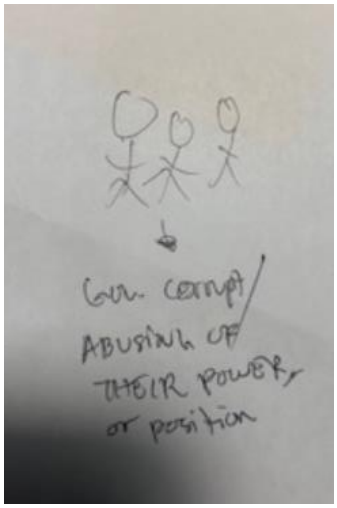


Figure 4.16: Andreas's Talk and Draw Activity 2

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter began with an introduction to Angelica, Jasmine, Gabriel and Kyla and their stories as emblematic case studies that exemplify key themes identified in children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in the broader study sample. The remaining twenty-one children were also introduced, with data gathered during their child-led tours, "draw and talk" art activities and semi-structured interviews contributing to the thematic discussion of children's perceptions of adversity in Section 4.4. This section suggests that street-involved children hold conceptions of "adversity" that include a "broken family", "inadequate resources by which to survive", "dangers of the streets" and the "denial of rights". Importantly for this study's findings, the thematic analysis suggests children's positioning of their circumstances of "adversity" within their political, social and economic circumstances whereby they were aware of themselves as rights holders under the UNCRC. Exposed to child rights training, children expressed an awareness of being "Othered" by mainstream Filipino society and exposed to oppressive government policy.

The findings reported in this chapter suggest that Angelica, Kyla, Jasmine and Gabriel all perceive "adversity" to be associated with families having insufficient resources to meet the needs of their children. All four emphasised their and their siblings' inability to attend school as an important "adversity". Furthermore, all children in the case studies identified "adversity" when adults in the community failed to uphold the rights of children, including the provision of food, shelter and safety in the community. This finding is significant in that it suggests street-involved children are aware of their status as "Other" from mainstream Filipino society who are denied the basic resources by which to survive (Lister 2004, Jensen 2011). This finding suggests a political dimension to "adversity" that is underexplored in the current body of literature and is the basis of this study's findings discussed in Chapter 5.

Comparisons between the cases illustrate significant differences in how children conceptualise "adversity" and "doing well" and the resources that facilitate their pathway to resilience. Angelica identified conditions of "adversity" that are associated with her "broken family" and the inability of her extended family to support her when she is in need. She drew on internal and external resources that are considered normative in children in Filipino society as defined in the Filipino resilience literature, demonstrating healthy functioning by seeking to get out of poverty via resources that are available to her in Filipino society such as education and having a close relationship with God. Jasmine's perceptions of "adversity" also

centred on her immediate and extended family's inability to provide her with emotional resources. Her notion of "doing well", discussed in the next chapter, involved establishing compensatory "like families" with children and adults who provide her with emotional and material resources.

Both Angelica and Jasmine highlighted inadequate resources available to support street-involved children and their families. This takes on a political element when children who have been exposed to child rights at Bahay Tuluyan begin to understand these deprivations as an infringement of their rights. Like some other children, Gabriel believes that the government has a role in improving the lives of children. Furthermore, Gabriel's case exemplifies the dangers that face street-involved children including being subject to drug use, criminal activity and gang membership. He further pointed out that street-involved children are targeted by the police and other public officials who enact oppressive government policy.

Kyla's case represents an important theme in the study in which children identified living in a society that fails to uphold children's rights as a condition of "adversity". Kyla drew on child rights as an essential resource in pursuit of "doing well", which she defined as a life where street children's rights are respected and upheld. Learning about child rights is an important resource that has enabled her to challenge adults in positions of authority in a way that transgresses norms in children in the Philippines. Other children too described the processes by which learning about child rights exposed them to new conceptions of a future in which their rights are respected. Kyla's case study demonstrates how knowledge of child rights can be a powerful mechanism that empowers children to negotiate their safety in a way that contravenes cultural expectations of child and adult relationships in Filipino society.

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that children in the study perceive "adversity" and "doing well" in ways that conform to, overlap with, and in some instances contravene, dominant cultural norms associated with healthy functioning in children who are exposed to conditions of adversity as defined in the Filipino resilience literature. Children in the study drew on culturally approved resources in order to demonstrate "healthy functioning" as suggested in Chapter 2. Additionally, however, children perceived "doing well" in unorthodox ways in response to resources available to them in their social ecology.

The narratives discussed in this chapter suggest that "adversity" from the perspective of children is a highly dynamic construct, as suggested by Rutter (2012), but is also culturally

and contextually nuanced (Rutter 2012, Ungar, Ghazinour & Richter 2013). The discussion in the next chapter will suggest that resilience is a pluralist construction with multiple meanings that are dependent on how children define “adversity” and “doing well” and the resources they are prepared to use to get there. The case studies suggest that children are engaged in an active process of navigation and negotiation, drawing on resources that are not usually associated with normative concepts of resilience in Filipino society, or indeed with the dominant Minority World concepts of resilience.

As I will argue in the next chapter, the Filipino street-involved children who contributed to this study showed with their agency a political understanding of resilience that focuses on collective responses to “Othering” and an emphasis on human rights. In applying Lister’s taxonomy of agency in the context of extreme poverty, this thesis highlights heterogeneous expressions of agency in children previously under-examined in the resilience discourse, including day-to-day efforts to ensure survival as well as strategic acts that can be understood as sometimes reflexive and sometimes non-reflexive efforts to enact change in Filipino society (Giddens 1984, Hoggett 2001, Lister 2004). Further exploration of the case studies in the next chapter will aim to demonstrate that children hold diverse conceptions of “doing well” that both comply with and contravene culturally normative values associated with “healthy functioning” in children in the Philippines. The next chapter will therefore propose the need for a refined approach to understanding resilience based on children’s diverse perceptions of “doing well”, which include expressions of political agency when children take individual and collective action to improve their lives and the lives of others.

CHAPTER 5: PERCEPTIONS OF RESILIENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL OPPRESSION AND MARGINALISATION

5.1 Introduction

The discussion of street-involved children's perspectives in Chapter 4 highlights that they perceived their circumstances to be "adverse" when their family rejected or could not support them, when they, their families or other street-involved children were deprived of resources needed for survival or experienced exclusion from mainstream society, and when they were subject to inadequate and oppressive government policies that contravened their rights under the UNCRC. The aim of this chapter is to suggest that children of the street who are marginalised from mainstream society often equate resilience with political action. This includes recognising the collective nature of their oppression and resisting the effects of oppression and deprivation in order to "do well". This study highlights the diverse strategies by which children seek to resist oppression and argues for a robust conception of resilience that recognises their marginalisation from mainstream society.

This chapter will suggest that the children in this study understand adversity to be a collective experience shared among those who are "Othered" in Filipino society (Said 1985, DeBeauvior 1997, Canales 2000, Lister 2004). In the Philippines street-involved children have been observed to be aware that society does not like them, identifying personal and systemic experiences of victimisation and discrimination (Pomm 2005, Sta. Maria, Martinez & Diestro 2014). "Othering" is a term devised by sociologists and feminist scholars to describe processes by which power is applied to dominant and subordinate groups of people in society in order to separate the self from those who are perceived as different (Said 1985, DeBeauvior 1997, Canales 2000, Young 2005, Jensen 2011, Scharff 2011, Bleijenbergh, Engen & Vinkenburg 2012). Lister (2004) uses the term to describe the social, political and economic processes that those in positions of power and privilege mobilise in order to demarcate themselves from those who are already marginalised. In this chapter, it is proposed that, when children take action to overcome conditions of "adversity" and travel towards their conception of "doing well", they are engaging in personal or political action to resist the effects of "Othering" as described by Lister (2004).

In presenting these findings, this thesis will argue for a more robust approach to resilience that adequately reflects the perceptions of children who demonstrate varying levels of cognisance of their actions in the context of experiences of oppression (Giddens 1984, Hoggett 2001). This thesis contests the notion that children are helpless and reliant on adults in mainstream society in order to "do well". Rather, it will argue instead that children have the capacity to powerfully claim their rights.

To present this argument, this chapter is organised into the following sections. In Section 5.2, Lister's taxonomy of agency and "Othering" will be discussed in relation to Filipino street-involved children. In Section 5.3, Angelica's case study is discussed, highlighting her personal and strategic actions to "get out" of poverty by demonstrating fidelity to Filipino values while pursuing her notion of "doing well" via actions that are culturally normative in children in the Philippines. Jasmine's case is discussed in Section 5.4, with her day-to-day efforts to "get by" when she establishes "like family" relationships that help her survive. In Section 5.5, Gabriel's dangerous behaviours are explored as mechanisms to "get back at" oppressive government policy that deliberately targets street children. Kyla's strategic and political demonstrations of agency when she engages in collective acts of resistance, protesting injustice and participating in community advocacy activities, are discussed in Section 5.6. Section 5.7 summarises how this thesis has extended the social-ecological approach to resilience by considering the diverse expressions of political agency in children. The chapter will conclude by suggesting children perceive resilience to be an overtly political concept when they take diverse actions to resist the effects of marginalisation.

5.2 The Political Agency of Children Who Are "Othered"

This thesis suggests that resilience, in the context of extreme oppression, involves highly diverse expressions of agency including personal and collective actions that can be understood as overt political protest as children strive to effect change for themselves and their families. The social-ecological approach suggests resilience is a cultural construct but overlooks the experiences of powerlessness in categories of young people who are marginalised by mainstream society (Bottrell 2007, 2009a, 2009b). To explore a more nuanced conception of resilience that includes an examination of diverse expressions of agency in the lives of children, this thesis brings together Lister's (2004) discussion of "Othering" and her taxonomy of agency with Michael Ungar's (2004) social-ecological approach to resilience.

Lister's taxonomy identifies four categories of agency: "getting out", "getting by", "getting back at" and "getting organised", highlighting the diverse courses of action that people take in the context of poverty and marginalisation. Figure 5.1 shows how the four emblematic case studies fit into these categories. The vertical axis represents a continuum between "everyday" and "strategic" actions, reflecting the choices that people make in order to manage deprivation. The horizontal axis articulates "personal" versus "political/citizenship" choices that people make in order to resist the effects of Othering, and effect change in their own lives, or the lives of others. The application of this taxonomy will highlight the ways in which children draw on resources in their environment to effect "first-order change" when children manage the day-to-day effects of poverty, as well as "second-order change" when they seek to alter the social order of the society in which they live (Hoggett 2001). In this context, "first-order change" as defined by Hoggett (2001), refers to strategies people use to make do, by complying with the social, cultural and economic structures to which they are subject. "Second-order change" represents a more radical type of agency by which people engage in reflexive and non-reflective actions in order to create changes in their lives and the lives of others by transgressing social and cultural norms that govern society (Hoggett 2001).

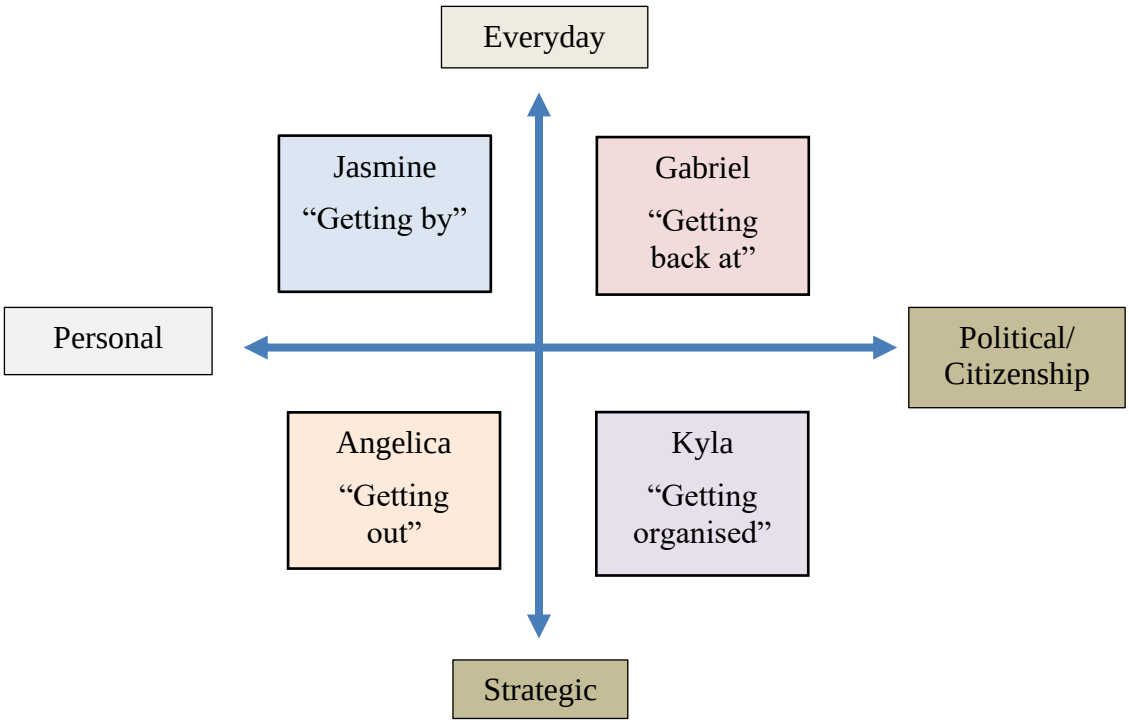


Figure 5.1: Lister's Taxonomy and Emblematic Case Studies

As demonstrated in Figure 5.1, Angelica takes personal but strategic actions to "get out" of poverty by working hard at school with the intention of reunifying her family. Her reflexive narrative suggests she plans to effect long-term change and improve her own life, and that of her family. Jasmine demonstrates everyday agency when she "gets by", developing a network of "like family" relationships that enable access to emotional and physical resources. She establishes habitual strategies to cope with the day-to-day challenges she faces in her everyday life (Aderinto 2000, Hoggett 2001). Both Angelica and Jasmine demonstrate "first-order" agency, as they attempt to improve their lives by operating within the social and community structures that they can access (Hoggett 2001).

Gabriel identifies himself as resilient when he "gets back at" government oppression by engaging in gang-related activities and drug dealing. These day-to-day activities are aimed at managing the effects of deprivation, yet they also represent expressions of political rebellion against a government that he does not support. Gabriel's case study challenges Ungar's notion of "hidden resilience" in that he seeks alternative notions of "doing well" that do not include outcomes associated with good health that are dominant in Filipino society. His narrative demonstrates that he has a complex relationship with cultural values, in part striving to adhere to these values, and in part rejecting dominant Filipino notions of "healthy functioning" in children. His accounts of these seemingly contradictory conceptions of "doing well" are suggestive of children's complex lives and reflexive processes that are not always straightforward (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017). Moreover, he demonstrates a more radical approach to agency than Angelica or Jasmine, seeking "second-order" change that radically challenges the social order of the Philippines (Hoggett 2001).

Kyla described how after being exposed to the concept of child rights she changed her perception of what it is to "do well". Supported by Bahay Tuluyan, she "gets organised" by participating in collective action that seeks to challenge oppressive government policy that targets street-involved children. Kyla engages in strategic activities of citizenship that aim to effect long-term change in the lives of street-involved children and their families. Her case study also demonstrates the capacity of children to exercise "second-order" agency, as defined by Hoggett (2001), challenging the existing social order and instigating radical change. In her narrative she presents herself as a knowledgeable and rational actor, making decisions and taking action that she hopes will radically change her own life as well as those of other street-involved children (Giddens 1984, Hoggett 2001). Her case study suggests a

political approach to resilience as she engages in civic action as she pursues her conception of "doing well".

For Hoggett (2001) agency can be understood as a continuum that accommodates how individuals use formal rules to create "first-order change", described as alignment with the change that one is expected to make (Hoggett 2001, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017). "Second-order change" is defined as reflexive actions that rupture the current social and political structures in society (Hoggett 2001). He suggests that people challenge existing social, cultural and political institutions and structures with the intention of creating a new social order. The children featured in the emblematic case studies demonstrate agency that seeks both "first-order" and "second-order" change when they draw on the personal, relational, community and cultural resources to which they have access in order to "do well".

valentine (2011) points out that studies of children's agency have primarily focused on competence and rationality in order to progress the argument that children are entitled to civic and political participation. Without contesting the sentiments of these studies, she argues that they offer a limited view of agency that overlooks the complexity of children's lives: "Children's agency must be carefully conceptualised to accommodate, first, the specificity of different children's lives, second, what is shared between children, and finally what is universal to children and adults" (valentine 2011, p. 348).

valentine (2011) points out that children's agency must be understood in the context of diverse lives in adult-centric societies in which they are subject to the authority and power of adults. Redmond (2008) observes that some expressions of children's agency are sanctioned by adults while others are seen as transgressing societal expectations of children's behaviour. His findings reflect similar themes to valentine when he suggests that children's agency is expressed within the social and political context of their lives:

> Like poor adults, all children experience "othering" to a greater or lesser extent simply because of their status as children. Moreover, they are for the most part explicitly excluded from political processes, and while they may sometimes be listened to regarding issues that directly affect them as children, they are not generally considered to have a voice in big-picture politics or community activism. (Redmond 2008, p. 9)

In many societies, conceptions of childhood are based on the notion that children are inherently vulnerable due to their incomplete development and supposed lack of capacity (Mayall 2002, Prout & James 2015). Enshrined in domestic and international legislative

instruments including the UNCRC, the notion of evolving capacities recognises that children require a specific policy response in order to protect their rights (Mayall 2000). In the Western world, perceptions of incomplete development and vulnerability have been associated with an increasingly forensic approach to child protection, with interventions designed to ensure normative development (Daniel 2010). Some categories of children who are assessed at higher risk than others have been subject to restrictive policy interventions (Bordonaro 2012). In both Minority World and Majority World countries such as the Philippines, oppressive public policy measures are founded on both the perceived extreme vulnerability and the criminality of street-involved children (Bar-On 1997, Republic of the Philippines 2012, Bahay Tuluyan 2014).

"Othering" describes the processes used by those in positions of power and privilege to separate themselves from those who are poor and marginalised (Lister 2004). The theoretical foundations of "Othering" emerged from postcolonial, sociological and feminist studies that have examined unequal power relationships in society (Said 1985, Spivak 1985, DeBeauvior 1997, Jensen 2011). In his landmark study of Orientalism, Said (1985) argued that "Othering" is a multidimensional construct that accounts for processes of social differentialising based on race, class and gender. He observed that Western discourse about the Orient is based on European values and assumptions that serve to justify colonisation and imperialism (Said 1985). Subsequent studies in relation to ethnicity, race and identity have also examined the construction of "self" and "other" and how they inform structures of power and oppression in society (Jensen 2010, Scharff 2011). De Beauvoir (1997) first introduced the concept in feminist discourse by suggesting that men occupy the position of the "self" in society, while women are constructed as the "Other" and thus denied status and power. The multidimensional nature of "Othering" has also been associated with the concept of "intersectionality", which explores interlocking systems of oppression in society (Hovorka 2012, Christensen & Jensen 2014).

The concept of "Othering" has been examined in relation to social, political and economic processes by which people in poverty are demarcated from other people in mainstream society (Lister 2004, Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin 2010, Chauhan & Foster 2014). Studies of neoliberal ideology have emphasised the role of individual choice and responsibility, informing public discourse that identifies a pathological and dysfunctional "underclass" as an unintended consequence of the welfare state (Lister 2004, Martin 2004, Tyler 2013, Crossley

2016). In this context, studies of resilience have emphasised the creativity and agency of individuals who are experiencing disadvantage. Conversely however, Othering has been observed to be a basis for public policy approaches that "blame the victim" when they are unable to succeed (Seccombe 2002, Hall & Lamont 2013).

"Othering" is a multi-systemic construct, including exclusionary experiences caused by everyday social stigma, as well as oppressive government policy and legal processes that stigmatise and stereotype people who live in poverty (Lister 2004). Postmodern analysis of public policy highlights the discursive language and binaries that shape public discourse and public policy problems (Bacchi 2009). Images of those who are "Othered" are pervasive in language, attitudes and actions that present those who live in conditions of poverty as poor, threatening, undesirable or objects of pity (Lister 2004). Skattebol et al. (2012) draw on Lister to point out that, as exemplified in the works of Charles Dickens, "Othering" presents images of rich and poor people living in separate communities with the poor having their own habits and customs that threaten mainstream society.

When describing the concept, Lister (2004) describes how people who live in conditions of poverty are often described as either helpless victims or lazy, unable or unwilling to change their circumstances of depravation. In addition to being portrayed as threatening to society, the poor can also be presented as "good" people who have fewer resources but are passive and helpless (Lister 2004, Skattebol, Saunders et al. 2012). Both characterisations serve to stigmatise and establish social distance between those who are poor and those who are not. The process of "Othering" enables the exclusion of those who are blamed for social problems.

Lister (2004, p. 116) notes that, in addition to the discursive construction of the "undeserving poor", those who live in conditions of poverty are alternatively portrayed as "deserving" or "heroic survivors" which both serve to "Other" them from the mainstream population. Public opinion, media outlets and policy can depict people living in conditions of poverty as helpless, pathetic and in urgent need of rescue. As consumers of media and public opinion, those who live in conditions of poverty may also experience stigma and shame that impacts on their self-concept (Lister 2004). Redmond (2009) observes that children experience social exclusion when they are unable to access resources available to other children due to the economic circumstances of their parents. This study also suggests that children exclude

themselves via mechanisms such as truancy and drug use, in order to manage shame and stigma associated with poverty (Redmond 2008).

In both the Minority and Majority Worlds, children who live and work on the street are categorised as "street children" and are distanced from the mainstream societies in which they live (McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005). The differentiation from mainstream society enables them to be subject to oppressive social policy that alternatively positions them as "victims" who require rescue and criminals who require incarceration (Panter-Brick 2002, Grugel & Ferreira 2012). Both conceptions serve to disregard the agency of children who live and work on the streets, suggesting they require either protection or constraint (Bar-On 1997). The category of "street children" has been observed to be a powerful label that stigmatises children and is an inadequate description of their lives, instead serving to homogenise their experiences (Panter-brick 2004). The term has been observed to fuel public discourse that associates such children with criminality and positions them as a threat to civil society (Ennew & Swart-Kruger 2003).

In this study, children identified the stigma associated with being a "street child" as a source of shame as well as the basis of an emerging collective consciousness that motivates them to engage in acts of resistance. In the Philippines, researchers who have undertaken qualitative research have found that children are aware that society does not like them and that they are unwelcome in public spaces (Pomm 2005, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014). Ribeiro and Trench Ciampone (2001) have observed that children who live and work on the street are subject to verbal, physical and sexual abuse by adults and other children, based on the public perception that they are a social menace. Victimisation and exposure to violence in the street environment at the hands of adults has been shown to be a common experience for such children (Ali 2011, Reza 2017).

In the Philippines, street children are "Othered" when they are associated with criminality. This legitimises extreme forms of government intervention. Multiple legislative provisions criminalise street children via acts of violence that are explicitly sanctioned in the law, or by empowering vigilante groups whose transgressions will be overlooked. "Curfew" is the legislative provision that prohibits children who are unaccompanied by adults from being out in public between the hours of 10 pm and 4 am (Bea 2017). "Rescue" is a policy that removes children from the streets and places them in protective custody, ostensibly in their own best interests (Bahay Tuluyan 2014). All children presented in the emblematic case studies in this

thesis were aware of the policy of "rescue" and named it as one of the adverse conditions of street life. Angelica spoke of an incident in which her brother was arrested and taken to a "child's jail". Jasmine understands the physical removal of children from the streets as indicative of children's rights not being upheld when they are denied control over their own bodies. The children featured in the emblematic case studies are aware of being "Othered" via the broader policy response to street children.

Gabriel's case study demonstrates his awareness of being "Othered" when he spoke about the war on drugs and extra-judicial killings of street children. Street-involved children have been noted to be both a target and "collateral damage" of the war on drugs, being victims of accidental shootings as well as orphaned after the deaths of their parents (Holmes 2016). Such policies criminalise the lives and day-to-day behaviours in which street children regularly engage (Bar-On 1997). Thus, oppressive policies in the Philippines serve to demarcate street-involved children from law-abiding citizens, who are encouraged to feel safe due to the harsh law-and-order platform employed by the government (Reyes 2016).

To summarise, this thesis will argue that street-involved children in the Philippines are marginalised from mainstream society and engage in individual and collective acts of agency as they counteract this experience of "Othering". The current body of resilience literature mostly overlooks children's collective acts of political agency and fails to account for their shared social and political circumstances. The following sections will consider how each of the children featured in the emblematic case studies resist the effects of "Othering" by mainstream Filipino society. This chapter will argue that these represent diverse types of political agency as expressions of resilience that are currently under-examined in the resilience discourse.

5.3 Angelica: "Doing Well" via "Getting Out": Facilitating Resilience via Compliance with Filipino Constructions of Childhood

This thesis suggests that children consider themselves to be resilient when they manage circumstances of "adversity" and travel towards their self-identified conception of "doing well". The study findings suggest children's conceptions of "doing well" are diverse and include both compliance with and transgression against culturally normative expectations of children. Lister (2004, p. 144) defines "getting out" as "a mix of resistance and accommodation" when people who live in situations of poverty comply with mainstream

conceptions of success by using structural and cultural resources. Angelica perceives “doing well” as meeting cultural norms associated with expectations of female children. In the Philippines, women are traditionally assumed to be wives and mothers, responsible for domestic duties and nurturance of children. Female children adhere to strong codes of moral behaviour and spend the majority of their time at home or at school (Liwag, De la Cruz & Macapagal 1998).

This section will demonstrate that Angelica’s conception of “doing well” includes demonstrating personal attributes associated with resilient children in Filipino society. She makes strategic plans to “get out” poverty via utilising those resources that are available to her. Angelica’s conception of doing well was paralleled in themes raised by other children in the sample. Children discussed “doing well” in the context of their in-group relationships when they aspired to have adequate resources by which they themselves, and their families could survive. Perceptions of a good life included access to education as a means of achieving their dreams to reunite their families separated due to circumstances of extreme poverty, as well as a mechanism by which to honour relationships of mutual obligation.

Figure 5.2 shows Jean’s drawing of a rainbow to indicate a “good life” in which she could finish her studies. She wrote: “I want to finish my studies in BT [Bahay Tuluyan] and buy my own house together with my family and to achieve my dreams. Thank you.”

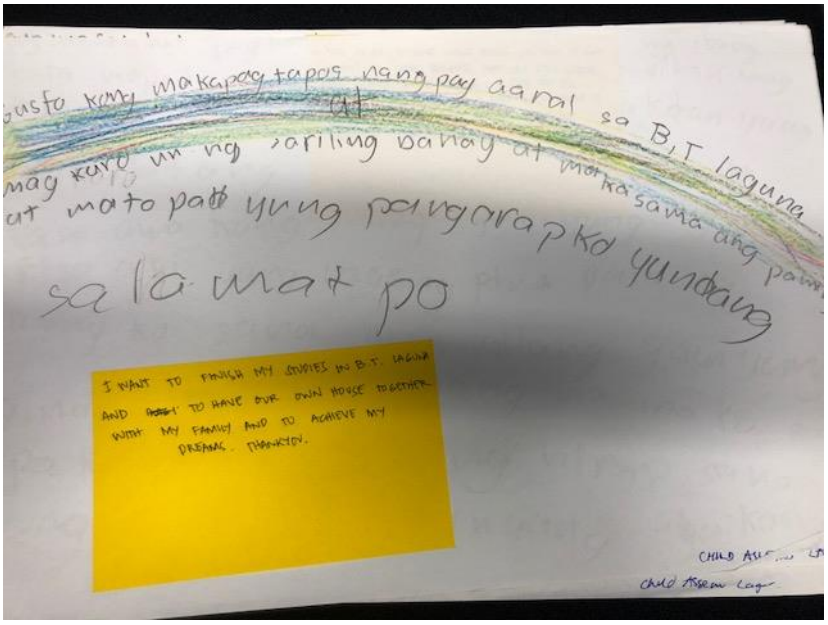


Figure 5.2: Jean’s Illustration of “Doing Well”

The actions of Angelica, Jean and some of the other children are reminiscent of Hoggett's (2001) notion of "first order" change when she seeks to change her life, and that of her family, by drawing on resources that are available and appropriate for children in Filipino society (Hoggett 2001).

Figure 5.1 shows that "getting out" falls within the personal/strategic quadrant, representing personal and strategic decisions to overcome adversity and "do well" (Lister 2004). For Lister (2004) "getting out" characterises actions that subscribe to conventional notions of success and personal achievement (Lister 2004). Expressions of agency in this quadrant often involve accessing structural resources in society that provide socially sanctioned pathways out of poverty, including employment and education. As discussed in Chapter 4, Angelica was marginalised when she was forced to become a street child after the breakdown of her immediate family and the inability of her extended family to provide for her. Forced to live away from her mother at Bahay Tuluyan, Angelica resolved to "get out" of poverty via the strategic use of personal, relational and community resources that comply with culturally normative expectations of "healthy functioning" in children. Her plan is to make use of the resources available to her in order to reunify her family and observe her relationships of mutual obligation. Angelica also draws on her relationship with God as a means of living a life that is consistent with expectations of children in the Philippines.

5.3.1 Demonstrating Personal Attributes of a "Resilient Child"

According to Lister (2004), "getting out" of poverty depends on an interplay between personal agency and the cultural and social structures afforded to individuals by the mainstream society in which they live. Angelica perceives herself as resilient when she demonstrates personal attributes that are associated with Filipino conceptions of "healthy functioning" in children, as suggested in the Filipino resilience literature (Banaag 1997, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Banaag 2016). As demonstrated in Chapter 2, "healthy functioning" in children is defined in the Filipino literature as managing to distance themselves from dysfunctional behaviour by having a sense of morality, an observance of relationships of mutual obligation, harmonious interpersonal relationships and religiosity. Angelica demonstrates a commitment to her family and an observance of relationships of mutual obligation which are highly valued in Filipino society. Angelica's goal is to reunify

her family, and this requires that she study hard and get a well-paid job. With a well-paid job, Angelica can buy a house that is "big and safe for children" as well as a "Ford" or a "Pajero", foreign-made cars that are a mark of status and success. Angelica hopes that one day having a well-paid job will be a means by which she can send her siblings to school. In her "talk and draw" art activity, Angelica identifies that she would like to become a "teacher," "doctor" or "accountant" and writes "reach my dream house."

In order to reach this goal, Angelica obeys her mother and lives at Bahay Tuluyan so that she can go to school, demonstrating observance of age-based hierarchies that are dominant in Filipino families (Alampay and Jocson 2011, Barrera 2017). Her prioritisation of her family's needs as well as her commitment to get them out of poverty is reflective of Filipino values in which the wellbeing of the family is prioritised and children are economic contributors (Banaag 1997, Alampay & Jocson 2011).

The Filipino literature suggests a culturally specific conception of agency via "adaptive distancing" that describes the capacity of children to separate themselves from undesirable environments and relationships that encourage delinquency. In Banaag's study, resilient street children devote energies towards "socially approved activities" and resist undesirable behaviours such as "begging, stealing, lying, fighting, drug use, and prostitution" (Banaag 1997, p. 9). Similarly, Bautista, Roldan and Garces-Bacsal (2001a) echo this theme when they suggest that resilient children solve problems via socially acceptable means such as studying or seeking advice from friends (Bautista & Rolder 2001). In this study, managing to retain a "good and wholesome character" was an important indicator of a resilient street child (Bautista & Rolder 2001). Angelica equates "doing well" with observance of moral norms that reflect traditional Filipino values. She rejects delinquent behaviour, perceiving criminal activity, drug use and gang related activities as undesirable:

> When I saw someone use drugs, I always tell myself, don't do that because … it will take away the better life that you can have. Drugs can ruin your mind, and also make a defect of your life. It is a crime, and the police catch them and put them in jail. Using drugs is a crime.

Similarly, other children in the study emphasised the importance of resisting crime and vice. Joshua explained that unlike the street-involved children that he "sees outside", engaging in these behaviours, he has made a decision to "change his ways" and will not engage in these activities in the future so that he can have a "good life".

Kyla, presented in detail in Section 5.6 described her commitment to upholding standards of morality and to reject "vice" associated with street life. As a small child, she joined a group of children living together under a pier, but carefully selected the children she befriended. Unlike Jasmine, Kyla did not join a bakarda but chose to keep herself separate:

> I didn't always go with the bakarda. I like having friends. But I am picky since I was a small child. I didn't want a bakarda that keeps on drinking, smoking, those. The other friends on the pier that does solvent, gambling, begging, I encourage them to go to the places where the social worker teaches the children. I was encouraged and inspired by them.

She perceived her ability to not engage in the vices and temptations of the street as a strength: "I prevented myself not to lose direction, not to be one of my friends who are already pregnant, doing drugs, imprisoned."

Like Joshua and Kyla, Angelica considers herself resilient because she can observe behaviour that is socially acceptable in children and resist engaging in crime and drug use associated with street life. She ascribes importance to observing cultural norms of morality and demonstrates "adaptive distancing" when she resists the temptations of drug use and other undesirable activities, which she associates with poor life outcomes.

Angelica nominated her relationship with God as an important component of "doing well" that helped her comply with cultural and religious norms. In the majority world, observance of religion has been found to strengthen children's resilience by offering a set of values on which to base one's life (Gunnestad & Thwala 2011). Angelica described how she enjoys listening to the priest. She believes that the "lessons" provide her with a strong moral foundation for a good life. In the Philippines, a strong faith is seen as providing a child with a moral framework that guides both choices and behaviour (Bautista & Rolder 2001). This includes ignoring the urge to seek retribution or revenge on people who have harmed them and rejecting opportunities to commit crime and engage in illegal acts (Banaag 2016).

Several of the young men who participated in the study had previously been involved in gang related activity and explained how they draw on God to help them behave in ways that are more socially acceptable. Jezz explained that now he is a resident at Bahay Tuluyan he "goes to church and prays" that he can "change his life". He expressed regret regarding his previous behaviour including his involvement in "riots" and "fights with bottles and knives". He explained that his faith in God helps him lead a "good life" that is free of violence.

In the Philippines, street-involved children are considered by mainstream society to be socially undesirable and are strongly associated with criminality and delinquent behaviour, including acts of aggression (Banaag 2016). Angelica suggested that "doing well" includes observing modes of harmonious personal interactions that are the essence of being a "good Filipino". Angelica draws on culturally normative modes of interpersonal relations that she associates with having a "good life" and escaping poverty.

Angelica values smooth interpersonal relationships and the absence of conflict. The cultural value of "pakikisama" describes prioritising the choices and needs of others (Lynch, cited in Reyes 2015). The closely associated value of "pakikrandam" describes indirect communication and "relational sensitivity", which involves understanding another person's situation (Pe-Pua 2006)

Angelica demonstrated her use of relational sensitivity when she talked about her friends:

> Before I think of myself, first I think of my friend if she's ok. When I have a problem and I cry, she always cry, she is like my family. When I have a fight with the other kids, she help me. She also fight with that kid.

The Filipino psychological tradition emerged in response to the growing influence of the Western psychological discipline that positioned traditional modes of interaction as negative (Pe-Pua 2006). The Filipino psychological tradition has identified the unique cultural attributes of Filipino people from the perspective of the Filipino. Important interpersonal attributes include "pakikisama", the Tagalog term that describes the ability of an individual to go along with the will of the group and avoid confrontations. (Pe-Pua 2006) The associated value of "pakikrandam" emphasises the importance of indirect communication. It refers to the important skill of reading and understanding another person's situation and responding appropriately (Pe-Pua 2006). "Utang na loob" is sometimes translated as a "debt of gratitude" and describes the debt of goodwill that a person acquires when they are the recipients of assistance given by another person (De Castro 1998).

Angelica identified these values as important mechanisms that enable her to do well in life. She described how she demonstrates these values when she displays sympathy for her friends and feels their pain deeply, as if it were her own. She can resolve conflicts by "putting her pride down" and observing her debt of gratitude to people who have helped her. She also prioritises the needs of her family above her own and upholds her "debt of gratitude" towards her mother by caring for her siblings while she lives at Bahay Tuluyan.

Similarly, other children in the study demonstrated compliance with unique Filipino values. Nicole described her perception of "pakikisama", when she was able to "just don't worry" when she gets into arguments with her roommates at Bahay Tuluyan. Similarly, Jasmine, discussed in more detail in Section 5.4, described her perception of "Utang na loob" towards the "nanays of Bahay Tuluyan" who are "like family" and provide her with food and a place to sleep. Thus, Angelica and the other study participant demonstrates compliance with cultural values regarding resilient children and draws on these values as resources that will help her escape from the effects of marginalisation.

5.3.2 "Getting Out" via Compliance with the "Rules of the Game"

Angelica undertakes strategic decisions to facilitate her plan to "get out" of poverty within the rules of behaviour and outcomes that are valued in children in Filipino society. Angelica observes the "rules of the game" in order to achieve social mobility and "get out" of poverty. Lareau (2015) highlights that understanding the "rules of the game" requires economic resources as well as culturally specific knowledge and skills that enable the navigation of institutions. Lareau (2015) suggests that by utilising cultural knowledge children and young people can overcome obstacles and navigate social structures such as schools and educational institutions in order to achieve social mobility and thus facilitate better life outcomes. Thus compliance with the "rules of the game" can be a mechanism to "get out" of poverty by drawing on those resources that are available.

Despite centuries of colonisation, and the more recent influence of globalisation, the Philippines is a collectivist society (Church 1987, Banaag 2016). Collectivist societies are characterised by close social relations in which people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups, expecting their in-groups to provide care and material support in exchange for loyalty (Hofstede 2003). In collectivist cultures the goals of the individual are subordinate to the goals of the "in-group" (Triandis et al. 1988). This principle governs the actions of individuals, even when commitment to the group goal appears to be excessively difficult and requires personal sacrifice (Taras, Sarala et al. 2014). Angelica wishes she could live with her mother, even if that means living on the streets. However, she resides at Bahay Tuluyan so that she can go to school as part of her long-term plan to support her family. In this, she prioritises the needs of her family over her own wishes and thus demonstrates compliance with Filipino social and cultural norms (Hoggett 2001).

Lister (2004) notes that "getting out" of poverty is difficult, with children and adults who live in impoverished conditions encountering multiple barriers to success. Lister (2004) notes that poor people can experience poor physical and mental health, which impacts on their ability to access education and employment. Further, employment can be low paid or insecure and thus not offer a sustainable pathway out of poverty. Filipino studies have identified multiple barriers to street-involved children attending school (DeGraff, Bilsborrow et al. 1996, Bautista & Rolder 2001, Hindin 2005, Bessell 2007). Economic barriers identified include families needing to rely on the child to generate an income or being too poor to be able to pay for school supplies and compulsory entrance tests. Social barriers identified include issues of gender whereby girls who live in authoritarian households have been found to be less likely to attend school (Hindin 2005).

Thus, as Lister (2004) suggests, "getting out" of poverty is difficult and relies on children overcoming the odds that are stacked against them. Angelica presents herself as resilient when she makes choices and personal sacrifices to overcome her barriers to school attendance. Her choice to stay at Bahay Tuluyan is integral to overcoming barriers to attending school and, to this end, she rationalises her choice and her behaviours. In the Philippines, poor children face multiple barriers to attending school. Many children from poor families undertake informal work rather than attending school in order to earn an income for their families. Poor parents are often unable to pay the cost of school uniforms, books and school supplies. Furthermore, school attendance is dependent on having a birth certificate which, due to the expense of obtaining one at birth, many poor children do not have. In addition to these barriers, schools vary in quality, with many lacking basic resources such as electricity, desks and chairs and staffed by inexperienced and poorly renumerated teachers (Florido 2006). These conditions that prohibit children from achieving a high-quality education support Lister's (2004) assertion that the rules of the game, designed by those in positions of power, are often staked against those who are "Othered" by mainstream society. Angelica relies on Bahay Tuluyan to help overcome these disadvantages by paying her school fees and providing her with a safe place to live that enables her to study. The role of community agencies in providing informal learning environments as pathways towards formal education for poor children has been recognised in the literature (Bernard & Este 2005). Angelica's case study suggests that some children strive to use the "rules of the game" to overcome adversity and "do well".

5.3.3 A Reflexive Plan to "Get Out" of Poverty

Angelica perceives herself to be resilient as she has a well-considered plan by which to "get out" of poverty. Angelica presents herself as a reflexive agent when she thinks deeply about her strategy, which she discusses and agrees with her mother, and commits to actions that will ultimately facilitate her social and economic mobility. Giddens (1984) argues that individuals engage in a continuous flow of conduct and cognition that creates structures and institutions that both enable and constrain agency. Structuration theory suggests that human beings are reflexive agents who, via their choices and actions, demonstrate knowledge regarding the rules of the society in which they live. Giddens (1984) argues that human beings demonstrate both practical and discursive consciousness via their actions and their capacity to explain those actions.

Giddens (1984) argues that the "acting self" involves rationalising actions and is the basis for judging the competence of the individual. Angelica demonstrates practical consciousness when she describes herself as a competent child and makes plans to "get out" of poverty by drawing on the structural resources in society that are available to her. Angelica provides a reasoned account of her dedication to her studies and academic success as a mechanism to get a well-paid job and support her family (Giddens 1984). Angelica also demonstrates her engagement in an interactive process, demonstrating a flow of reflexive monitoring, rationalisation and motivation, as she also chooses to observe fidelity to cultural values that prioritise family relationships and uphold standards of morality and religiosity (Giddens 1984). Angelica is a "typical" resilient child, as defined in the Filipino resilience literature, who prioritises her family, personal morality and her relationship with God as mechanisms by which she will overcome adversity and "do well".

5.3.4 Seeking "First-Order" Change

Angelica perceives school and her future employment as mechanisms to facilitate "first-order" change in her own life and the life of her family, within the social, economic and political constraints that are available to her (Hoggett 2001).

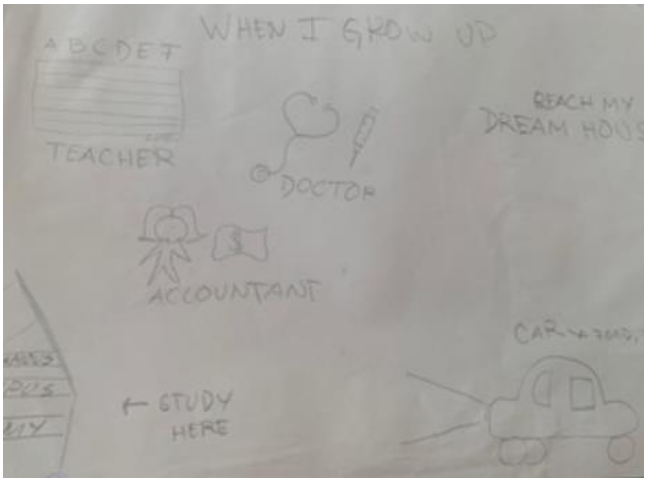


Figure 5.3: Angelica's Talk and Draw Activity

In her "talk and draw" activity, Angelica wrote "when I grow up" and nominated being a "doctor", "accountant" and "teacher". She also drew a school at the edge of the page and wrote in English "study here", with an arrow. Thus, in her drawing, Angelica's perception of "doing well" is revealed to centre on studying as a means of getting a well-paid job to support her family. Thus, Angelica seeks to radically alter the lives of herself and her family within the resources which she is able to access. In the Filipino literature that has studied the resilience of street-involved children, school attendance is emphasised as a mechanism to facilitate strategic pathways away from the streets (Banaag 1997, Bautista, Roldan & Garces-Bacsal 2001a, Banaag 2016). Angelica constructs herself as resilient when she describes herself as a good student who works hard to attain good academic results.

In Philippine society, school is seen as a critical means of improving the long-term financial position of families (Tuason 2010, Chaudhury, Okamura et al. 2012). For wealthy children, this translates as high academic performance and admittance into prestigious international universities. For poor children, completing primary school studies is critical to enabling the child to find a well-paid job in the future (DeGraff, Bilsborrow et al. 1996). Poor parents hold high aspirations for children, with school attendance considered a mark of status (Tuason & Friedlander 2000). Many poor families make sacrifices to enable their children to attend

school with the intention that they will find pathways out of poverty for the entire family (Tuason & Teresa 2013).

Other participants in the study also shared Angelica's perception, relating education with a future job and the ability to support their family. Andreas explained to the researcher that he is sad that he is separated from his family, however, when he sees them they "tell me to be strong, that we will be together again, and that (at Bahay Tuluyan) I should finish my studies so we can live in a house with electricity." He suggests that school is an important mechanism by which he can support his family in the future by providing a comfortable home. Likewise, Kyla's perception of "doing well" included studying and getting a job to be able support her family. She revealed that she uses the small income she earns at her traineeship at Bahay Tuluyan to enable her siblings to attend school so that they can have "a better future."

Kyla, who is discussed in more detail in Section 5.6, described her role model who had managed to find a good life through accessing education:

> My friend who was at Pier South. Like me. She was also a street child. Maybe since she was born. And then, she had a Lolo that had a bad attitude. Her schooling was halted a lot of times. She only got as far as grade five. Then she had a boyfriend. We thought she was pregnant but thank God she didn't get pregnant. Then we talked to her, because her mom also had a problem, she was a [drug] user and stole.

"Bad attitude" is a euphemism for sexual abuse. Kyla described how her friend's journey towards a "good life" began when she accessed an outreach program and engaged in education:

> After one year at the Foundation, we both took our accelerated alternative learning system and she passed. Then now she is in school. Her course is in education. She still hasn't graduated but she picked a decision that's good for her, good for her family.

Thus, Kyla considers education to be intricately related to supporting her family.

Angelica perceives that without an education, street-involved children have "no hope" and will be "unable to reach their dreams". Her ability to access school however is dependent on her residing at Bahay Tuluyan which pays for poor children to attend school.

Lister (2004) points out the "rules of the game" are not fair, with structural resources that enable people to escape from poverty often inaccessible to those who are poor. Structural resources such as education are better suited to middle-class families who have high levels of

social, cultural and economic capital to navigate and negotiate the "rules of the game" (Lareau, Adia Evans et al. 2016). The "rules of the game" are designed by those in power who seek to maintain their advantage and privileged access to resources. In the Minority World, school attendance and academic attainment have been noted to be important resources that facilitate economic success for middle-class and poor children (Bernard & Este 2005). Likewise in the Majority World, school has been identified as an important mechanism that facilitates resilience in populations of street-involved children by providing access to supportive relationships, safe environments and the facilitation of skill development (Brooks 2006, Malindi & Machenjedze 2012). However, studies of children in the Majority World recognise the multiple barriers that inhibit poor children from attending school and therefore prevent them from accessing school as a protective resource in the community (Gilligan 2000, Malindi & Machenjedze 2012).

5.3.5 "Getting Out" Summary

Angelica constructs her own perception of resilience when she employs the strategic use of personal, relational and community resources in ways that comply with culturally normative expectations of "healthy functioning" in children in order to "get out" of poverty. In Lister's (2004) taxonomy, "getting out" involves drawing on structural resources in society in order to find pathways out of poverty in ways that are considered legitimate and desirable. Angelica is using the rules of the game to pursue "first-order change" when she seeks to improve her own life circumstances, and those of her family (Hoggett 2001). She does this by making long-term strategic plans to study hard and get a well-paid job, as well as immediate plans to work and earn money, which enables the family to reunify.

In Filipino society, socially approved structures that support children to escape poverty include education and employment, as well as fidelity to cultural values that prioritise family relationships of mutual obligation and standards of morality and religiosity. Angelica demonstrates her capacity as a reflexive agent when she engages in personal and strategic actions in order to support her family and resist the effects of poverty and marginalisation in ways that are culturally normative in Filipino society. Angelica's efforts demonstrate "first-order" change as she seeks to make changes to her life circumstances and that of her family by drawing on socially approved means of social mobility that are available to her. This chapter suggests that children perceive the components of resilience – "adversity" and "doing well" – in highly nuanced ways that are formed within complex social, economic, political

and cultural contexts (Panter-Brick 2015). Angelica's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" are shared by other children who participated in this study including Andreas, Nicole, Kyla and Jasmine, and are consistent with those in the Filipino resilience literature (Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001, Banaag 2016).

5.4 Jasmine: "Doing Well" via "Getting By": Facilitating Resilience via Relationships

Jasmine's perception of "doing well" involves "getting by," coping with self-identified circumstances of adversity via habitual strategies that help her manage the effects of poverty and marginalisation. Jasmine's perception of "adversity" concerned inadequate resources by which to survive and included her inability to access emotional and material resources due to the rejection of her mother and her extended family. Her key mechanism for coping with this adversity concerned her creation of an extensive network of "like family" relationships in the community with both children and adults who provide her with love, friendship and belonging to an "in group" in the context of a collectivist society. She also draws on her relationship with God to manage the challenges in her life caused by extreme poverty and deprivation.

In Lister's (2004) taxonomy, "getting by" describes day-to-day expressions of resistance against deprivation and marginalisation. "Getting by" falls in the personal/everyday quadrant of Figure 5.1 and is described as the commonplace activities in which people engage as part of a "fight to keep going" and manage the effects of poverty. Lister (2004) argues that people who live in poverty have complex portfolios of assets which they can draw on in order to "get by". The mundane acts associated with "getting by" are often overlooked as acts of resistance but, regardless, represent the creative capacity of marginalised individuals as they plan, prioritise and make sacrifices in order to survive (Lister 2004).

Jasmine's efforts to "get by" are barely remarkable as she goes around her daily life, engaging in strategies and actions that are not overtly associated with resilience in children in Filipino society. Redmond (2009) suggests children employ everyday strategies to assist their families to manage the effects of poverty and that these are often overlooked as overt expressions of agency. Children, he suggests, engage in a range of strategies to manage circumstances of deprivation by saving pocket money, participating in domestic chores, or engaging in free activities, as well as taking care not to ask their parents to provide resources that cost money (Redmond 2009). In a study of how children manage chronic illness,

Dedding et al. (2015) point out that children's actions and decisions often take place outside the view of adults, and as such children's agency is "hidden" from their parents and caregivers. Similarly, Jasmine's case study highlights children's day-to-day efforts to manage the effects of marginalisation, which are often overlooked and remain unidentified as acts of agency or acts associated with resilience.

5.4.1 Relationships as Opportunity Structures

To "get by" Jasmine establishes multiple and intergenerational "like family" relationships with adults and children that enable her to access resources that she considers important to "do well". As discussed in Section 2.3, in Ungar's social-ecological approach to resilience "opportunity structures" are defined as resources that are available and accessible to the child, within themselves, and in their relationships, community and culture (Ungar 2012, Ungar, Ghazinour et al. 2013).

During the child-led tour, Jasmine pointed out multiple children and adults in the community who helped her overcome difficulties by providing physical, emotional and spiritual care. This included street venders who fed her when she was hungry and neighbours whom she could ask for help if she needed it. Jasmine identified the staff at Bahay Tuluyan as helping her when she needed it most. She named youth facilitators, house parents and social workers who have become "like family". These "like family" relationships were evident when children and adults used familial names such as "nanay" (mother) and "ate" (sister). Jasmine explained this: "I'm very comfortable here. Because we have lots of children. We have house parent, mother, and when I first came here they said, call me 'Ate' (big sister). Oh call me 'Nanay' (mother)."

Similarly, other children in the complete study sample talked about their “like family” relationships at Bahay Tuluyan.

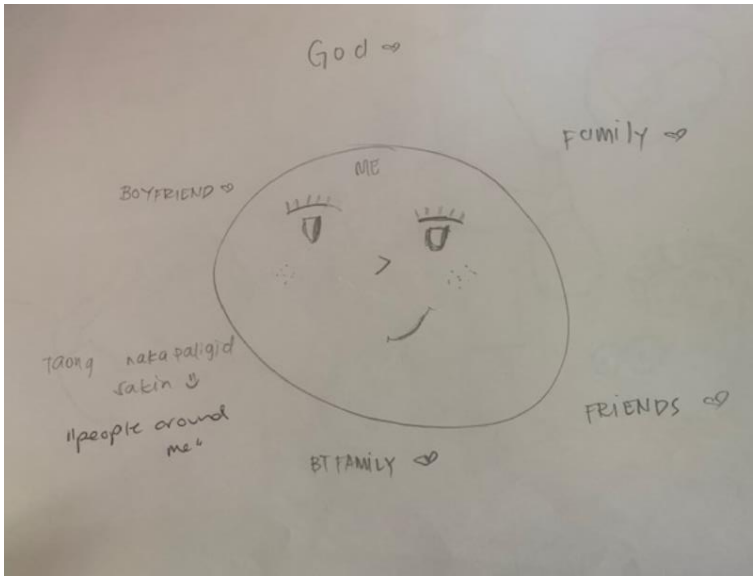


Figure 5.4: Mary Anne’s Drawing of “Doing Well”

Mary Anne completed this drawing and described it as “those who help me be strong and endure”. She drew a smiling face that she named “me”, and identified “God”, “family”, “friends”, “BT family”, “Taong Nakapaligig Sakin (people around me)” and “boyfriend”. During her child-led tour, Mary Anne explained that the people at Bahay Tuluyan are “like family”. She said the social workers “treat the children like their own children and they look after us”. She showed the researcher the kitchen, sleeping quarters and recreation area that includes a book collection where she reads and does her homework. It was in these homelike domains where she explained she “felt the love a family”.

Likewise, on her child-led tour, Miguel described “being scared” when she first walked through the gates of Bahay Tuluyan but was reassured when she realised the people “are nice and kind … like a family”. Miguel said that at Bahay Tulyan she “is safe” and that the social workers “love the children, I can see”. Similarly, Andreas revealed that he is thankful for the staff at Bahay Tuluyan who are like “second parents” in that they “guide us and help us where we want to go in life, they help us go to school, they take care of us, they give us experience of working on the farm”. Marcos also described Bahay Tuluyan as “like a

family". He explained his perception of "like family" as being "in a house that is happy but chaotic. We eat together and help each other."

In the dominant construction of resilience, relationships with families, peer groups and in schools have been observed to be key structures within societies that are protective and enable children to achieve normative growth and development (Masten & Garmezy 1985, Rutter 1985, Benard 1991, Werner 2000). For example, in a qualitative study conducted with Chinese students, young people's conceptions of resilience were interwoven with cultural beliefs such as the importance of familial bonds in the context of an under-developed social welfare system (Li, Bottrell et al. 2017).

Opportunity structures have been investigated in the lives of children and young people, with formal and informal structures identified as important resources that support the health and development of children (Cooper, Jackson et al. 1998, Borchorst 2009, Skattebol, Saunders et al. 2012, Lehmann, Taylor et al. 2015).

> Opportunity structures refer to the resources that exist: in the sphere of the market, through labour market participation opportunities; in the sphere of state, through benefits and redistribution (safety-nets and other state-provided resources); and in the sphere of mutual support opportunities, through social networks that might be available to and permit the integration of citizens. (Skattebol et al. 2012, p. 50)

This approach suggests that opportunity structures are contextual and are impacted by geographic location and the dynamics of social exclusion that operate within the social ecology in which the child lives (Skattebol, Saunders et al. 2012, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017). This approach to opportunity structures overtly acknowledges inequality in the distribution of resources and the importance of informal opportunity structures for poor children and their families. In poor families, opportunity structures have been observed to be less likely to be found in formal institutions, with parents encouraging their children to demonstrate loyalty to local networks and family relationships (Skattebol, Saunders et al. 2012, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017).

Lister (2004) notes that the ability to build relationships is a critical skill in coping with the effects of living with limited resources. In studies of street-involved children, relationships with adults and children have been identified as opportunity structures that enable access to

resources needed for survival when other resources are unavailable (McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar & Kironyo 2005; Merrill et al. 2010). Some researchers suggest that street-involved children cultivate relationships to replace immediate and extended family and to seek a source of love, belonging, attachment and protection (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010, Ali 2011, Stablein 2011): "When homeless street peers turn to one another for help, they do so as a supplement or replacement to limited or rejected instrumental and emotional supports that exist off the street, such as family, institutional, and community supports" (Stablein 2011, p. 293).

Jasmine's "family-like" relationships include a cultural and contextual element that suggests in part, compliance with cultural values in Filipino society. Jasmine suggested her bakarda is "like family" in that they help her solve problems and find resources by which to survive: "When I have a problem, they are the ones I can approach. Sometimes when I'm mad at someone, when I'm mad at Nanay [mother] pinagbbabati nila kami". *Pinagbbabati nila kami* is a Tagalog term that has no direct English translation. It can be roughly defined as when a third party influences conflicting parties, and encourages them to settle their differences, but not necessarily explicitly resolve the problem.

Relationships are an important opportunity structure for Jasmine, enabling her to achieve group membership and belonging in the context of a collectivist society. She described an interaction with a friend in which she thanked them for their help in managing a difficult situation:

> "Don't worry about that, I'm here for you", she said to me. And I said, "Thank you for everything." She said, "Of course, you are my friend." What help she does for me, that's what I also do for her.

Similarly, Lyn described how she was "lost" by her mothers and siblings, and not knowing their whereabouts caused her to "feel sad and lonely." Lyn describes her love for the staff and the children at Bahay Tuluyan who are "like family" because they "feed me and help me with what I need."

Lyn described her hope that one day her family would "live at Bahay Tuluyan" as a "big family".

Like Lyn, Jasmine was grateful to her social worker as she credited her for helping her leave the streets of Tondo and being able to reside at Bahay Tuluyan. For Jasmine, the social worker's actions equated to a maternal role:

> I feel very comfortable with her, I really treat her like a mother, my mother, because she's also the reason why I'm here at Bahay Tuluyan. She was the one who got me from Tondo, so I really respect her. That's why when she's here, I feel very comfortable, say my problems, I'm not shy. I know she can help me. I feel light-hearted with her, I consider her my mother.

Jasmine described being attached to her social worker whom she described as "like a mother" who could help her solve problems and make her feel happy: "She always makes me laugh. She makes me happy. And she cares for me, she always hugs me. What I didn't see in my mother, I see in her."

Street-involved children have been observed to develop an informal economy of cooperation and reciprocal arrangements with their peer groups for the purpose of protection and access to income-generating activities (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2013). Some studies have observed that peer groups enable children to give and receive reciprocal supports by teaching each other skills associated with survival in the streets (Aptekar and Stoecklin 2014).

An important opportunity structure for Jasmine is her "bakarda". Jasmine has several bakarda: the friends she has who live on the street, the other child residents at Bahay Tuluyan, and other children she knows from her early childhood when she lived with her parents.

Other children also discussed their bakarda as important opportunity structures that provide them with emotional support as well as access to resources that they need to survive. Jean described how her friends "keep her strong" and are "like family" because when she speaks with them, she can "pour out her emotions." During a child-led tour Jean took the researcher to a local shopping mall where she likes to spend time with her friends. She explains that her "bakarda" look after "each other and help" when faced with difficult circumstances. Pointing to a street vendor, she gave an example of her bakarda "sharing food, running away from those, like that". In this, Jean suggests that children look out for each other, providing each other with protection and resources by which they need to survive.

Social capital has been investigated in the lives of children and young people who are marginalised from mainstream society (Stephenson 2001, Bottrell 2009a, Deuchar & Holligan 2010, Moule, Decker & Pyrooz 2013). The concept of social capital typically refers to the value of social networks established via group norms of behaviour and relationships of trust that enable access to resources and a buffer against the effects of disadvantage (Bottrell

2009a). In her study of girls who live in public housing in Sydney, Australia, Bottrell (2007) found that, while peer groups were perceived by the community to be associated with delinquency and anti-social behaviour, the girls described their relationships as enabling them to "stick together" and provided an important source of emotional and practical support that enabled them to cope with experiences of marginalisation. Jasmine described her bakarda as important as they give each other love and emotional support as well as access to important material resources that enable her to survive. Jasmine's description of her bakarda is reminiscent of international research regarding the peer groups of street children and social capital (Bottrell 2009, Stablein 2011).

5.4.1.1 Relationship with God that Enables Coping.

Jasmine also used her relationship with God as an important resource when overcoming adversity. The Philippines population is deeply religious with most people identifying as Roman Catholic (Cukur, De Guzman et al. 2004). As identified in Section 2.5.1.3, religiosity is a major theme in the Filipino resilience literature, with studies suggesting that street involved children who have a strong relationship with God consider themselves, and are considered by others, to be resilient. In the Filipino resilience literature faith in a benevolent God is associated with street-involved children feeling that someone is watching over and caring for them, despite the hardships they experience (Banaag 2016). A personal faith in God is also associated with children feeling their lives have purpose, and that difficult events are part of a coherent plan for their lives (Wartenweiler 2017).

On her child led tour, Jasmine took the researcher to a small chapel where she regularly goes to pray. In the chapel explained how she prays for herself, her family and all the children of the world. Jasmine preferred to pray in a church as she believed God is present inside the church: "This is the place where I am going to pray for all of the world. I am going to pray like, 'Lord help the world to change. Help the children eat, to go to school.'"

Jasmine sought comfort from God in telling him her problems, knowing that these problems would not be shared with others in the community. She used prayer as an opportunity to seek his help and intervention in solving problems for her: "I have a problem like, 'God can I have a request? My mom is sick. Please God make her better.'" By attending church, Angelica is inspired to persevere despite difficulties in life. She suggested that prayer offers her the opportunity to contribute towards the safety of her mother and siblings.

Jasmine's relationship with God is differentiated from Angelica when she draws on her faith as a personal support rather than guiding her behaviour to conform with normative expectations of children in Filipino society. While Angelica draws on religious teaching to help her make decisions that are associated with healthy functioning in children, Jasmine's relationship with God helps her cope with the difficulties of her life. Similarly, other children who participated in the study identified that God helps them manage the hardship of life. Charles described his relationship with "Pappa Jesus," who is "always there" and "helps you solve problems." Kyla, discussed in more detail in Section 5.6, described prayer as: "When you tell your problems to him (God), you will feel lighter, and you can cry your heart out to him."

In Mary Anne's "talk and draw" activity, she wrote a numbered list of factors she associates with "doing well" in which she nominates "1) the Lord is the one that gives me strength…2) because he is our father." In her third point she suggests that God is responsible for giving children "nanay" (mother) without whom they would not exist. In this list, Mary Anne also makes reference to trying help other children stop fighting as they are "all family." Similarly, Nicole suggests God important source of strength, regularly praying to God to ask for the safety of her mother and her siblings:

> When I go to church, I feel brave, I feel safe, because when I am in church, my mind always think about God then it always come to my mind that don't – never give up, even though there are trials because God is always there to make you feel strong and to guide you. I pray for my siblings and my mother. I pray she is safe.

Thus, for Jasmine, and other children who participated in this study, a relationship with God was an important coping mechanism that enabled them to manage the challenges associated with poverty and marginalisation. In Lister's taxonomy (2004), these actions are suggestive of "getting by," those mechanisms that represent individual and day to day efforts to manage the effects of deprivation.

5.4.2 Day-to-Day Strategies Seeking "First-Order" Change

In her narrative, Jasmine presents a repertoire of day-to-day strategies that enable her to access emotional and physical resources. Her repertoire of strategies is "short term" and is suggestive of Hoggett's (2001) notion of "first-order" change. Jasmine's actions are suggestive of Hoggett's (2001) "first-order agency" as she creates incremental changes to improve her life by drawing on relationships as opportunities and other short-term strategies to manage the challenges in her life. Examples of this include Jasmine's engagement in income-generating activities such as begging from strangers and washing dishes for street vendors in exchange for a meal:

> See those people, sometimes I wash the dishes … for food and they give me noodles when they have some left. My friends … we do that sometimes.

Many of the children in the complete study sample described involvement in these activities as a short-term strategy to improve their own lives and the lives of their families, and to alleviate the effects of poverty (Hoggett 2001). Reylin described begging in traffic to generate income and feed her family:

> I tap on the window … in the traffic … I ask for coins from those in cars … to feed my siblings.

Charles explained he did jobs for the police in exchange for food and shelter after running away from his abusive parents:

> I was an errand boy … I swept the cells and gave food to the inmates … they let me sleep there.

As discussed in Chapter 2, street-involved children are known to engage in a wide range of income-generating activities such as vending, scavenging, car washing and shoe shining in order to support their family's survival (Racelis et al. 2006). These activities are often opportunistic and offer mechanisms by which they can access basic resources. This informal work of poor children is characterised by long hours, limited remuneration and exploitation (Racelis et al. 2006).

Engaging in informal work enabled Jasmine to contribute towards the short-term wellbeing of her family, which enabled them to "cope" while living in impoverished conditions. Similarly, other children talked about the importance of earning money by whatever means they were able. Mary Anne explained: "I help my parents by earning money." She explained how she

would go to the local mall and "poke" (beg) passersby for coins. She explained however that she wants to observe her obligations to support her family: "It is important to help my family so that we can eat." Engaging in informal work also enabled Jasmine and Mary Anne to meet social and cultural expectations of competent children in the Philippines. Banaag (2016) suggests that Filipino children are proud of contributing towards the family, particularly if other family members value these activities. In a cross-cultural study that examined characteristics of "competent" children, Filipino parents described competent children as those who care for younger siblings and prioritise the needs of their families (Durbrow et al. 2001). Thus, engagement in work enabled Jasmine to improve her immediate life circumstances and create short-term change in a way that is suggestive of "first-order" change.

5.4.3 Ambivalent Relationships with Cultural Values and Discursive Power

Jasmine's reflections on her life expressed her ambivalent relationship with the cultural values that are dominant in Filipino society. She expressed dual aspirations to comply with and contravene culturally nuanced notions of "healthy functioning" in children. While residing at Bahay Tuluyan she described how she can access emotional and relational resources as well as experience herself as lovable. Relationships also offer her the opportunity to achieve group membership and belonging, which is highly valued in collectivist societies. Despite this, Jasmine rejects the opportunity to access the school at Bahay Tuluyan and often runs away for extended periods to be with her friends on the street.

In arguing for an approach to agency that extends the notion of the liberal, rational subject Hoggett points out that human beings make decisions for reasons other than their own best interests:

> Choice, then, is not simply something which occurs after reasoned deliberation, most choices we make are made on impulse in urgent and contingent encounters in which we have to make on-the-spot decisions as our own and others' needs, expectations, phantasies and feelings press in on us. (Hoggett 2001, p. 40)

Skattebol, Redmond and Zizzo (2017) have argued that it is not always clear if children's actions and decisions are reflexive, instinctive, or collectively made. (Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017) In their study, young people expressed allegiance to the neoliberal notion of the autonomous self while simultaneously taking action to protect their families and assist them to manage the impacts of marginalisation and poverty: "Young people's stories are

embodied, layered, messy, deadpan, passionate and often biting. They are replete with the inconsistencies that permeate any narrative of self that seeks to account for more than one action and more than a single context" (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017, p. 315).

Jasmine's reflections on her life are suggestive of Hoggett's (2001) approach to agency, which highlights the capacity of people to hold simultaneous explanations and thought processes about themselves that are not unified:

> To say that the self is subject to splitting and fragmentation is to say that we are several selves, each characterised by a different voice and a different mood, some of which we identify with and feel close to, some of which seem unfamiliar and alien. Which self or part of us dominates at any moment in time and initiates action or makes choices depends upon the social relations we engage in and the roles we take up. It is because the self that acts or chooses may be unfamiliar to us that it impossible to say that we do not always know why we do what we do. (Hoggett 2001, p. 41)

Jasmine's cultivation of relationships is an expression of both discursive resistance and a desire to comply with values that are dominant in Filipino society. She demonstrates discursive resistance when she rejects the labels and stigma associated with being unwanted by her family, as well as being rejected by mainstream Filipino society. Researchers have pointed out that children express their political agency via micro-actions in everyday life (Kallio 2009, Bartos 2012). In discussing agency in the lives of children, Kallio (2007, 2009) observes that the micro-politics of children are often overlooked by adults, who typically only identify children's actions as political when they relate to public policy or to large-scale civil conflicts. These studies discount acts of political agency in private spaces and overlook children's capacity for acts of resistance against the effects of marginalisation when they engage in everyday activities (Kallio 2009).

For Jasmine, relationships represent an important mechanism by which she sees herself as capable, and able to access resources that she would be otherwise be denied. Jasmine identifies as a "street child" who is unwelcome in mainstream Filipino society. As a street child, she described how she is subject to the abuse of adults and other children who deny her human rights. However, during the child-led tour, other children and adults were observed to seek out the company of Jasmine, talking and laughing with her as we walked by. Jasmine described herself as a "funny girl" and uses humour and fun to build her relationships.

Jasmine's use of relationships as a basis for her self-esteem is reminiscent of Ungar's (2005a) discussion of discursive power in the lives of children who are marginalised by mainstream

society. Children who are labelled dangerous, delinquent, deviant or disordered by adults who are in control of the health discourse will seek out opportunities to pursue a powerful concept of self (Ungar 2007). In understanding processes that facilitate resilience in children, Ungar (2004b) suggests relationships can offer children a powerful opportunity to "perform" as competent persons who have the capacity to overcome adversity. Via a process of "self-definition" a child can participate more equitably in social discourse about them. Thus, Jasmine's efforts to build relationships are in part an effort to establish a self-concept in which she is powerful and competent.

However, Jasmine's efforts extend beyond her self-concept, and are suggestive of efforts to achieve group membership in the context of a collectivist society. Similar efforts have been observed in Indonesian studies in which street-involved children were observed to suffer stigma and social exclusion due to being abandoned by their families and loss of kinship ties (Beazley 2000). Beazley (2000, p. 169) suggests that children who have lost family connections are perceived as be "social pariahs infesting the city streets" and that their visible presence in the street is seen to challenge "the ideological construction of the ideal family, home, and child". Beazley (2000) suggests children develop surrogate families to achieve social inclusion and as a strategy to manage the shame associated with being abandoned by family. As noted in Chapter 1, despite the centuries of colonisation, collective values and relationships of reciprocity remain the foundation of social organisation and the core of personhood in the Philippines (Lasquety-Reyes and Alvarez 2015). Children are expected to observe family obligations with associated responsibilities superseding all individual interests (Bautista, Roldan & Garces-Bacsal 2001b). Thus, Jasmine draws on relationships to achieve belonging in the context of a collectivist society that highly values group membership.

5.4.4 "Getting By" Summary

Jasmine constructs herself as resilient when she overcomes the adverse experience of being rejected by her family and creates an alternative construction of "doing well" with her "like family" relationships. In Lister's (2004) taxonomy, "getting by" includes drawing on social, economic and political assets that are available to a person who is in poverty. Jasmine creates "like family" relationships that serve as opportunity structures, enabling her to achieve "first-order" change (Hoggett 2001).

However, Jasmine's conflicting and at times contradictory narrative reflects dual motivations for her actions and decisions that are difficult to decipher. Jasmine, who is denied access to important resources such as a supportive family, deliberately cultivates multiple relational resources that offer her attachment and belonging. In the context of a collectivist society, relationships also offer her compliance with cultural norms. In addition to this, however, Jasmine often leaves the safety of Bahay Tuluyan to join her friends on the street. Jasmine's case study is suggestive of the ambivalent views that children can hold on the social and cultural values that dominate in the society in which they live. However, as noted in Section 6.4 "Study Limitations", children's thought processes can be challenging to understand as they may be unwilling, disinclined or disinterested in sharing their views with researchers.

Despite this, Jasmine's case study is significant in that it provides insights into complex and at times contradictory processes that facilitate resilience in the lives of street-involved children in the Philippines. Like Angelica, Jasmine conceptualises the components of resilience, "adversity" and "doing well" within the context of her family relationships and dreams of being able to financially support her siblings. She understands the collective experience of "adversity" of street children when she identifies their lack of human rights and lack of resources by which to survive. In identifying resources that facilitate resilience, Jasmine talked about her close relationship with God, which she described as important for managing her personal difficulties. Thus, Jasmine's case exemplifies relationships as important coping mechanisms that enable street-involved children to manage conditions of extreme deprivation and marginalisation.

5.5 Gabriel: "Doing Well" via "Getting Back At" Oppression and Marginalisation

Gabriel's perceptions of "doing well" in part comply with, but also seriously transgress, culturally desirable outcomes in children in Filipino society as defined in the Filipino resilience literature and described in Chapter 2. In Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, Gabriel is "getting back at" mainstream society, which excludes him, and children like him, from resources that would enable him to "do well". This form of agency falls in the everyday/political quadrant of Figure 5.1, suggesting that activities of this type are everyday political protests and acts of civic resistance. "Getting back at" comprises activities that reject bureaucratic, social and cultural norms that govern society (Redmond 2009). Typically, this form of agency involves activities that pose danger to the individual and others in the community, but nonetheless represent dynamic efforts to resist the effects of "Othering"

(Lister 2004). Lister's conception of "getting back at" joins other studies of children and adults who use dangerous and self-injurious modes of agency (Gigengack 2008, Hine and Welford 2012, Atkinson-Sheppard 2017). However, Gabriel's narrative presented an added political dimension when he explained these activities as acts of resistance against oppression:

> The government kills those like … me. But we sell drugs to earn money. We can do it behind them … they don't see.

The researcher asked: "So how does that make you feel when you do crime behind the scenes?" Gabriel replied:

> I am powerful and I earn money … anyway … even when it isn't allowed.

Unlike Kyla, who engages in acts of political agency via organised advocacy activities, Gabriel engages in personal acts of resistance, in part, to protest political oppression. Gabriel's engagement in criminal behaviours are transgressive of notions of "healthy functioning" in Filipino society that emphasise compliance with morality and norms of behaviour (Banaag 1997, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). His efforts to achieve a powerful self-concept via criminal activities are suggestive of "hidden resilience", which Ungar (2006) defines as efforts of young people to achieve health-related outcomes via unhealthy means. However, Gabriel's case study challenges Ungar's (2006) conception of "hidden resilience" by highlighting children's capacity to hold aspirations for their lives that are not conducive to "good health" as defined by the culture and context in which the child lives.

Gabriel demonstrates selective compliance with dominant cultural notions of healthy functioning when he prioritises the wellbeing of his family and his close relationship with God. Like Angelica, Gabriel demonstrates a desire to uphold mutual obligations. Gabriel described that the most important thing he does with his income is support his sister's children to attend school. He said that he provides for his nephews so they can study and grow up to have a good life. Like Jasmine, Gabriel explained that God is his "only confidant" with whom he can share his problems. God helps him bear the burdens in his life:

> He helps me, "Go on, and just let the day pass. Tomorrow, you'll be better." When I pray that I have a problem and ask for help, there, I'll just feel better and my day will go better. And the following day, my problem won't be as heavy.

However, Gabriel's perception of "doing well" also transgresses cultural norms associated with the definition of "healthy functioning" in children in the Filipino resilience literature. Gabriel holds an ambition to become a powerful underground figure whose successful criminal activities will earn him respect and protection. Gabriel identified his role model as a criminal who holds a powerful position in the community. He described his relationship with his role model:

> And my father, he's a hoodlum. He came from a prison. And he did a lot of bad things. He's respected in our place, for that. I take a lot from him. He teaches me how. He is not my birth father, but he is like my father.

Gabriel's role model has status in the community due to his success in criminal endeavours. Gabriel met him when he was "boss of the jail cell" and became like a father to him. This man inspired Gabriel to pursue criminal activity as a mechanism by which to achieve respect.

Thus, Gabriel holds a complex conception of resilience. He described "doing well" in terms that both comply with and transgress Filipino values about desirable outcomes and behaviours for children. In Gabriel's narrative he expressed a desire to contribute to the wellbeing of his nephews as reflective of "doing well". In this, he demonstrated compliance with culturally specific notions of "healthy functioning" in children by hoping to uphold relationships of mutual obligation:

> I give my money to my sister's children … so they go to school.

At the same time, however, Gabriel perceives himself to be resilient when he engages in dangerous criminal activities as a means of achieving power and status in the community:

> When I win a fight, I am powerful. I always win. They respect me … around here.

Thus, Gabriel's conception of resilience is complex, drawing on a range of resources that are available to him, including the use of illegal activities, as he is able to overcome adverse circumstances and contribute to the lives of his nephews as well as gain status in the community.

As suggested in Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, Gabriel justifies these actions in his overtly political analysis of "adversity", suggesting that street-involved children are neglected by Filipino society:

> It's not their fault … the street children … the crime is because they are hungry. The government doesn't help them.

Abandoned by his family who are too poor to care for him, Gabriel identified that the "true problem" of the Philippines is poverty. He is angry with the government, suggesting policy and programs fail to support poor families to care for their children. He suggested that current government policies target poor children unfairly, resulting in death and a denial of their basic human rights. Gabriel's dual notions of compliance with and defiance of social and cultural norms in the Philippines is suggestive of ambivalent forms of agency recognised in children who are marginalised by mainstream societies (Bottrell 2009b, Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017).

Gabriel's narrative about his life suggests a political conception of "adversity" and "doing well" that is currently under-examined in Ungar's approach (Bottrell 2007, 2009a, 2009b). Gabriel demonstrates a transgressive agency that aims to radically challenge the social and political structures that exist in the Philippines for poor children. His actions are suggestive of a more radical approach to agency as he seeks "second-order" change to improve his own life by transgressing behavioural norms in children (Hoggett 2001). By drawing on scholars who have examined agency, this section will provide an analysis of Gabriel's case study and will suggest alternative insights into children's personal efforts to protest against political oppression and marginalisation that they experience in their everyday lives (Hoggett 2001, Lister 2004).

5.5.1 A Political Conception of Resilience

Gabriel holds a political conception of "adversity" that suggests an awareness of his social, economic and political position in an adult-centric society in which street-involved children and their families experience marginalisation and oppression (valentine 2011). Gabriel's political construction of "adversity" was evident when he identified his personal circumstances with the collective category of "street children", whom he believes are the targets of extreme political oppression in the Philippines.

Ungar's (2016) social-ecological approach suggests that resilience is dependent on internal and external resources and he challenges the dominant construction of resilience that has emerged from Western psychological literature as primarily an internal quality. Gabriel's case study, and his subsequent expression of political agency, challenges this understanding

when he calls attention to social, economic and political resources that he is denied by Filipino society and the government. Gabriel is denied relational resources because his parents are too poor to care for him and is unable to go to school due to poverty. Significantly for this study, Gabriel called attention to poor families being denied provision of basic material resources and protection by the Filipino government.

Gabriel's perceptions are reflective of the broader study sample, with children sharing a politicalised view of resilience that includes resistance to government oppression. As discussed in detail in Section 4.4.3 "Dangers of the Streets", children identified police and other government officials as a primary source of danger for street-involved children in the Philippines. For example, Charles identified that police kill street-involved children if they catch them with drugs:

> They kill you for that [drugs]. They won't let that go.

Other children, such as Jessanth, told of witnessing extra-judicial killings as the result of the war on drugs:

> They killed him there, he ran away because they wanted to search him. But he ran anyway.

The war on drugs by the Filipino government has been observed by Reyes (2016) to "Other" young men who use drugs by identifying them as "deviants" whose criminal actions make them unworthy of human rights. Reyes (2016) has drawn on Foucault's (2012) concept of the spectacle of the scaffold to explain the use of the human body as an instrument of state power. Foucault's (2012) theory suggests that the public shaming of criminals is a political act by which the sovereign exercises power. Reyes (2016) has suggested that the war on drugs has increased the president's power and popularity by spreading the message that criminals can be humiliated and killed to protect the rest of the population. In Manila, lists of suspected drug users, including both public officials and private individuals, have been compiled, based on intelligence reports, and widely published in print and digital media. These lists place drug dealers on notice that they should turn themselves in or else be investigated by the police. Reyes (2016) suggests these actions humiliate drug users and that human rights are seen only to apply to law-abiding citizens, with the lives of drug users having no value. In this way, drug users are "Othered" from law-abiding citizens.

Gabriel's is aware that his success as a fighter protects him, to some degree, from the war on drugs. He explained that when he wins a fight, he wins money for some members of the police force, who bet on the outcome. For this reason, Gabriel suggested that that some police officer overlook his drug dealing activities:

> Today, it is dangerous now right? If they [the police] catch you they can kill you immediately. They aren't afraid of that. But even now there is an operation. But me, even if I am charged. If the police see others. They point at them and say, "We will bury you." They don't do that to me, I'm their highest. I have a lot of respect. They respect me a lot.

Gabriel however is aware that, in some instances, members of the police force may not recognise him and therefore may not be able to protect him. For this reason, despite the income and status that drug dealing brings him in the community, he regards it as a dangerous activity that may result in life-threatening consequences. He takes pride in outwitting members of the police who may be a threat to him, inventing elaborate mechanisms to avoid detection such as using rubbish bins to transfer drugs around the neighbourhood.

Bottrell (2009b) suggests that the resilience literature remains consumed with understandings of adversity that focus on the individual and overlook the collective experiences of marginalisation in populations of young people. Gabriel is aware of his status of powerlessness in Filipino society and the social, political, and economic disadvantages that he faces in his day-to-day life. He is angry with the government for targeting street children. His gang membership and illegal activities offer him the opportunity to resist the effects of oppression. Bottrell argues that resilience in marginalised young people cannot be accurately understood without considering the social and political context of their lives. In calling for a social approach to resilience she suggests: "Their experiences represent not only individuals negotiating their way but indicate consequences of economic and policy effects in structuring individual experience and differentiating social conditions for identifiable groups" (Bottrell 2009b, p. 335).

In the Philippines, street-involved children are the targets of extreme government policy that has resulted in the injury and death of adults and children (Simangan 2018). Gabriel feels the war on drugs misrepresents the cause of social problems in the Philippines. He said: "the main problem of the Philippines is poverty". Gabriel believes that most children who migrate to the streets do so as their families are too poor to care for them and that the consequences of

being a street-involved child are life threatening. He suggests that the police, public officials and vigilantes are sanctioned by the state to target street children and subject them to acts of violence and even death. He recognises that such actions are an injustice and a violation of human rights.

Other children in the study sample shared Gabriel's perception that the injustices experienced by street-involved children are the responsibility of the government. Jezz suggested that the government fails to support poor children who then are exposed to dangers on the street:

> It is on them [the government]. They don't help the children. The government needs to help the children with more places like this [Bahay Tuluyan]. And they need to … help the parents who don't send the children to school … no help is given now. So children go to the streets.

Gabriel and other children in the study sample shared overt reflexive processes about the role of the government in the lives of children that suggest that they are aware of the social, political and economic constraints faced by children. Alfredo suggested this when he talked about the police and the danger they present to street-involved children:

> We are scared … of the police … they don't help us like they should. They ask us to move if we are sleeping. They don't offer to help … They need to change … to help the children.

Gabriel and several other children in the study expressed a desire to resist these constraints. Alfredo suggested this when he talked about his own behaviour and that of other gang members:

> We have drugs, we smoke, we have riots. They [the police] don't care so we do it.

In this comment, Alfredo implied that the police are representatives of the government but do not care about street-involved children. In his mind, he suggested, this warrants illegal and transgressive behaviour.

For Gabriel, engaging in these activities is both a mechanism to meet his need for basic resources by which to survive, as well as an opportunity for him to express political resistance. Thus, Gabriel's conception of "doing well" includes resisting the effects of marginalisation via engaging in illegal activities.

5.5.2 Extending Ungar's Notion of Hidden Resilience

Ungar, and scholars who have drawn on his approach, suggests that the dominant resilience discourse has emerged from the Minority World and reflects ethnocentric values and normative conceptions of child development (Boyden 2003, Cameron, Lau & Tapanya 2009, Ungar 2011). Ungar's (2004a, 2012) social ecology approach to resilience draws attention to the complex processes between the child and the resources to which they have access within their culture and context. Ungar (2005a) suggests that resilience is a cultural construct, with resilient children being those who are able to demonstrate prescribed norms of successful development in the culture and context in which they live. In his concept of "hidden resilience" he observes that children who fail to conform to desirable behaviours are rarely considered resilient, and instead are labelled "deviant" and dangerous by those who hold positions of power over the health discourse (Ungar 2006). Ungar's (2009) concept of hidden resilience acknowledges the non-homogeneity of healthy behaviours and suggests that unconventional and problematic behaviours can provide young people with experiences of power, recreation and social acceptance.

At first glance, Gabriel's case study exemplifies Ungar's notion of hidden resilience but offers new insights when he describes his hoped-for outcomes for his life, which are not associated with dominant conceptions of good health in the Philippines. As per Ungar's conception, Gabriel draws on dangerous personal, relational and community resources that threaten his personal safety, but simultaneously enable him to feel powerful and generate an income by which to live. Gabriel could be said to be seeking "health-related outcomes" such as a powerful self-concept via unhealthy means (Ungar 2006). However, in Gabriel's reflections on his life, he holds two options for his future. One option complies with dominant notions of health-related outcomes in children in Filipino society when he desires to become a police officer. On the other hand, he also aspires to be a powerful underworld figure who can both evade and be protected by the police.

Gabriel demonstrated reflexivity when he discussed his use of crime as a means of accessing material resources as well as resisting the effects of "Othering". Gabriel's reflexivity is evident in how he manages his complex relationship with the police, being protected by some, while attempting to avoid or outwit those whom he does not have a personal relationship with. Gabriel's case study highlights that children's reflexive processes may include deliberate engagement in actions that contravene norms associated with children in

Filipino society. Gabriel's desire to become a powerful criminal challenges Ungar's (2005a, 2006, 2009) notion of hidden resilience, which suggests the ultimate motivation for such behaviour is the achievement of positive health outcomes, via unhealthy means. In contrast, Gabriel seems cognisant of his choices, making considered efforts to engage in crime as a means of achieving goals for his life that contravene normative desirable life outcomes for children in the Philippines.

Ungar's notion of hidden resilience inadvertently makes normative judgements associated with "good" outcomes in children's lives. Gabriel's aspirations for his life include those that would not be considered "healthy" in Filipino society, namely being a powerful criminal. Ungar's normative assessments of what is considered "healthy functioning" can be seen in Wartenweiler's (2017) study of the "hidden resilience" of adults who were once street-involved children in Manila. The adults who feature in this study reflected on their lives and identified critical events that enabled them to achieve "resilience" in adulthood. Characteristics of "resilience" in adulthood included an absence of pathology, law-abiding means of generating an income and healthy functioning family relationships (Wartenweiler 2017). Wartenweiler's study illustrates that, while Ungar's conception of hidden resilience acknowledges diverse pathways towards resilience, it assumes that the child will attain desirable health-related outcomes that are consistent with those dominant in the culture and context in which the child lives. Ungar's emphasis on culturally normative functioning was highlighted in the analysis of the CYRM-28 international resilience measure in Chapter 2. The CYRM-28 breaks questions into subscales that seek to measure a child's access to personal, relational, community and cultural resources that enable growth and development as defined by the culture and context in which they live. Questions that aim to measure personal qualities such as persistence, emotional regulation and the ability to avoid drug and alcohol use are suggestive of normative notions of growth and development that are associated with normative conceptions of good health (Liebenberg 2011, Ungar & Liebenberg 2013).

The application of Hoggett's (2001) notion of agency to Gabriel's case study suggests new insights into Ungar's concept of "hidden resilience". In discussing reflexive processes that result in actions, Hoggett proposes that agency must account for the "negative capacities" of human beings such as engaging in behaviours and outcomes that generate violence and self-harm. Hoggett highlights the capacity of human beings to hold multiple understandings about

themselves, and simultaneously demonstrate a variety of different personas. Human beings, he argues, can conflict with themselves, and be in "two minds" about a problem or issue in their life (Hoggett 2001, p. 43). He warns that it is unhelpful to understand human agency as exclusively related to "constructive coping", as if "the two were synonymous" (Hoggett 2001, p. 43). He argues that researchers should be wary of normative judgements that assume reflexivity is associated with good choices, while non-reflexivity is associated with a lack of agency and "bad" choices and behaviours (Hoggett 2001).

Understanding children's engagement in dangerous and risky behaviour means considering a more complex view of reflexive choice making and considering the complex worlds in which children live (valentine 2011). Gabriel's competing aspirations for his future are suggestive of a complex relationship with cultural and social norms that determine desirable outcomes for children in Filipino society. Hoggett (2001) addresses the diverse choices of individuals that cannot necessarily be understood within the confines of rationality. "Is it always true that we know (even tacitly) why we are doing what we are doing when we do it or is a good deal of reflexivity actually post hoc?" (Hoggett 2001, p. 39).

Hoggett (2001) points out that human beings live complex lives and have the capacity to make choices that result in damage themselves and others. He argues that conceptions of agency must consider the "negative capacities" of human beings when they engage in acts that cause harm to themselves or others. To explain his approach, Hoggett (2001) draws on studies of male violence and highlights findings that suggest men minimise, deny or justify acts of violence and their consequences. He argues that human beings have the capacity to engage in reflexive and non-reflexive actions that are dependent on social relations and roles that they take up in each situation (Hoggett 2001).

Gabriel's simultaneous aspirations to both comply with and contravene culturally normative notions of "healthy functioning" in children is suggestive of a complex type of agency. His case demonstrates that children have the capacity to hold complex relationships with social norms including simultaneous ambitions to meet cultural expectations of behaviour while at the same time protesting oppression and marginalisation.

5.5.3 Transgressive, Second-Order Agency

Gabriel's narrative describes both a transgressive and a compliant relationship with the cultural and social values that are dominant in Filipino society. He holds two seemly

contradictory visions for his future, desiring to become a police officer, as well as a powerful underground figure whose successful criminal activities will earn him respect and protection in the community. Despite being dangerous and exposing him to threats of violence and exploitation by the police, Gabriel uses drugs to generate income and help him manage emotional and physical pain. This complex thought processes are suggestive of reflexive decision making in which he holds two points of view, both transgressing and complying with Filipino cultural norms.

Gabriel's illegal activities are suggestive of a more radical approach to agency, rather than just survival. His activities transgress culturally ascribed norms of behaviour in Filipino children as he attempts to resist the effects of "Othering" and challenge the social order in the Philippines by engaging in illegal activities (Hoggett 2001). Each individual's navigation of the "rules of the game" is dependent on their reserves and access to social, cultural and economic capital, and thus the "rules of the game" have been shown to reinforce social inequality and influence the life chances of children (Wolf 2007, Lareau, Adia Evans et al. 2016). Gabriel demonstrates "second-order agency" when he seeks to transgress the social norms of the Philippines and radically alter his life circumstances, and those of his family, by refusing to conform to normative behaviours in children and resisting the effects of oppression (Hoggett 2001).

In generating resources via criminal activities, Gabriel aims to effect change in his own life, and that of his family, by accessing material resources that enable survival. Gilgun and Abrams (2005) argue that illegal activities can be an effective means by which children who are marginalised by mainstream society can enhance their chances of survival. While adult expert researchers may suggest these behaviours are maladaptive, young people consider such activities as important and legitimate mechanisms by which to attain access to physical and emotional resources. Drug dealing has been observed to be "underground work" for people who are marginalised by mainstream society (Lister 2004). Recent Filipino research has suggested that young men who deal drugs in Manila cooperate with each other to devise ingenious strategies by which to avoid detection (Lasco 2018). Lasco (2018) found that young men who engage in drug dealing to survive consider this a legitimate form of work by which they are able to access basic resources. Young men engage in various tactics to avoid detection including using missed calls and texts as mechanisms to warn each other of possible police detection. They also use their bakarda as a "brigade" to provide information and

protection from police (Lasco 2018). Thus in the Philippines, young men who are marginalised by mainstream society perceive drug dealing as a form of self-employment that is associated with autonomy and entrepreneurial ability (Fairlie 2002).

In Gabriel's case, he described his illegal activities as contributing towards his emotional and physical wellbeing. Drug use and dealing enables him to access material resources, offers him status in the community, and enables him to support his family. Gabriel also uses drugs as a mechanism to manage his emotions. He acknowledged that drug dealing is a dangerous but said that, for him, it is an important source of income. He uses the money he earns to pay for his daily expenses and his "vices": "It calms me down. My nervousness, it lessens. And my head is calmer, focused. And I'm not nervous. No matter what happens to me. It hurts less."

He also explained that when he feels depressed and suicidal, drugs help him manage his strong feelings:

> When I'm sad and there's a lot of problems. When I feel heavy and I think about killing myself, because before I had guns. And the place where I put them, it's a high place. I said, while I'm holding the gun, "What if I shoot myself with this?" Because I have a lot of problems and I don't say anything. I've really depressed. So that's when I take drugs. I'll just light up. I feel better, until I fall asleep from being high.

Thus Gabriel described his drug use as a mechanism that enables him to fight more effectively as drugs help him manage his fear, and the pain of physical injury. His actions are suggestive of transgressive agency as he seeks to radically alter his own life via engaging in illegal activities.

5.5.4 "Getting Back At" Summary

Gabriel's perceptions of "doing well" are suggestive of "Getting back at" in Lister's taxonomy of agency. When Gabriel explains his transgressive activities within the context of oppressive government policy, he suggests that such actions are expressions of political agency. Gabriel's case is significant in extending current conceptions of resilience to include acts of marginalised children who engage in illegal activities as demonstrations of political resistance. The implication of Gabriel's conception of resilience is that researchers who seek to understand resilience in children who are highly marginalised must appreciate the meanings ascribed to particular resources and how the child might value them as they pursue self-identified notions of "doing well" (Panter-Brick 2015).

Gabriel's overtly political perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" uncover the shortcomings of Ungar's notion of hidden resilience. Ungar's (2005a) concept refers to the unconventional ways through which young people negotiate positive health outcomes by drawing on dangerous personal, relational and community resources that are non-culturally normative and represent risk and danger. Ungar (2005a, 2009) argues that behaviours such as drug use, crime, early sexual activity and gang membership can represent a young person's best strategy for a pathway to healthy outcomes, when they are excluded from other health seeking-resources more commonly associated with resilience.

However, Gabriel's narrative challenged Ungar's notion when he explained the meaning he ascribes to these dangerous activities. Gabriel described his activities as both a means for personal survival and as a mechanism by which to resist "Othering" from mainstream Filipino society. Gabriel is demonstrating a more radical type of agency than that offered by Ungar in that he is seeking to "break out" from social systems and resist dominant political and social structures that oppress street-involved children. In Gabriel's narrative, engaging in illegal activities is meaningful in that they facilitate resistance to oppressive government policy that he identified as the primary threat to the safety of street-involved children in the Philippines. Gabriel's case study and the application of Lister's taxonomy of agency draw attention to the political nature of perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" in populations of young people who are marginalised by mainstream society. Gabriel's case study supports Bottrell's (2002, 2007, 2009b) critique of Ungar and suggests support for an under-developed approach to resilience that considers children's collective experiences of marginalisation and oppression.

5.6 Kyla: "Doing Well" via "Getting Organised": Facilitating Resilience via Collective Action

Kyla's perception of "doing well" involves living in a society in which children's rights are upheld. Exposure to the concept of children's rights at Bahay Tuluyan changed how Kyla perceived "doing well" and facilitated her protests against injustice by adults against children in a way that is not culturally normative. She now believes this knowledge is essential to the survival of street children:

> If you're a kid who goes everywhere, and you don't know where to go because of poverty, you need to be strong and stand up for yourself. You need to be strong to fight, or speak up for yourself, and just go on with your life.

For Kyla, feeling empowered to advocate is fundamental for street children to overcome the "adversity" associated with street life and to go on to "do well".

Kyla's case study demonstrates an alternative conception of resilience in which some children consider conditions of "adversity" and "doing well" to be associated with the realisation of their human rights in the context of oppression and marginalisation. Other children in the complete study sample shared this perception, emphasising the role of human rights in the lives of children who perceive themselves to be resilient. Mary Anne exemplified this when she suggested that the realisation of her dreams is dependent on her rights being upheld by the society in which she lives:

> I won't reach my dreams, my future, if I didn't know about my rights. If I didn't have them, if I didn't know them, people would just step on me and I can't do anything about it.

Similarly, Jezz explained this when the researcher asked him: "Can you tell me about what you know about the rights of children?" He replied: "[I learnt] how the government should treat children" which has inspired him to "know our [street-involved children's] lives can be better … not hungry and dirty all the time … to go to school, to have a good life."

This thesis argues that the dominant resilience discourse that has emerged from the Minority World is based on a narrow and ethnocentric conception of "healthy functioning" that privileges predominantly Minority World values and overlooks the social and political positions of children in the societies in which they live. It has argued that in the Filipino resilience literature "healthy functioning" children are those who demonstrate compliance with cultural and social norms that are dominant in Filipino society such as observance of relationships of mutual obligation and deference to adults (Banaag 1997, Bautista, Roldan & Garces-Bacsal 2001a, Sta. Maria, Martinez & Diestro 2014, Banaag 2016, Wartenweiler 2017). Children are expected to obey children who are older than themselves and adults in positions of authority (Alampay & Jocson 2011).

Kyla challenges this conception by constructing herself as resilient when she draws on personal, relational and community resources to protest injustice and engage with other children in collective acts of resistance (Lister 2004, Ungar 2011). After she learnt about her rights, the next time Kyla witnessed the abuse of a street child, she was able to navigate formal structures in the community by lodging a complaint at the barangay. This action resulted in an investigation and conviction of the adult guard who assaulted the child.

Although she is sceptical about the long-term impact, she takes solace that she has contributed to change in how street children are treated in the community.

Kyla's case is suggestive of Bottrell's (2009b) critique of the social-ecological approach to resilience, which she argues emphasises children's individual responses to adults' discursive power over the health discourse, but fails to account for children's collective experiences of marginalisation and oppression:

> While Ungar's (2004) study emphasizes the significance of social relations through analysis of discursive power and the subordinate positioning of young people's own discourses, attention to the materiality of the adversities and disadvantages faced by high-risk youth, and the societal construction of them, is subsumed into individuated and discursive re-positioning through therapeutic intervention. (Bottrell 2009b, p. 326)

Lister (2004) suggests that "getting organised" requires the individual to identify with the oppressed group that is marginalised or "Othered". She argues that, while the categorisation of groups of people can serve to stigmatise people, it can also provide a basis for a "categorical identity" or sense of sameness with others that facilities the formation of a collective identity and fuels political action (Lister 2004). Kyla exemplifies how the shared experiences of "adversity" can serve to unify children and prompt political agency when they are aware that they are "Othered" by mainstream society. Kyla illustrated this when she reflected on her personal experience and suggested that members of the public look on street children with disgust. Her observations are in keeping with studies that have found that street children are conscious of this stigma and of how they are differentiated from mainstream society (Pomm 2005, Makofane 2014).

Identifying with other street-involved children who are "Othered" from mainstream society, Kyla uses her emerging collective consciousness as a basis for engaging in collective acts of political protest, seeking to "rupture" social, cultural and political norms that govern street-involved children's lives and their relationships with adults (Hoggett 2001, Lister 2004). In Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency, "getting organised" falls in the political/citizenship strategic quadrant, which highlights the calculated actions of oppressed individuals to overcome barriers to mobilise action and effect change.

Children's status as social, political and economic actors is explored in discussions of children's agency by scholars who have emphasised their capacity to make decisions and take actions (Boyden and Levison 2000, valentine 2011, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017). These

studies suggest that understandings of agency in the lives of children must account for power relationships between children and adults and the cultural and contextual construction of childhood:

> It is now apparent that what promotes children's best interests cannot be defined without reference to social and cultural theories of child development, children's personal and social characteristics, their specific circumstances, the nature of their childhood experiences, and the social contexts in which they live. Even in adversity children are not the passive recipients, but active survivors, of experience. (Boyden & Levison 2000. p. 8)

The social, political and cultural context determines how children's actions are understood, with some expressions of agency understood as rebellious while others are sanctioned by adults (Redmond 2009). Bordonaro (2012) observes that in studies of street-involved children decisions and actions that transgress normative behaviours in children have been devalued as demonstrations of agency as they are judged by adult researchers as not meeting their best interests:

> Deviation from mainstream morality (playing truant, having boyfriends, being "rude", lack of "respect", etc.) was assessed as risk of becoming a street child, an outlaw, a prostitute; concern for protection made therefore legitimate interventions aiming at restraining youth's behaviour. In most cases the ultimate goal of social intervention appeared to be that of morally redeeming the child. (Bordonaro 2012, p. 419)

Thus, choices and actions by street-involved children that do not fit with normative ideals of behaviour are often overlooked by adults as positive expressions of agency.

Kyla's case study is illustrative of "second-order" agency by which she aims to radically alter the social order of the Philippines by challenging the oppression of street-involved children (Hoggett 2001). In her engagement in political action she demonstrates transgressive agency when she behaves in ways that are not associated with culturally normative relationships between adults and children in Filipino society. Kyla's case illustrates that children are not helpless and reliant on adults in mainstream society in order to "do well", but rather have the capacity to powerfully claim their rights. Her case is suggestive of a political conception of resilience in which children's political agency and capacity for collective action is central to their conception of "doing well".

5.6.1 A Collective Consciousness with "Othered" Street Children

In her discussion of poverty and marginalisation, Lister defines "Othering" as: "A dualistic process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them' – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained" (Lister 2004, p. 101).

Kyla's narrative demonstrates that she is aware of the social, political and economic position of street-involved children in the Philippines who experience stigma, oppression and victimisation (Pomm 2005). Her identification of her own circumstances with the experiences of other street-involved children fuels her anger towards the government and informs her collective consciousness.

Kyla, informed by her training at Bahay Tuluyan, suggests that children's rights provide a platform for collective action. Kyla believes the government can do more to help street children. She has been made aware that the Filipino government is a signatory to the UNCRC and duty bound to take action to protect children. She is involved in advocacy activities at Bahay Tuluyan and has participated in letter writing to the government to call attention to the plight of street children and demand policy change. She exemplified this when she said:

> What I would really like is to tell the government is to help. Help the children that don't have any place to go. They are at the most risk of losing direction. Of being pushers, users. There is reason why they lose direction in life, because they have nowhere to go. They have nobody to go to.

Other children also discussed their engagement in advocacy activities at Bahay Tuluyan regarding "Rescue", the policy response to street children. When the researcher asked about his experience of feeling powerful Jezz answered: "we write to the government to tell [the police] to stop. It is against our rights."

Kyla, like some of the other children, demonstrated reflexive agency in her knowledge and anger about her personal circumstances, and those of other children (Hoggett 2001). Her case study aligns with other studies of children who have been "Othered" by mainstream societies and whose political agency is nurtured when they develop an awareness of their status and marginalisation (Redmond 2009, Lind 2017, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017).

As discussed in Section 4.4, other children who participated in this study also spoke about child rights training at Bahay Tuluyan and their understanding of human rights. Justine said

that “all children should have an education, they should not be left on their own, they should be cared for”. Similarly, Miguel in her child-led tour took the researcher to the recreation room where she has learnt about the UNCRC and child rights at the Children’s Assemblies. While in this room she talked about her perceptions of children’s rights and her views about the government’s role in helping street children. She explained that children should “have the right to go to school” and “have loving parents”. She discussed this in the context of her own experiences of becoming a street child.

Kyla identified with the category of “street children” when she spoke on behalf of street children and described the multiple “adversities” children experience. However, while identifying with the categorised group can create a sense of belonging and sameness with others, it can also separate individuals when they do not wish to be associated with stigma (Lister 2004). Kyla’s relationship with the “category” of street children is complex, as she seeks to both align with, and distance herself from, street-involved children. Lister (2004) observes that people who live in poverty often do not wish to identify themselves as “poor”. Skattebol and colleagues (2017) identify a similar finding in their study when young people sought to differentiate themselves from labels such as “vulnerable” or “at risk”: “We found examples of ‘othering’ where young people deemed by the system to be at risk would denigrate others as ‘worse’ than themselves” (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017, p. 324).

Kyla exemplified this when she described the relationships with other children she formed under the pier. She simultaneously suggested they were necessary for her survival as well as presenting risks for her, with their transgressive behaviour having the potential to threaten her ability to make strategic decisions about her future. Kyla’s narrative is suggestive of Hoggett’s (2001) conception of agency, which emphasises the human capacity to hold simultaneous but divergent views about themselves and their actions.

Panter-Brick (2002) suggests that the term “street child” is a powerful label that serves to reinforce stigma, emphasise vulnerability and suggest a homogeneity of circumstances that does not reflect street-involved children’s actual lived experience:

> First, it is a generic term that obscures the heterogeneity in children’s actual circumstances. Second, it does not correspond to the ways many children relate their own experiences or to the reality of their movements on and off the street. Third, it is imbued with pejorative or pitying connotations. Fourth, it deflects attention from the broader population of children affected by poverty and social exclusion. (Panter-Brick 2002, p 149)

Kyla described an awareness of the label "street child" when she described that the "worst thing" is to be viewed with disgust by mainstream society who "look down on you" and "don't speak up for you". Kyla's views accord with those found in other research which suggests that street-involved children are aware of the stigma of being labelled a "street child", a term that has powerful emotional overtones that suggests children are subjects of both pity and hostility by mainstream society (Aptekar 1988, Aptekar 1994, Panter-Brick 2002, Sta. Maria, Martinez et al. 2014).

In other cultures and contexts, street-involved children are aware that they are 'Othered" and they identify as a collective group. Beazley's (2003) study in Indonesia draws on Turner's self-categorisation theory (Turner & Reynolds 2011) to examine the lives of street boys as they undergo a process of collective identity formation, which becomes stronger the longer they live on the street. Turner suggests that individuals define themselves as members of distinct social categories and then, in turn, develop desirable behaviours and assign attributes to themselves via a process of self-stereotyping (Turner & Reynolds 2011). In Beazley's (2003) study, male street children were found to have developed a subculture via establishing codes of behaviours that enabled them to resist the effects of shame associated with being stereotyped by mainstream society. Similarly, Davies (2008) reports that street children form strong, stable "subcultures" with other children that provide them with a powerful sense of self and a collective identity. In his study of street children in Kenya, Davies suggests that children create a secure special domain in which they are free to live away from the constraints of the adult world. Children in Davies' (2008) study worked together, observing informal rules that governed the sharing of resources and how they moved within the geography of the streets, and formed an "anti-society" that provided an alternative view of the world and celebrated difference by preying on the fears of the mainstream.

A study of indigenous and sexual minority youth who are marginalised from mainstream society suggests that group affiliation can serve to provide context to personal circumstances and serve as a basis for collective struggle (Wexler, DiFluvio et al. 2009). This study concurs with the work of Barber (2008, 2009, 2013), who has argued that in communities engaged in conflict and war youth who perceive the legitimacy of violence benefit from a collective sense of identity that is informed by their own personal experiences. Wexler, DiFluvio and Burke suggest that "group affiliations can provide young people with a sense of belonging, social norms and behavioral pathways of response, and can offer them a sustaining

ideological commitment" (2009, p. 570). Thus, shared experiences of marginalisation can be empowering to young people who form relationships that are associated with strength to resist oppression and engage in political action.

In Kyla's case, she is aware that as a street child she is "Othered" and this fuels her consciousness of the collective experience of other street-involved children. While her identification with the category of "street child" is complex, she draws on an emerging collective consciousness to challenge the social order and demand that her rights, and the rights of other street-involved children, are observed and upheld.

5.6.2 Challenging the Social Order via Rights

Kyla challenges the social and political order of the Philippines by drawing on the UNCRC and the responsibilities of the government as duty bearer, which contrast with the lived experiences of street-involved children. Kyla seeks "second-order" change, as defined by Hoggett (2001), when she seeks to disrupt political relationships between street-involved children and adults who hold positions of power. This is a radical model of agency that accounts for the capacity of an individual to challenge the social systems which make up their lives and manage the risks associated with this disruption (Hoggett, 2001).

A radical perspective must therefore also be concerned with second-order change, the change that occurs when individuals or groups challenge the game rules per se. Such ruptural, non-incremental changes may occur in individuals' lives, in family systems, in neighbourhood communities, within institutions and, just occasionally, within whole societies (Hoggett 2001, p. 51).

Kyla seeks to radically alter the social and political "rules" of the Philippines by pointing out the gap between the responsibilities of the government as a signatory to the UNCRC and the lived experience of street-involved children. After learning about children's rights at Bahay Tuluyan, she draws on this and expressive transgressive agency when she deviates from social and cultural positions ascribed to children in Filipino society.

Other children in the complete study sample also discussed the role of children's rights as a mechanism to facilitate change in Filipino society. Daniel explained that in his training as a Youth Facilitator he has learnt about the rights of children and this has inspired him to imagine an alternative society:

> First, they should give the child the right to speak for themselves. Second, they should give the child an education. Because sometimes, it's already public school, the child lives on the street, the teacher adds stuff to buy for the children living on the street. The children on the street, they can't buy anything. They should give it for free, all that's needed should be free.

The intersection of human rights and the lives of people who live in extreme poverty has been articulated by Amartya Sen (2005), who suggests human rights are grounded in both freedom *from* coercion and oppression, as well as freedom *to* choose a life that they have reason to value. A human rights approach to poverty and deprivation suggests an ethical and legal claim that those in powerful positions have a duty to uphold the rights of the less powerful (Sen 1999). When applied to children, the rights discourse makes clear the importance of multiple resources in achieving physical, mental and social development (Nussbaum 2003). Critics suggest that in the human rights discourse there is a gap between legislative responsibilities and the realities of people's daily experiences of deprivation (Abane, Acheampong et al. 2011). When applied to the lives of street-involved children, Schimmel (2006) argues that when children's rights of provision and protection are not upheld, agency is not possible due to constrained choice and inadequate resources.

Nonetheless, as Kyla demonstrates, the rights discourse offers children a platform for collective action and to demand social and political change (Lister 2004). Discussions of children's agency have been used to argue for increased rights of civic and political participation in matters that pertain to them (valentine 2011). In the Filipino resilience literature the rights discourse has been drawn on to highlight street-involved children's strengths and capacities (Caparas 1998, Bautista, Roldan et al. 2001). Caparas (1998) suggests that programs based on child rights have the capacity to develop personal skills in children and provide opportunities for community participation that lead to the development of resilience. However, she also downplays children's own capacity to collectively contribute towards social change. Thus, Caparas inadvertently offers an individualised conception that fails to acknowledge the impact of the UNCRC as a basis for collective consciousness and the capacity for collective action.

Kyla described herself being incredulous when she learned about the rights of children and the role of government as duty bearers to protect her rights under the UNCRC. In the Philippines, the rights of children are enshrined in law by various instruments that support the participation of children in policy and legislation that affects them (Bessell 2009). The rights of children were first legislated via the1974 Child and Youth Welfare Code, which was used

a basis for the ratification of the UNCRC in the Philippines in 1991. Later that same year, the Local Government Code was introduced, which stipulates that each barangay must establish youth participation mechanisms such as regular youth assemblies. Despite these legislative instruments, Filipino children experience multiple barriers to genuine participation including entrenched cultural beliefs about the capacities of children and observance of age-based hierarchies in which children are deferential to the authority of adults (Bessell 2007). These legislative provisions are rarely enacted and, when they are, usually engage children from high socio-economic-status backgrounds who attend school. Other important barriers that prevent genuine participation include the value placed on children as future adults, as well as beliefs that position children as incapable of contribution due to incomplete development (Liebel & Saadi 2012). Poor children have been observed to face additional barriers such as the inability to access resources that enable participation in youth consultation processes (Bessell 2007).

Kyla's case study demonstrates the capacity of children to powerfully claim their rights independently of adults. Kyla's journey towards collective action began when she learnt that the UNCRC forms the "basic rule of law" regarding "how children should be treated" in the Philippines. Lister (2004) suggests that the human rights discourse makes clear the legal entitlements of people who live in poverty and deprivation. Redmond (2014, p. 618) points out that international legislative instruments such as the UNCRC require that signatories support children with adequate material and non-material resources that enable children to reach their "fullest potential". In this he observes that the UNCRC does not free children from exposure to poverty and deprivation but rather obligates duty bearers to support growth and development (Redmond 2014).

Lister (2004) notes that, in order to engage in collective acts of self-help, people who are "Othered" must overcome barriers to getting organised. She identifies "resource"-related barriers such as accessing wealth, education and developing advocacy skills. She also suggests that political and cultural barriers act as impediments to collective action in populations of people who are already experiencing disadvantage (Lister 2004). In the Philippines, in order to challenge the existing social order, street-involved children must overcome barriers that are related to their ability to access resources, as well as social, cultural and political norms that are dominant in society. Lister acknowledges that barriers like these deny citizens their right to engage in political action and form the basis of social

exclusion. Smith, Lister et al. (2005) point out that children's citizenship is often associated with their status as future economic contributors. They call for a lifelong approach to citizenship that acknowledges children's capacity for political action across their life course. (Smith, Lister et al. 2005)

In Kyla's case, supported by Bahay Tuluyan, she is afforded the opportunity to contribute towards long-term change to better the lives of street-involved children by challenging the existing social order in the Philippines. She has begun to envisage a future in which she can experience the rights to protection and provision; she aspires to live in safety, have food to eat and be able to go to school. Fuelled by her new understandings about the legal entitlements of children, she has also begun to demand her right to participation, protesting examples of injustice in her community and engaging in collective action by advocating for change in government policy responses to street children.

5.6.3 Political Action and Collective Acts of Self Help

Kyla's conception of "doing well" includes radical demonstrations of "second-order" agency as she seeks to disrupt the existing social and political order that serves to oppress street-involved children (Hoggett 2001). Kyla said: "What I would really like to tell the government is to help. Help the children that don't have any place to go. It is up to you to help them get their rights."

Kyla's case study is suggestive of a radical approach to resilience that accommodates children's capacity to engage in political action and seek to transform social and political relationships. Lister (2004) defines political action as acts of "collective organisation around poverty or welfare rights", which can include formal campaigns and informal community acts. Boyden and Levison (2000) identify children's capacity to engage in political activism, citing examples of children seeking to redress injustice in situations of oppression across the world:

> Children also express their agency through political and social activism, whether on their own behalf, on behalf of their communities, or other children, or in support of an idea or principle. Children have acted as defenders of equality and justice, as in the struggle against apartheid and the Bantu Education system in South Africa. As defenders of nationhood, Palestinian children took up arms against the occupation of their homeland. Children have organised against exploitative employment. In 1984, British children supported the miner's strike, raising funds for miners' families and joining pickets. Through peer-to-peer teaching and counseling, children in many countries help combat the spread of sexually transmitted infections and disseminate

> primary health messages. Through advocacy, they fight for the rights of families living in illegal housing. (Boyden & Levison 2000, p. 44)

Nguyen-Gillham et al. (2008) identify children's engagement in acts of political resistance as a protective factor in communities where violence and political oppression are part of everyday life. (Nguyen-Gillham, Giacaman et al. 2008) In their study of young people in Palestine they found that engaging in political acts such as throwing stones or participating in political protests was a means of rejecting the dominant narrative about themselves and served to restore their dignity. They called for a realignment of programs that seek to build resilience in children by focusing on the existing social capital in communities (Nguyen-Gillham, Giacaman et al. 2008). The capacity of young people to engage in political action has been studied in the Philippines in the context of disaster and climate change (Haynes and Tanner 2015). Through the use of participatory video making, researchers noted the capacity of young people to influence decision makers and take direct action to support the community in the event of a natural disaster (Haynes and Tanner 2015). Their study findings suggest that young people are not passive victims of climate change or reliant on adults in the event of an emergency.

Kyla's case study is also suggestive of political action as she seeks to change the social and political structures that oppress street-involved children. At the Annual Street Children's Congress facilitated by Bahay Tuluyan in 2017, the children worked with Youth Facilitators to develop a response to the 2017 General Comment on Street Involved Children by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (UN 2017), which explicitly addresses the needs of street-involved children. Children described the adversities they experienced on the streets in relation to their rights and arranged them in thematic categories: survival and development, participation, and justice for children. In the category of "survival and development" children articulated adversities such as sleeping on the street, engaging in prostitution, exposure to violence and the failure of the state to protect their dignity. In the category of "participation and freedom" children observed that they were not provided with opportunities to engage in public debate regarding street children. They also identified that they are "treated as dirt" and "looked down upon" by others in Filipino society (Bahay Tuluyan 2017). This response was sent to the United Nations, as well as to the Philippines Government, to demand change to the public policy that addresses street-involved children. Kyla demonstrates her agency via political action when she places responsibility for enacting the convention on the

government. She demands that the government has a special responsibility to street children to enact their rights.

Lister (2004) uses the term "collective self-help" to describe activities by marginalised people that seek to improve their lives and the living conditions of those who experience disadvantage. In some contexts, these activities include formal community development initiatives assisted by community organisations that seek to improve the community's access to resources or reduce debt. Acts of collective self-help can also include informal acts of mutual aid and neighbourhood support, whereby people collaborate in order to improve their lives. By engaging in acts of political organisation Kyla is demanding that the voices of children who are marginalised be recognised and their experiences acknowledged. Researchers such as Panter-Brick (2002) and Grover (2005) call for policy makers to recognise street-involved children as having important things to contribute to research and policy that aims to improve their lives. Kyla supports this assertion and demonstrates how Filipino street-involved children who are exposed to child rights can engage in critical and collective inquiry about power relations in society and take steps to redress situations of injustice.

For Kyla, exposure to the UNCRC legitimised her protest and empowered her to speak out against violence:

> If you're a kid who goes everywhere, and you don't know where to go because of poverty, you need to be strong and stand up for yourself. You need to be strong to fight, or speak up for yourself, and just go on with your life.

Thus, Kyla demonstrates that acts of collective self-help are an important expression of resilience. Her agency is evident in her advice to other street children to learn about their rights as a mechanism to resist oppression.

5.6.4 Getting Organised Summary

Kyla's construction of resilience is emblematic of actions expressed by children in the study, including Daniel, Justine, Miguel and Jess who conceptualised "adversity" and "doing well" as overtly political constructs. In this, like other children in the study, she suggested that managing the effects of oppression is a collective experience. Moreover, "doing well" for Kyla includes the ability to resist the effects of marginalisation and oppression via engaging in political acts.

When she was exposed to the concept of child rights, her perceptions of what it is to "do well" were transformed. Learning about child rights informed Kyla about the rule of law and the duty of the state to protect street children. She attributes learning about rights as empowering her, contrary to normative Filipino values of respect for adults (Alampay and Jocson 2011), to protest against oppression and injustice by forcing authorities to listen to the "soft voice of a child". In this, Kyla's conception of "doing well" includes political agency and the power to protest oppression.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Caparas' (1998) study examines the Bahay Tuluyan Junior Educator Program and its capacity to develop leadership skills in children. She quotes a participant in the program who said they "feel important about himself because he is able to serve street children" (Caparas 1998, p. 254). Caparas (1998) also reports study participants' suggestion that the government has a role in helping street children by providing them with more programs like the Junior Educator Program. Kyla extended these early observations by Caparas when she suggested that learning about child rights can empower children to move from a self-identified position of "powerless" to advocate for themselves and others. Kyla suggested that "doing well" includes demonstrations of political agency, even when these acts contravene notions of age-based hierarchies that are defined as a desirable characteristic in Filipino children (Alampay and Jocson 2011). This case therefore suggests that the current construction of resilience in Filipino research fails to observe diverse perceptions of healthy functioning, including those that do not meet culturally normative expectations of children.

Kyla's desire to disrupt the social order is evident when she protests about the rights of other children when she observes instances of abuse by adults in positions of power. Her knowledge about child rights and her role as a Youth Facilitator at Bahay Tuluyan enables her to cause radical change in her life and the lives of other children. She transgresses the "rules of the game" when she defies social norms that govern the behaviour of children, including speaking up to adults who abuse power (Hoggett 2001). Kyla's perception of what it is to "do well" fuels her motivation to "get organised" via acts of collective self-help and political action (Lister 2004). Kyla's actions are suggestive of a radical approach to agency that challenges the existing social order and seeks to create political and social change.

5.7 Chapter Summary

The major contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes is to highlight street-involved children's diverse perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", revealing conceptions that are currently underdeveloped in both the Minority World and Filipino resilience discourses. Drawing on the social-ecological approach as a basis for understanding the lived experience of Filipino street-involved children, the study has sought to understand the complex processes children facilitate in the context of their social ecology, as they navigate and negotiate resources and travel towards highly nuanced perceptions of "doing well". The emblematic case studies in this thesis present an often-overlooked conception of resilience that includes expressions of children's political agency when they are denied their human rights. This conception foregrounds how power relations between adults and children, and especially between adults in positions of authority and marginalised children, need to be accounted for.

This thesis has pointed out that the dominant conception of resilience has emerged from the Minority World, constructed by adult, expert researchers who have suggested that resilient children demonstrate specific personal resources and achieve outcomes associated with "healthy functioning" in children. The social-ecological approach by Ungar (2011) highlights that this conception overlooks resilience as a cultural construct but nonetheless relies on Minority World values associated with optimal child growth and development in Western societies. In the Filipino resilience discourse, expert researchers from the field of psychology have proposed a culturally nuanced conception of resilience that suggests compliance with Filipino values associated with desirable outcomes in children. The Filipino literature concurs with Ungar's thesis that resilience is culturally nuanced and dependent on contextual values that govern the society in which the child lives.

This thesis suggests that Ungar's social-ecological approach provides an important contribution to understandings of resilience but fails to adequately account for the complexities of children's actions in the context of power inequalities in society. In Chapter 2, an examination of the CYRM and "seven tensions" provided an interpretation of Ungar's conception of "healthy functioning" in children. The analysis suggested that Ungar correlates "healthy functioning" with children achieving good health outcomes that are dominant in the child's culture and context (Ungar 2013; Ungar & Liebenberg 2013). In his conception of "hidden resilience" Ungar acknowledges unorthodox mechanisms by which children achieve healthy outcomes (Ungar 2013, Ungar and Liebenberg 2013). However, this thesis suggests

that Ungar's conception of hidden resilience inadvertently operates from a normative adult perspective, suggesting the ultimate goals children hold for their lives are associated with ideas of "good health" that are dominant in the culture and context in which the child lives. The concept of hidden resilience overlooks children's diverse conceptions of "doing well", which may not correlate with culturally specific notions of optimal growth and development. In identifying personal, relational, community and cultural resources as indicators of resilience, Ungar's approach inadvertently offers a narrow conception of "healthy functioning" that privileges health outcomes associated with normative development in a particular cultural context, and therefore overlooks children's own conceptions of what it is to "do well".

Furthermore, this thesis suggests that Ungar's approach overlooks children's analysis of their marginalisation as a political experience which they share with other street-involved children and their families. In his discussion of hidden resilience, while acknowledging the discursive power to which children are subject and the individual actions by which they resist labelling and stigma, he inadvertently overlooks the capacity of children to engage in collective political action when they identify as a marginalised group excluded from mainstream society. The narratives of the children who participated in this study challenge this individualised approach, instead perceiving their adverse experiences to be the result of structural oppression via unjust social policy and the denial of their human rights. The case studies presented in this study suggest that in efforts to manage this oppression the children undertake diverse actions including every day and personal or strategic and political actions. This thesis suggests that these actions are in part motivated by a political analysis and recognition that street-involved children are oppressed and marginalised as a group. Drawing on critiques of agency in relation to children who live in an adult-centric society, this thesis extends Ungar's approach, suggesting resilience is a political concept for children who are aware that they are "Othered" by Filipino society and take both short-term and long-term actions to resist the impact of oppression (Bottrell 2009b, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017).

The case studies of Angelica and Jasmine demonstrate how children undertake individual actions that seek to improve their lives, and resist "Othering" from mainstream Filipino society. Angelica does this when she makes a strategic decision to use resources that are available to her, Bahay Tuluyan and school, with the intention of getting her family out of poverty in the long term. Angelica demonstrates first-order agency when she plays within the

“rules of the game” to change her personal circumstances and those of her family (Hoggett 2001). She is highly reflexive about her choices and her ability to rationalise her actions is an important component of her view of herself as a competent and resilient child.

Jasmine, in contrast, copes with the day-to-day challenges of poverty and oppression by creating multiple “like family” relationships that help her get by. She demonstrates “first-order” agency as she seeks to improve her immediate circumstances within existing social structures to which she has access (Hoggett 2001). Jasmine demonstrates some reflexive thought, taking deliberate actions that enable her to establish in-group relationships that meet collectivist values associated with group membership. However, her long-term plans to escape poverty are vague and potentially compromised when she continually “runs away” from Bahay Tuluyan to return to her friends on the streets. Thus, Jasmine’s narrative is suggestive of habitual, everyday agency as she copes with the extreme challenges of her life.

The case studies of Gabriel and Kyla suggest children also can consider themselves to be resilient when they undertake actions that demonstrate political agency, albeit in diverse ways. Gabriel has an ambivalent relationship with Filipino values, engaging in criminal acts while simultaneously striving to uphold his relationships of mutual obligation to his family and his strong relationship with God. He perceives his engagement in crime as a mechanism for outsmarting the police and the government, which he sees as oppressive and unjust. His gang-related activities also offer him a means of achieving attachments and relationships of protection. Thus, Gabriel’s activities are suggestive of political agency that seeks to transgress the social order dominant in Filipino society, as a mechanism to manage the effects of injustice and oppression. Gabriel’s case study and the application of Lister’s taxonomy of agency hold implications for Ungar’s conception of hidden resilience. While hidden resilience acknowledges the role of unorthodox behaviours such as crime and drug use, it assumes that children’s true motive for these activities is seeking healthy outcomes that are defined by the culture and context in which the child lives, albeit via unhealthy means. Thus, the concept of hidden resilience inadvertently makes a normative judgement that children’s reflexive processes ultimately lead to “good health outcomes”.

Gabriel’s case study suggests that Ungar’s conception of hidden resilience downplays the collective experiences of marginalisation and the possibility that aberrant behaviours are a form of social protest (Bottrell 2009b). Ungar’s approach positions aberrant behaviours as meaningful only when they contribute to health-related outcomes for the individual that

reflect normative concepts of healthy functioning in children, in turn reflecting dominant notions of growth and development in the context of the society in which the child lives. He suggests that social workers and therapists can assist young people to challenge their personal narratives about themselves and thus establish a healthy self-concept that rejects labels of deviance and defiance. In situating remedial actions with individual children, Ungar inadvertently reverts to an individualist conception of resilience and overlooks acts of political and collective protest (Bottrell 2009b). This chapter has suggested that children hold contradictory beliefs about self and the complex processes that underpin their choices. This finding concurs with recent studies of agency in the lives of children, suggesting that young people live in multiple contexts and structures that enable or constrain choice (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017).

Kyla's case is significant in this thesis, as she "gets organised" and demonstrates political agency via engaging in collective action in ways that are currently underexplored in the resilience discourse. Supported by Bahay Tuluyan, Kyla learned about the rights of children, and this transformed her conception of what it is to "do well". Kyla was aware of the powerlessness of children living in an adult-centric society when she articulated that adults in positions of power do not listen to the voices of children. Having learned about children's rights, however, she challenges individual cases of injustice, for example when she challenged the abuse of a child by a guard outside a fast food restaurant. In this example she drew on the UNCRC to point out that the guard's actions constituted child abuse and were illegal. Kyla also takes part in advocacy activities when the children of Bahay Tuluyan write to the government about the conditions of street children's lives. Kyla engages in reflexive and strategic activities that seek to create "second-order change", radically altering the lives of street-involved children in the Philippines (Hoggett 2001). Kyla's case study exemplifies that children's perceptions of resilience can include acts of political agency including engaging in collective actions that seek to radically challenge the existing social order of the society in which they live.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This study has sought to understand how street-involved children in Manila, Philippines, construct resilience in the context of lives characterised by material deprivation, marginalisation and government oppression. In order to address the research question, 25 children registered under the care of Bahay Tuluyan engaged in a range of qualitative data collection methods that enabled the researcher to gain a unique insight into children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" (Ungar 2011). In this study, the perceptions of children were privileged as the researcher adopted the position that she was the learner and the children were experts in their own lives (Ryan 2006). This study offers new insights into the construction of resilience, highlighting how children's perceptions diverge from those held by adult, expert researchers and policy makers who control the dominant social and political discourse. In doing so, it contributes to the knowledge base and amplifies the voices of children who are "Othered" by mainstream society.

This study makes a theoretical contribution to the resilience discourse by suggesting children hold perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that inform acts of resistance against their shared experiences of oppression and marginalisation. To do this, the study has drawn on scholars of agency as well as critics of the resilience discourse as a basis on which to suggest marginalised children's efforts to "do well" can be understood as acts of political agency (Bottrell 2002, 2007, 2009b, Redmond 2009, valentine 2011, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017). In applying Lister's (2004) taxonomy of agency to the children's perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", this study places resilience within social, political and economic structures in society and considers various types of agency as expressions of resistance against collective disadvantage. This study foregrounds the capacity of children living in poverty to respond to the collective experience of adversity by focusing attention on the multiple (culturally approved and "deviant") strategies that children employ when they overcome difficult circumstances (Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017).

The findings of this study suggest that children hold perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that diverge from those held by adult researchers and policy makers. The findings of this study emphasise the importance of privileging the voices of children in all stages of the

policy-making process and suggests that policy makers should pay attention to the diverse expressions of resistance that are not usually associated with dominant conceptions of "healthy functioning" in children. Children in this study engaged in various day-to-day and strategic actions to improve their lives and the lives of others, some of which complied with normative expectations of children, while others did not. This study argues that, in the lives of highly marginalised children, these actions are valid forms of resilience that are currently underexplored in the dominant discourse.

The findings of this study challenge the individualised conception of resilience that emphasises personal characteristics and Western values and norms associated with child development. In public policy, this conception of resilience is evident when governments emphasise personal responsibility for overcoming disadvantage in poor children and their families. For children in this study, personal experiences of oppression informed the development of a political consciousness that fuelled personal and collective action to change the circumstances of street-involved children. The child participants understood that their experiences of "adversity" as political and associated their deprivation of basic resources with which to survive with a denial of their human rights. Thus the findings of this study challenge the individualised conception of resilience that is dominant in resilience-based policy (Bottrell 2013). This thesis suggests a refined approach to understanding resilience based on children's diverse perceptions of "doing well" that include expressions of political agency when children take individual and collective action to improve their lives and the lives of others.

6.2 Implications of Children's Diverse Perceptions of Resilience for Theory

The findings of this study have implications for the resilience discourse. In privileging the voices of children, this study suggests their perceptions of what it is to "do well" extend beyond dominant conceptions that are founded on narrow ideas of "healthy functioning". This thesis has analysed conceptions of "healthy functioning" that are dominant in the Minority World resilience literature, as well as conceptions of "healthy functioning" in the Filipino studies of resilience. In highlighting children's own perceptions of resilience, this thesis suggests a more nuanced conception of "adversity" and "doing well" that diverges from perceptions of "healthy functioning" held by adult researchers.

This study contributes to theory on resilience by highlighting the perspectives of one group of children in the Majority World. The dominant construction of resilience has, in many instances, privileged conceptions of childhood that are prevalent in Minority World industrialised countries, with researchers defining "healthy functioning" to be associated with Western ethnocentric values and notions of child development (McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005, McAdam-Crisp 2006). Drawing on Ungar's social-ecological definition and scholars who have adapted his approach, this thesis has argued that the dominant conception of resilience applies Minority World values to children in diverse contexts, overlooking cultural nuances and the varied constructions of "healthy functioning" in children. Filipino literature on resilience in street-involved children, reviewed in-depth for the first time in this study, suggests that resilience is informed by collective values and a conception of self that emphasises group membership and relationships of mutual obligation. In this study, street-involved children in Manila are shown to have placed importance on collectivist values when they privileged the needs of their families over their own. Thus, children in this study perceived "doing well" as being able to uphold collectivist values and observe relationships of mutual obligation and comply with Filipino values.

The major contribution of the study concerns children's perceptions of resilience within the social, political and economic context of their lives and acknowledging the constraints and opportunity structures available to the child within their culture and context (valentine 2011). The children in this study suggest the adversities they face are shared with other street-involved children and their families who are marginalised by mainstream society. This perception is suggestive of a political conception of "adversity" that acknowledges marginalised groups in society. In drawing on literature on agency, this study has suggested an alternative approach to resilience that addresses relationships of power between those in mainstream society and those who are marginalised, as well as between adults and children. This approach aims to take into account children's diverse conceptions of "doing well" that can be seen as expressions of political agency in children who are marginalised from mainstream society (Hoggett 2001, Lister 2004, valentine 2011, Skattebol, Redmond et al. 2017).

This study also highlights the diverse mechanisms by which children resist the effects of "Othering" from mainstream society that are not usually associated with resilience. Children in this study engaged in everyday actions to manage the effects of poverty, as well as

strategic actions to overcome adversity that they perceived to be the result of political oppression. These actions included complying with social and cultural norms of "healthy functioning" in children, as well as transgressing these norms by engaging in criminal behaviour. This study furthers Ungar's conception of "hidden resilience", which inadvertently emphasises individual responses by children who wish to resist being labelled delinquent, dangerous or disordered (Ungar 2005, 2009, Bottrell 2009a, 2009b). This thesis has argued that children can perceive their illegal actions as a response to the collective experience of oppression and can reflect ambivalent relationships with cultural values that determine notions of "healthy functioning" in a specific culture and context. The thesis has shown moreover that street-involved children's own conceptions of resilience are in some cases intertwined with rights-based discourses as foundations for acts of radical political agency, which are largely overlooked in the dominant resilience literature.

6.3 Implications of Children's Diverse Perceptions of Resilience for Policy

This study findings hold implications for policy and programs that seek to facilitate resilience in children and their families who are marginalised from mainstream society. The findings suggest that children hold perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that diverge from those identified by adult, expert researchers in constructions of resilience in both the Majority and Minority Worlds.

One implication is that the voices of street-involved children should be privileged in policy and program development, implementation and evaluation (Turnbull, Hernández et al. 2009). Privileging the voices of children at all stages of policy and program development requires that adults identify and address power inequalities in adult-centric societies that determine how children engage in the political process.

As in many nations, in the Philippines there are legislated modes of participation in which children are enabled by adults to take part in political decision making (Bessell 2009). However, children face significant barriers to participation including being confronted with culturally normative notions of incomplete development and the authority of adults (Bessell 2007, Protacio-de Castro, Camacho et al. 2007, Bessell 2009). Hart's (2008) ladder of participation articulates that the most meaningful level of political participation is child-initiated actions with shared decision-making power between adults and children (Shier 2001, Hart 2008). However children's participation in collective decision making is often described

as “tokenism” or a form of non-participation whereby adults overlook feedback and contributions by children (Lundy 2018). In the Philippines, mechanisms of child participation have been observed to exclude children who are poor, or not in school (Protacio-de Castro, Camacho et al. 2007). Furthermore, Filipino political processes in which children participate are controlled by adults who are able to disregard children’s contributions at their discretion (Protacio-de Castro, Camacho et al. 2007).

The involvement of children in civic decision-making processes has tended to offer a narrow understanding of children’s engagement, overlooking diverse expressions of political agency and community participation (Hart 2008). This thesis joins a handful of studies that have acknowledged the capacity of street-involved children to demonstrate resistance to marginalisation in their own ways, including through the formation of subcultures and collective identities that enable them to survive in the context of oppression (Davies 2008, Bottrell 2009b, Beazley 2003). As such, an implication of this study is that policy makers must consider the “informal” mechanisms by which children protest experiences of marginalisation that are outside those awarded to them by adults. This includes personal transgressive acts such as drug dealing and crime, committed by young people who attribute them as acts of resistance against experiences of oppression. This is in addition to recognising collective acts of political protest when children powerfully claim their rights and call on the government to uphold their responsibilities as duty bearers under the UNCRC. Understanding children’s diverse expressions of political agency requires that policy makers ask children about their perceptions and seek to understand modes of behaviour that are not traditionally associated with resilience and “doing well”.

Recognising children’s diverse expressions of political agency requires that policy makers deeply listen to children and seek to understand their experiences of “Othering”. One of the key findings of this study is that children perceive “adversity” to be the result of oppressive government policies directed towards street-involved children, whom they identify as a marginalised group in society. Children who participated in the study demonstrated a political analysis of “adversity” that is currently underexamined in the risk factors identified in the resilience discourse, which focus on personal, relational and community adverse circumstances. Furthermore, the children in this study, in order to resist the effects of marginalisation, engage in diverse personal, collective, day-to-day and strategic actions to effect short- and long-term change in their own lives and the lives of others. These diverse

acts in some cases comply with, and in other case contravene, notions of "healthy functioning" dominant in the Philippines, but nevertheless all represent efforts to manage the shared experience of being "Othered" by mainstream Filipino society.

This study foregrounds the capacity of children to contribute to social change via collective resistance against oppression and marginalisation, which is often overlooked in resilience-based interventions. Kyla's case study highlights this study finding and exemplifies children's capacity for reflexive, strategic action as they seek to radically alter the political and social structures that constrain their lives (Hoggett 2001). An implications of her case study is the usefulness of a rights-based framework for programs with street-involved children to enable them to develop new understandings of what it is to "do well" and create a mechanism by which they can move towards that perception (Berckmans, Velasco et al. 2012). As Kyla demonstrates, a rights-based framework also enables children to claim their rights, rather than relying on adults to claim them on their behalf (Van Daalen, Hanson et al. 2016). Kyla's case study challenges policy makers to understand children's rights beyond formal mechanisms of participation and instead consider the practices and methods that children use to embrace their rights and use them for themselves (Liebel 2012).

The findings of this study challenge the individualist approach to public policy that seeks to facilitate resilience in children by foregrounding issues of equality and access to services and structures. An implication of this study is that policies and programs that seek to enhance resilience in children must address structural barriers that prevent them from accessing basic health services and material goods that enable survival. In addition programs that aim to enhance resilience in children must also address stigma and discrimination that they experience in their day-to-day lives (Henderson & Denny 2015). "While resilience theory and practice are concerned with young people's coping against the odds, there is a case for shifting the odds to open the directions and objects of young people's coping and competence" (Bottrell 2009b, p. 337).

Public policy concerning "street children" has been observed to focus attention on the individual and their presumed behaviours, thereby neutralising wider social factors that promote deprivation (De Moura 2002). Policy concerning street-involved children has been observed to be based on deeply ingrained stereotypes that assume criminality or passivity and reliance on the help of adults (Bar-On 1997, Moncrieffe 2006, Hills, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2016, Stodulka 2017). Common service models such as drop-in, alternative education,

feeding and accommodation programs contribute to the survival of street-involved children, but position "doing well" as an individual endeavour (De Moura 2002). Programs that target street children tend to offer activities that focus on "rehabilitation" when they address problematic behaviours such as drug use and criminality, thereby seeking to restore normative notions of "childhood" (Turnbull, Hernández et al. 2009). As such, these programs overlook power inequalities and guide individualised interventions that seek to improve the lives of singular children (De Moura 2002).

An individualist approach to resilience is consistent with neoliberal ideology and has been drawn on as a basis for policy interventions in which the individual is positioned as responsible for their own success despite disadvantage (Seccombe 2002, Bottrell 2013, Tierney 2015, Crossley 2016). The central argument of neoliberalism is that individuals are consumers who are self-enterprising and make decisions in their own best interests. As a form of governance, resilience relies on the individual to be autonomous and responsible, and capable of self-organisation in response to stress (Joseph 2013, Chandler 2014). Policy that informs the Filipino welfare system has been influenced by its history of American colonisation and a social welfare model in which the individual is considered to be the locus of change (Yu 2006). The Filipino welfare system is characterised by a devolution of social services, an emphasis on charity, and the promotion of "self-reliance" in people who are poor (Holden, Nadeau et al. 2017). Neoliberal public policy is also the basis of government interventions such as the Conditional Cash Transfer Scheme, also called the "Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program", which demands poor parents enrol their children in school and attend parenting classes in order to qualify for financial assistance (Alampay, Lachman et al. 2018). This program provides cash transfers to poor households in order to break the cycle of intergenerational unemployment and poverty (Chaudhury, Friedman et al. 2013). An evaluation of the program in 2013 suggests that, while this scheme has increased enrolment in school for very young children, it fails to address the educational engagement of children after they turn 10, with many children dropping out as soon as they are able to earn an income (Chaudhury, Friedman et al. 2013).

Once at school, the national curriculum includes an emphasis on character development via education programs that teach religiosity, citizenship and economic participation as important indicators of a successful adulthood (Almonte-Acosta 2011). Influenced by the American school system, public schools in the Philippines integrate an emphasis on character

development into all classroom activities, teaching values such as peace, respect and a love of hard work (Florido 2006). In doing so, these public policy approaches position the individual as responsible for their own success and ability to overcome disadvantage.

One implication of this study's findings is that the policy and programs that target street-involved children in the Philippines simultaneously deny them basic resources by which to survive and position them as responsible for their arduous life circumstances. The primary response to street-involved children is the Protocol of Rescue, which removes children from public spaces and places them in protective custody (Republic of the Philippines 2012, Bahay Tuluyan 2014). Alternatively called "street sweeps", "clean ups" or "reach out" operations, rescue is delivered by diverse government officials with diverse mandates that include protecting and rehabilitating children as well as city beautification (Republic of the Philippines 2012, Bahay Tuluyan 2014). A 2014 study by Bahay Tuluyan found that children experience rescue as a violation of their human rights when they are removed from the streets against their will and experience abuse and violence at the hands of government officials (Bahay Tuluyan 2014). Other social policies such as the war on drugs and curfew disproportionately impact poor children and their families, exposing them to violence and victimisation (Reyes 2016, Kattouw 2018). Since the 2016 election over 9000 deaths have been attributed to the war on drugs, with most casualties taking place in the poorest areas of Manila (Jensen and Hapal 2018, Simangan 2018). Simangan (2018) suggests the actions of the government can be classified as genocide, as defined by Stanton (2013) with phases that include dehumanisation, polarisation, extermination and denial (Stanton 2013, Simangan 2018). Thus, public policy positions street-involved children as responsible for overcoming "adversity" while simultaneously subjecting them to extreme political oppression and denying them their basic human rights.

Another implication of this study is that policy makers should fully recognise children's capacity to be active agents and contribute to political matters that concern them and their families. The insights of this study extend beyond the Philippines, prompting the examination of political movements initiated for and by young people. For example, Extinction Rebellion (XR) is a social movement primarily made up of younger adults who engage in acts of civil disobedience in response to the looming climate change crisis. Inspired by Greta Thunberg who initiated the school climate strikes, there are now 80 XR groups across the world which regularly engage in organised activities to protest climate inaction. Young people who have

participated in these groups have suggested that protesting against climate inaction enhances their mental health and provides hope for the future (Murray 2019). In Australia and overseas, engagement in these activities has led to young people being arrested and subject to harsh government action in response to their protests (Smee 2019). This response is suggestive of a public policy approach that considers the political agency of young people expressed via actions that contravene expectations of behaviour as acts of civil disobedience rather than as expressions of resilience. This study foregrounds the diverse expressions of political agency of groups of marginalised children who take action to improve their circumstances and those of others as acts of resilience.

6.4 Study Limitations

In this section multiple theoretical and methodological limitations will be discussed that should be noted when considering the findings of this study. The small number of children who took part in data collection suggests that their perspectives should not be seen as representative of all street-involved children in the Philippines. This study sought to understand the lived experience of this particular group of street-involved children and acknowledges that street-involved children live in many different contexts, in both the Minority and Majority Worlds (McAdam-Crisp, Aptekar et al. 2005). The scope of this study concerns only the lived experience of this group of children who live in Manila, Philippines and, as such, the findings should not be assumed to automatically apply to street-involved children who live in other cultures and contexts.

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that street-involved children are a non-homogenous group who experience a variety of living conditions, including being orphaned or abandoned, living on the streets with their families, spending many hours on the street but returning to their families at the end of each day, and living under the care and protection of a non-government agency (Panter-Brick 2002, UN 2017). In order to manage the ethical and methodological complexities of conducting research with street-involved children who are hard to access and live precarious lives, all of the children who participated in this study lived or studied at Bahay Tuluyan. Thus, the participants represent a subset of street-involved children.

All children in the study, including those featured in the emblematic case studies, learnt about the UNCRC at the research site, Bahay Tuluyan. As explained in detail in Section 3.6, Bahay Tuluyan is a grassroots community organisation that delivers all programs and activities

within a child rights framework. A limitation of the study findings concerns the politicisation of the children who participated and the study findings that emphasise the political agency of children. This agency supports community protests and engages in international awareness campaigns against injustices street children experience including the policy of "rescue" and the "war on drugs" (Bahay Tuluyan 2014). Bahay Tuluyan also provides opportunities for children to lead community advocacy activities and thus facilitates their cognisance of their own experiences and how they relate to the human rights discourse. As such, the children who participated in this study are perhaps more likely than many other children to have perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that are associated with political agency. Studies of the perceptions of "doing well" of street-involved children who have not learnt about their human rights would be worthy of further research.

A significant methodological challenge in this study concerned the cultural position of the researcher, as an Anglo-Saxon Australian living in Manila. The different nationalities of the researcher and the child participants influenced the study method and presented the potential for cultural bias and exacerbated power differentials. Prior to the study commencement the researcher reviewed academic literature regarding the impact of cultural bias in cross-cultural studies with children (Graham et al. 2013). After the completion of this process the researcher worked with Bahay Tuluyan to identify possible risks and cultural bias that could emerge during this study, including issues of comprehension, identification of themes and the incorrect interpretation of children's perceptions that are based within cultural values. An extensive risk assessment and mitigation process was undertaken and documented in the Memorandum of Understanding (Appendix 4).

To manage this challenge, several mechanisms designed to enhance cultural sensitivity were built into the study and are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. These mechanisms included a reflexivity diary in which the researcher reflected on her own cultural position and examined her own perceptions and assumptions. The Local Advisory Group provided important advice on the data collection to ensure cultural relevance. The Local Advisory Group met multiple times during the data collection and assisted with the modification of the data collection protocol to ensure maximum understanding between the children and the researcher. This included the modification of data collection methods to include "flash cards" that articulated Filipino values in order to facilitate understandings of cultural nuance in children's perceptions of "doing well". In addition, at the conclusion of the data collection and the

process of thematic analysis, the Local Advisory Group provided advice regarding contextually specific findings. These mechanisms were intended to mitigate the significance of cultural bias and inaccurate understandings of children's perceptions during this study.

Further cultural challenges were experienced in relation to language. Prior to living in Manila, the researcher was not fluent in Tagalog, the primary language spoken on the island of Luzon. While all children who participated in the study spoke some level of English, data collection was planned to provide maximum opportunities for children to feel competent and confident in expressing their thoughts and perceptions. For this reason, a Tagalog interpreter was present in all interactions with children including the "draw and talk" art activities, the "walk and talk" child-led tours and the semi-structured interviews. After each interaction with a child, the researcher and the interpreter met and reflected on the data collection process to ensure cultural understanding. As the result of this process, the data collection process was modified to include the addition of "flash cards" that identified Filipino values in Tagalog (Appendix 11). A variety of other qualitative mediums were also utilised such as art activities in which children were invited to explain their pictures to the interpreter. The child-led tours enabled children to provide a detailed description of the meaning they attributed to people and places as they encountered them in their social ecology. The variety of data collection mechanisms enabled the researcher to gain a rich insight into children's experiences. In addition, all transcripts were transcribed by a Tagalog-speaking transcriber who provided additional information regarding the use of colloquial language.

This study encountered several ethical challenges during the process of data collection. Child participants were accessed via Bahay Tuluyan, on which they are reliant for their physical health and wellbeing. In addition, as an older adult, the researcher also occupied a position of power in Filipino society in relation to children. In order to manage perceptions of coercion the study included a sequenced process of informed consent and assent that included verbal and written information provided in English and Tagalog. Each child participant had multiple opportunities to learn about the study, meet the researcher and ask questions. Children self-selected into the study and were also offered the opportunity to discontinue their participation if they wished. Managing possible perceptions of coercion was an ongoing challenge during data collection and required the researcher and interpreter to be vigilant for non-verbal signs of unwillingness to participate.

The theoretical limitations of this study concern findings in relation to gender. While even numbers of male and female participants self-selected into the study, the thesis did not investigate variance in boys' and girls' perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well", or investigate gender-based strategies by which children resist the effects of marginalisation. In Filipino society, different social and cultural expectations exist for male and female children (Liwag 1998, Alampay & Jocson 2011, Barrera 2017). As suggested in Angelica's case study, female children are observed to have responsibilities for home-based domestic tasks such as the care of siblings, while male children are given more freedom away from the home and are expected to undertake manual labour to generate an income (Pomm 2005). Furthermore, the Philippines is a rapidly developing nation in which gender roles are changing in response to globalisation and changing social values (Eviota 1992, Bayudan-Dacuycuy 2012). Given these circumstances, it is possible that differentiation exists in girls' and boys' perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that could warrant specific exploration. Furthermore, an examination of intersectionality and interlocking systems of oppression such as race, gender, disability and class may reveal further structural inequalities and their impact on the mechanisms by which children overcome adversity in the Philippines (Belkhir & Barnett 2001, Driscoll 2011).

The findings of this study also hold implications for specific policy areas in relation to children, young people and their families that have not been explored in detail. For example, in this study Ungar's conception of hidden resilience has been drawn on as a theoretical basis to explore young people's behaviour, including engagement in crime, as a means of developing a powerful self-concept (Robinson 2016). In the field of youth justice, studies have considered resilience as a separate but related concept to "desistance", defined as processes by which young people end their criminal careers (Fitzpatrick 2011). Desistance, like resilience, is understood to be the result of complex processes that are associated with emotional, material and relational resources that enable the cessation of crime (Halsey, Armstrong et al. 2016). This thesis has highlighted children's and young people's acts of personal and strategic agency in response to the collective experience of being "Othered" by mainstream society. Young people's perceptions of their criminal behaviour as acts of political resistance remains an important finding of this study that warrants further research.

This thesis acknowledges that studies of children's voice are faced with inherent difficulties that are born of unequal power relationships between adult researchers and child participants.

Child-centred researchers face the challenge of enabling children to express themselves, while also understanding what they choose to express (Spyrou 2011).

In child-centred research, efforts to enable children to express their views have led to researchers employing creative qualitative methods such as role plays, drawings, videos and photographs in order to uncover and understand children's perceptions (Eldén 2013). Some critics have pointed out inherent difficulties with these approaches, arguing the researchers must resist the temptation to uncover a singular "authentic" voice of children and risk overlooking diversity of experiences based on gender, age, culture and context (Eldén 2013, Spyrou 2011, Komulainen, 2007). Furthermore, children are complex beings who make choices about what they share with the researcher, choosing to express one viewpoint while simultaneously holding another. To illustrate this point Spyrou (2011) draws from her own experience of researching Greek Cypriot children's constructions of national identity, pointing out that building relationships with children enables the researcher to understand the meaning and complexity of children's views over time. Such findings imply that researchers should take care to observe the range of ways in which children choose to communicate, including through silences and omissions (Spyrou 2011).

This thesis includes an analysis of reflexive and non-reflexive agency as children self-identify their use of resources that enable them to recover after adversity. However, in suggesting these findings, this thesis acknowledges a significant limitation in the inherent difficulties researchers face in uncovering non-reflexive agency in research. The tension between reflexive and non-reflexive agency is suggested in Jasmine's case study, where her strategies for survival are presented as habitual and day-to-day, rather than strategically planned. Jasmine engaged in all the research methods available including the "talk and draw" art activity, child-led tours, and a semi-structured interview in which the researcher attempted to maximise opportunities for reflection. In addition, analysis included diverse data sources including verbal and non-verbal communication recorded by the researcher. For example, on the child-led tour Jasmine pointed to a small temporary dwelling where she slept with other children. However, this thesis accepts that this study is reliant on the perceptions that Jasmine chose to share.

As Skattebol, Redmond and Zizzo (2017) observe, children's non-reflexive thought processes are difficult to identify and analyse as they rely on the interpretation of actions and decisions that are not explicitly explained. Furthermore, they suggest it is not always clear if children's

actions and decisions are reflexive, with children holding complex beliefs and motivations for their actions and decisions that may be conscious or all unconscious(Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017). In their study, young people expressed allegiance to the neoliberal notion of the autonomous self while simultaneously taking action to protect their families and assist them to manage the impacts of marginalisation and poverty:

> Young people's stories are embodied, layered, messy, deadpan, passionate and often biting. They are replete with the inconsistencies that permeate any narrative of self that seeks to account for more than one action and more than a single context. (Skattebol, Redmond & Zizzo 2017, p. 315)

In this study, child participants made choices regarding engagement in the diverse range of data collection methods, and thus revealed reflexive and non-reflexive perceptions that offer interesting insights into resilience. The relationship between reflexivity and resilience in children is underexplored in the resilience literature and warrants further exploration.

6.5 Recommendations for Further Research

Several recommendations for further research pertain to the theoretical and methodological limitations mentioned in Section 6.4. This study acknowledges that street-involved children experience a variety of circumstances including being orphaned and abandoned, living on the streets with their families, spending long hours each day generating an income or residing under the care of a non-government agency. The street-involved children who participated in this study lived or studied at Bahay Tuluyan and as such represent a subset of street-involved children who are under the care and protection of a non-government agency. Further investigations regarding children's perceptions of resilience are warranted with a larger and more diverse participant group of street-involved children. For example, a broader study might include the perceptions of children who engage in formal work as a mechanism to get out of poverty. Moreover, similar studies of younger children (below the age of 11 years) may yield interesting insights into perceptions of "adversity" and "doing well" that may vary from this participant group.

Furthermore, this study was undertaken over several months in 2017 and therefore offers insights into children's perceptions at a "point in time". Longitudinal studies of children who live and work on the streets are warranted, including examining the insights of children and their changing perceptions over time. Further studies may investigate gender-based modes of resistance considering social and cultural norms that are dominant in Filipino society.

This thesis argues that the resistance of children who are marginalised is largely underexamined in the resilience discourse. The major contribution of this study concerns children's perceptions of resilience as an overtly political construct when they live in the context of government oppression and a denial of their human rights. This study has suggested that children express resistance to political oppression in varied forms. It holds implications for understanding of other decisions and actions by marginalised children that are overlooked by adults as expressions of resilience. The application of Lister's taxonomy of agency to groups of marginalised children in other cultures and contexts may reveal different strategies to resist the effects of oppression that are otherwise overlooked.

The child rights dialogue employed by children in this study also suggests new questions regarding children's perceptions of their rights as a protective factor that facilitates resilience. In this study, the rights discourse provides Kyla with an instrument by which she can proclaim her rights and the rights of other street-involved children. Like Gabriel, Kyla's expression of political agency extends beyond that afforded to her by adults in positions of power. Unlike Gabriel however, she seeks to reform relationships of power in Filipino society by engaging in political advocacy and collective acts of self-help. Her collective consciousness that she shares with other street-involved children is born of shared experiences and creates a foundation for sustained and radical change (Wexler, DiFluvio et al. 2009). Her case study implies that a rights-based framework would be useful in programs with children who are marginalised by mainstream society (Berckmans, Velasco et al. 2012). While rights-based approaches have been recognised as a basis of interventions with marginalised children, they are often organised by adults on behalf of children. This study suggests that children have the capacity to claim their rights, rather than relying on adults to claim them on their behalf (Van Daalen, Hanson et al. 2016). Further studies are warranted that seek to uncover acts of self-organising by children who demand their human rights in the context of marginalisation and oppression. This is especially relevant in the age of the Extinction Rebellion.

Finally, drawing on Ungar and scholars of agency, this thesis has challenged the dominant conception of resilience and argued that street-involved children perceive "adversity" and "doing well" to be deeply intertwined with their social, political and economic context (Lister 2004, Ungar 2011, 2012). While Ungar's (2009) conception of hidden resilience recognises children's diverse journeys towards self-identified conceptions of "doing well", this thesis

has drawn attention to the social-political context of children's lives and the actions they take to resist the effects of oppression. Further theoretical debate is warranted to deeply explore the relationship between political agency and resilience, particularly in populations of children who are "Othered" by mainstream society and who hold conceptions of their own "healthy functioning" that are outside of normative growth and development in the dominant society in which they live. Theoretical debate such as this may further undermine the dominant concept of resilience and challenge its application in the lives of marginalised children altogether.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

This study's findings suggest new questions for researchers who seek to understand how children conceptualise resilience and their acts of political agency in the context of marginalisation. The existing literature in both the Minority and Majority Worlds overwhelmingly overlooks that children's reflexive and non-reflexive acts of political agency may be associated with resilience. The implications of this study suggest further investigations are warranted that consider children's own perceptions of their political agency and how this contributes towards their conceptions of "doing well".

It has been my privilege to undertake this study and contribute towards new understandings of children's conceptions of resilience that differ from those of expert, adult researchers who dominant the resilience discourse. This study highlights the diverse actions of marginalised children and suggests they can be understood as acts of resistance in response to inequalities of power in society. It is my hope that this study encourages other researchers and policy makers seek out and privilege the perceptions of children, drawing attention to the diverse ways children express political resistance in the context of marginalisation and oppression.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Child Assent Form

FLINDERS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA
CHILD ASSENT FORM
FOR DATA TO BE USED IN STUDY

Good day!

I am Alisa Willis from Flinders University in South Australia. I am doing a study to try and understand how children recover after experiencing difficulties in life. As an adult, I don't know what children think and feel. It is important that I listen to the voices of children like you to understand how children recover after adversity.

We are asking you to take part in the research study because your social worker feels you might be an expert in overcoming life's challenges. We also think you have the ability to make an independent decision if you want to participate.

If you decide to take part, I will meet with you several times. During our meetings I will ask you some questions about how you feel about yourself, your family and your community. To make our talks easier, we will do some activities together like artwork. We will also go for a walk around Bahay Tuluyan and the neighbourhood.

During our walk we will talk about people and places that are important to you. We will then sit in a quiet room at Bahay Tuluyan so we can talk privately. I will record our talk on voice recorder so that I can use all the information that you give me. An interpreter will be there to help us if we need.

I promise that I will keep all your answers private, and will not show them to your parents or even staff at Bahay Tuluyan. Only people from Flinders University working on the study will see them. The only time I would break this promise is if I was worried that you were in danger or have committed a major crime. In this instance, I would talk to you about who we might need to tell. It is likely we would tell someone at Bahay Tuluyan or a partner agency who you feel comfortable with.

During the research, your privacy will be protected; your name and any identifying details will not be included in the study. You will also have the opportunity to hear about the end result

of the study. It takes a long to process all the information, but when it is done we will have a celebration at Bahay Tuluyan and be able to share what we have learned.

We don't think that any big problems will happen to you if you take part in this study, but it is possible that you might feel sad when we ask about bad experiences in your past. If that happens, a Bahay Tuluyan staff member or someone from a partner organisation will be talk to you to help you feel better.

Participating in this study might help you understand all the resources in yourself, your family and your community that you use to help you overcome problems. You might also feel good about providing advice for an important study that might help to improve services for children like you.

You should know that:

- You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You won't get into any trouble with Bahay Tuluyan if you say no.
- You may stop being in the study at any time. If I think you look uncomfortable during the study, I will suggest we take a break and check that you are OK to keep going.
- Bahay Tuluyan have been asked if it is OK for you to be part of this study. Even if they say it's OK, it is still your choice whether or not to take part.
- You can ask any questions you have, now or later. If you think of a question later, you or your guardian can contact me at alisaewillis@gmail.com or when you see me at Bahay Tuluyan. Social workers might also be able to answer any questions you might have.

Sign this form only if you:

- Have understood what you will be doing for this study,
- Have had all your questions answered,
- Have talked to someone you trust about this project,
- Agree to take part in this research, and
- Agree for your de-identified data to be used in the final report.

_____

Your Signature Printed Name Date

_____

Name of Legal Guardian(s)

_____

Researcher explaining study
Signature Printed Name Date

Appendix 2: Child Participant Information Sheet (English)

Child Participant Information Sheet

"Understanding Resilience in the lives of Children in Manila, Philippines"

This study is trying to understand how children like you recover and do well, despite experiencing many difficulties in life.

We think that children build relationships with people and places in order to overcome problems in their past, and go on to do well in life. But in order to really understand this, we want to talk with you, who are doing well, despite experiencing difficult times. We think that you have expertise in this area, and your opinions and experiences will help us learn more.

We think participating in this project will benefit you in thinking about relationships and places that have helped you. Also, you might feel good about your opinions and experiences being part of an important study that will help improve services for children.

This Information Sheet will answer some questions about the research project so that you can think about if you wish to take part in the study. You don't have to participate if you don't want to, and no one will be upset if you choose not to. Also, you can withdraw at any time during the project, and the information that you have contributed will not be used.

Here are some questions you might want to ask me before you make the decision to participate.

Who are you?

I am Alisa Willis and I am a student from Flinders University of South Australia. I have been working with BT for the last 4 years and we are doing this research project together.

What will the project be like for me?

If you agree to take part, I will come to Bahay Tuluyan and talk with you about the important people in your life and how they have helped you. To make our talks easier, we will meet two times, and do some activities together. The first meeting is likely to take about 45 minutes. The second meeting that includes a child led tour might take an hour or so.

What do you want to know about me?

In our first meeting, we will get to know each other and learn more about the study. We will do an art activity that helps us talk and draw about the risks children experience and what makes a good life.

In our next meeting, I will ask you to give a tour of Bahay Tuluyan and surrounding area, so you can point out to me the people and places that are important to you. We will then go to Bahay Tuluyan where we will have a private talk. During our talk I will ask you some personal things, like who has helped you when you are in trouble, and who you consider to be family.

The questions will be in Tagalog or English, and an interpreter will be there to help us if we need it. I will record our discussion with a digital voice recorder and use it as part of the project. I will listen to the recording and those from other children, and then I will write a report about what I find.

Will my name be used?

No, we will give you a code, so we can describe what you think without someone knowing that it was you. Any other identifying information will also be changed. This means that your thoughts and feelings will go into the report, but we will make sure that no-one reading it knows whom you might be.

Is it confidential?

Yes, you can tell anyone you like about the research but I will treat what you say as confidential. This includes the staff at Bahay Tuluyan. This would only change if I feared you were in danger or if you had committed a major crime. Then I would have to tell someone at Bahay Tuluyan or someone from a partner agency. I would not do this without you knowing, and before I did this, we would talk about whom the best person would be to tell.

Will I see the report you will write?

Yes, I will come back to Bahay Tuluyan and tell you about what we have found. It takes a long time to finish the report but when I do, I will make sure you can get a summary of the report if you want one.

How can I get more information?

You can contact me anytime on the number and email address at the top of this Information Sheet. Or you can talk to me, or any of the social workers at Bahay Tuluyan who will be able to answer any questions you might have.

The University of the Philippines Ethics Review Board and the Flinders University of South Australia Ethics Review Board have approved this study.

Complaints or feedback can be made via the following:

Flinders University Ethical Research Board www.flinders.edu.au or at the number at the top of this page.

The University of the Philippines Ethics Review Board upmreb@post.ump.edu.ph or telephone +6325264346 3 2 5264346; Mobile: +63 927 3264910; Email: upmreb@post.upm.edu.ph

Thank you for considering taking part in this study. I hope to see you soon.

Appendix 3: Information Sheet for Guardian (English)

INFORMATION SHEET FOR BAHAY TULUYAN

CHILD'S GUARDIAN

Researchers:
Alisa Willis
School of Social and Policy Studies
Flinders University
Ph: 0917 793 3023

Supervisor(s):
Gerry Redmond
School of Social and Policy Studies
Flinders University
Ph: +61 882013911

Supervisor(s):
Lorna Hallahan
School of social work and Social Planning
Flinders University
Ph: +61 882013911

Purpose of the study

This study is entitled "*Understanding resilience in the lives of street-involved children in Manila, Philippines"*

The purpose of the study is to investigate resilience in the lives of street-involved children and the implications for social work policy and practice. The child under your guardianship has been selected to participate in this study as they meet the Selection Criteria for participation.

By taking part in this study, the child under your guardianship will help us understand the perspectives of street children regarding the dynamics between protective relationships and other health enhancing resources in themselves, their community and their culture, and explore what this means for social work policy and practice.

Description of the study

If you and the child under your guardianship agree to take part, I will make a time to come to Bahay Tuluyan and talk with them about the important people in their life. I will have some questions that will be in Tagalog and English, and an interpreter will be there to help us. In order to make the child feel comfortable, we will use several research methods including an art activity, a child led tour of Bahay Tuluyan and a semi-structured interview. During these activities I will ask the child some personal things, like who has helped them when they have experienced difficulties, and who they consider to be family. I will ask them questions about how they draw on personal, relational, community and cultural resources that will help me understand how children grow and thrive in the context of adversity.

The interview discussion will be recorded using a digital voice recorder to help with collating the results, and writing the final report. Once recorded, the discussion will be transcribed (typed-up) and stored as a computer file and destroyed once the research is over.

Bahay Tuluyan and the Flinders University School of Social and Policy Studies support this project. But please note, the participation of the child is entirely voluntary. If for any reason they do not wish to participate in the study, they can withdraw at any time without penalty.

Will the child benefit from being involved in this study?

The aim of this study is to understand the experiences and perceptions of street-involved children, in order to help governments and community organisations better design policy and services that promote the resilience of this population group.

We think that by participating in this project, the child might benefit by thinking about protective relationships and how they might use them to grow and thrive in the context of adversity. Also, they might feel good about having their perceptions and experiences used as a basis for improving services for street-involved children.

Will the child be identifiable by being involved in this study?

Children’s data will be de-identified using a code system, in order to protect their privacy. During the collation of results, and in the final report, all information will be de-identified.

We plan to publish the results of the study in a report and in academic journals. In any publication, information will be provided in such a way that the child will not be able to be identified.

Once the data are typed-up and saved as a file, the voice file will then be destroyed. Digital data files will be stored on a password-protected computer and the university secure system that only the researcher, Alisa Willis, will have access to.

Are there any possible risks or discomforts to the child involved?

The researcher anticipates few risks to the child in this study; however given the nature of the subject matter some participants could experience emotional discomfort, particularly when reflecting on difficult experiences.

As we have agreed in the Memorandum of Understanding, Bahay Tuluyan staff will provide emotional support to the child, post and prior to the interview. If a child raises a quality of care concern that involves Bahay Tuluyan, the researcher will advise Bahay Tuluyan management and support from a partner organisation will be sought as per the MOU.

If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with the researcher whose contact details are on the front page of this Information Sheet.

Voluntary Participation of the Child

The participation of the child is voluntary and, as per the Philippines National Ethical Guidelines for Health Research, they will be asked to complete an Assent Form that indicates their free and informed consent for their data to be used as part of this study.

During the research process, the child may refuse to answer any questions if they wish. They are also free to withdraw from the study at any time without effect or consequences. This will be explained to them both verbally and in writing to the child during the data collection process. Children's data will only be used if the child has returned a signed Assent Form at the conclusion of data collection.

A Guardian Consent Form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree for the child under your guardianship to participate, please read and sign the form and pass it to the researcher.

How will I receive feedback?

On the completion of the project, the outcomes will be given to all participants via a presentation at Bahay Tuluyan. Also, a summary document in English and Tagalog will be made available that details the findings.

What do I do now?

If you agree for the child under your guardianship to participate in the study, please sign the Guardianship Consent Form on the next page and return to Alisa Willis.

If you have any questions or would like further information about this study, or have any comments at any time during the project, please feel free to contact Alisa on +63 917793 3023 or at the email address at the top of this Information Sheet.

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet.

Alisa Willis

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 7765). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 4: Memorandum of Understanding with Bahay Tuluyan and Risk Matrix

Memorandum of Understanding

1. Background

This document specifies the agreed objectives and governance structure of the research project by Alisa Willis, Doctoral Candidate from Flinders University of South Australia in undertaking the study entitled ***"Understanding Resilience in the Lives of Street-Involved children in Manila, Philippines"*** and Bahay Tuluyan (BT).

This research project has been devised and planed within an ongoing relationship between Alisa Willis and BT. Alisa Willis has been working with BT on a pro-bono basis since 2015. This work has included collaborating with BT social workers to develop internal procedures, staff training and fundraising activities. In 2016-17 BT revised its theory of change to include the resilience of children as a key objective. The need for a locally devised resilience measure was identified. Alisa Willis undertook a literature review of Filipino research and identified several potential resilience measures. It was decided that this process warranted a research project in which street-involved children's construction of resilience was explored. Information generated by the study would be used to devise a local resilience measurement tool that would be outside the remit of the study and for unlimited use by Bahay Tuluyan.

This agreement has been drafted and devised in partnership with the researcher and BT. It has been viewed and agreed by Flinders University via the Supervisor. All parties when approved by the Flinders University Ethics Committee will sign the document. The document will be valid for the duration of the project unless either party requests alterations.

Appendix 1 and 2 are attached to this MOU.

2. Description of Bahay Tuluyan

Bahay Tuluyan is a non-government organization working with Children in Need of Special Protection in the Philippines.

BT's vision is of a world where every child's rights are respected, protected and fulfilled. Their mission is to work to prevent and respond to abuse and exploitation of children through the delivery of child centered programs and services at the grassroots level and dynamic collaboration with local and international partners for social development and change.

The values that guide service provision include the following:

- Rights based framework
- Children's participation
- Non-discrimination
- Best interests of the child
- Equality and fairness
- Professionalism and ethics
- Gender sensitivity
- Good governance and integrity
- Ecologically friendly

Established in Manila in 1987, BT provides a variety of programs and services aimed at preventing and responding to child abuse and exploitation.

Residential Shelter Accommodation: Emergency, Short Term and Long Term Care: for up to 50 children per night in Malate, Laguna and Quezon.

Drop in Service: Offered at the Malate, this service provides hygiene facilities and meals to up to 40 street-based children per day. Children are offered case management and access to education bridging programs.

Mobile Unit: Street based education for children in Manila

Alternative Education: bridging program into mainstream education targeting street-involved children and using a peer education/facilitator model

Independent Living Skills Program: teaching practical self-reliance skills including financial management and basic job preparation

Child Rights Education: Training programs regarding the United Nations Rights of the Child for students and professionals

Community Organizing and Advocacy: Utilizing the Child-to-Child Approach in projects such as the Annual Street Children's Congress and Kid's View.

Participatory Research: including "Youth Pimps of Manila" (2006) and "Sagip or Huli? Rescue of Street Children in Caloocan" (2014)

Social Enterprise: education and training programs including the Macabarta Guest House and Sustainable Farming Project at Laguna.

The target groups for service provision is children and young people that are aged between the ages of 3 and 18 years with some flexibility based on need and resource availability.

3. Research Question

How do street-involved children understand resilience in the context of their social ecology?

4. Aims & Objectives of the Research

The overall goal of this study is to examine the construction of resilience from the perspective of street-involved children, with the intention of uncovering the meaning of resources and their relationship with resilience.

Drawing on the social ecology approach, this study hopes to offer new understandings regarding how children negotiate and navigate resilience in the Majority World. The study aims to identify and examine children's experiences of resilience in relation to relational assets, and how they stimulate access to personal, community and cultural resources in complex and highly nuanced ways.

The research design and methodology have been guided by the objectives of the project and research questions. This research project seeks to understand ***how relationships facilitate resilience in the social ecology of street-involved children in the Philippines.***

A summary of the research objectives is provided below.

No.	Research objective
1.	The study seeks to establish an understanding of how Filipino street-involved children view the construct resilience in their social ecology.
2.	The study aims to explore how Filipino street-involved children draw on personal, relational, community and cultural resources in order to facilitate resilience in their social ecology.

Resilience research has been primarily undertaken in the Minority World with assumed universality in definitions of adversity and desirable outcomes.

This study aims to contribute to the body of resilience research in Majority World settings. In doing this, the study intends to offer Bahay Tuluyan an evidence base, by virtue of the final report, by which to understand resilience in this context and from the perspective of children.

5. Key Definitions

Child: As per the United Nations Rights of the Child, children are defined as boys and girls under the age of 18 years. Of note, BT's service users are aged between 3 to 18 years although BT offers some flexibility based on the needs of children who present for service.

Resilience: Defined in the context of exposure to adversity (whether psychological, environmental or both) as both the capacity of individuals to negotiate their way to heath sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of wellbeing, and improve conditions of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in a culturally meaningful way (Ungar 2006). This definition emphasizes the dynamic process that is culturally, community and environmentally specific.

Protective Factors: correlative factors of resilience that may reflect preventative or ameliorative influences and have a positive impact on risk and adversity. Can serve as safeguards, encouraging coping strategies. This evaluation will use an ecological approach that focuses on characteristics of individual children and their families, community and wider social and cultural issues.

6. Principles that Will Guide the Study

The project will be conducted in accordance with BT's values and with the below principles of practice:

- Research processes are consistent with the principles of the UNCRC ensuring opportunities for participation and respecting the evolving capacities of the child.
- The research design includes mechanisms to minimize power discrepancies between the researcher and the participants by drawing on child-centred research methods.
- The research design will address the complex ethical and methodological challenges of working with this client group including managing disclosures of abuse and illegal activities.
- Participation in all aspects of the study will be voluntary, with multiple opportunities for expressing assent and withdrawal throughout the data collection phase. Data will not be used without express written permission provided by the child and children's guardian (BT).
- The project will be culturally and contextually sensitive, consulting and collaborating with a Local Advisory Group to devise research instruments, and drawing on additional resources as required (such as interpreters and transcription services).

- The project will ensure any additional workload caused by the research is minimized for staff and services provided to children remain the priority.
- The research will be designed in a way that risks to children are minimized and that they are not unduly burdened by taking time away from other important activities such as school and program attendance.
- The research project will seek to be impartial and therefore as much as possible seek to provide confidentiality and privacy to all participants.
- The children will have the opportunity to receive feedback on the outcome of the project and use the findings in the final report for activities and service improvement strategies as they see fit.

7. Research Methodology

7.1 Participants:

This project will involve children who are aged between 11 – 18 years and are registered as Children in need of Special Protection and in the care of Bahay Tuluyan and registered as a Child in need of Special Protection with the Department of Social Welfare. As such, BT will act as guardian of the child and provide consent for each child participating in the project.

The age range for participation in this study has been selected based on the concept of "evolving capacities" referred to in Article 5 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child that states that direction and guidance provided by parents or guardians of a child must take into account the capacities of the child to exercise rights on their own behalf. The notion of evolving capacities recognizes that child development is not a universal process but rather the acquisition of competencies is dependent on the experiences and context of the child.

Children demonstrate competence for decision making when they:

- Have the ability to communicate relevant information by understanding, expressing choices and asking questions,
- Are able to think and choose to some degree without choice or manipulation being able to think through the issues themselves
- Have the ability to assess for potential benefits, risks and harm of a course of action and understand the long and short term consequences of a decision or action
- Have a relatively stable set of values, which form a foundation for decision making (Adapted from UNICEF 2015).

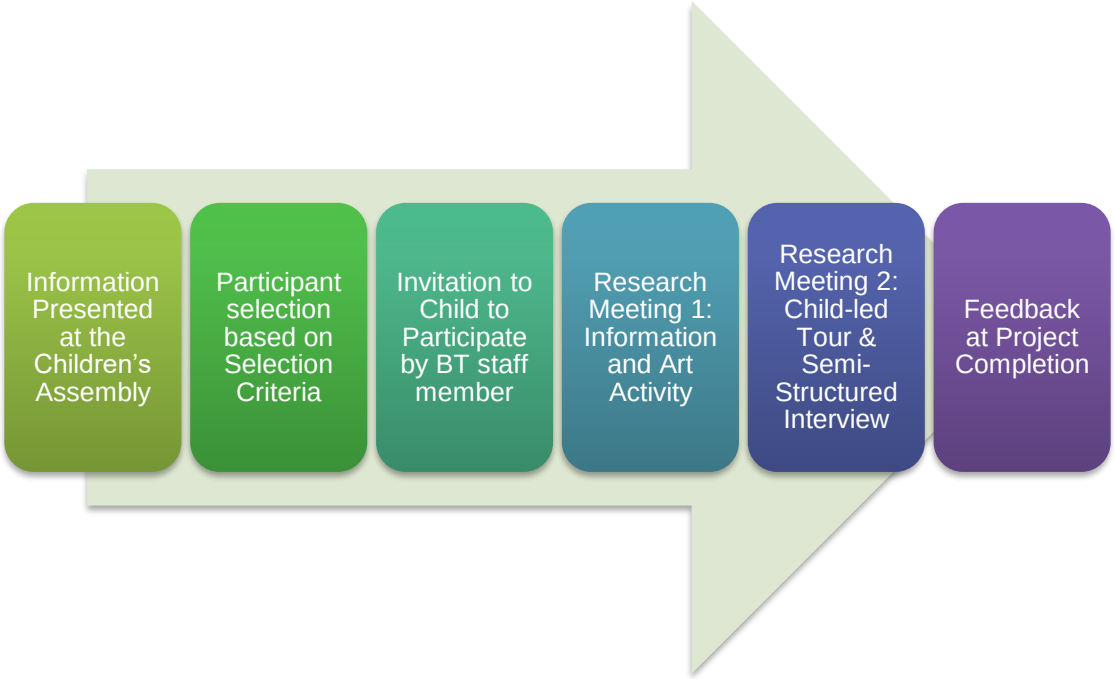
The Bahay Tuluyan Management Committee and the researcher will purposefully select children for the study. Selection will be based on the following participation criteria:

- Children will be boys and girls aged between 11 and 18 years of age.
- Children will be assessed as having the capacity to communicate, ask questions, and make an informed choice that is relatively independent after assessing possible risks and benefits of participation.
- Children will be street-involved as defined broadly below.
- Children will be under the care of Bahay Tuluyan and reside in sheltered accommodation at the Malate, Laguna or Quezon site.
- Children will have enough time to participate in the study without detracting from other activities such as education and life skill program involvement.
- Children have not experienced recent psychological, emotional or physical trauma, which may be exacerbated by participating in the study.
- Children will be willing to participate in the research, in particular, undertaking a semi-structured interview with the researcher and translator at the Bahay Tuluyan site where they reside.

The application of the selection process to individual children will be conducted in a confidential manner.

7.2 Research Process:

The research process will be delivered over several stages in order to meet the research objectives. A diagram illustrating the research process from the perspective of the child has been devised.



Stage 1: The research project will be introduced at the Children's Assembly with a fun activity that introduces the concept of resilience.

Stage 2: Participants will be invited to participate in the project via an invitation by the Social Worker or BT staff member. The Assent Form will be explained. The child will be provided with the Children's Information Sheet. If the child is willing to consider participating, the BT staff member will arrange a time for the researcher to visit the site for the next stage.

Stage 3: Meeting One: Induction and explanation of study by the researcher to the child at the BT site. The purpose of this meeting is as follows:

- Introductions
- Explain risks, benefits and process of the study
- Establish voluntary participation
- Establish informed consent (Introduce the Assent Form)
- Build rapport and trust
- Explore the concepts of "risks" and "doing well" via an art activity
- Set up interview & tour for the next day

Stage 4: Meeting Two: Child-led tour and semi-structured interview. The child-led tour will enable further rapport building and establish conversation flow. Furthermore, a walking whilst talking methodology enables the child and the research to interact spontaneously as they respond to the streetscape, co-constructing a knowledge transfer between the

researcher and the child. The tour also allows an inversion of power roles with the child positioned as expert in their own life. The child will lead the tour. The researcher has prepared a loose guide if required that begins in the street outside the BT site and progressing past people and places that may be important to the child. The researcher will observe BT privacy rules during this tour that includes adults not entering bedrooms.

The semi-structured interview will allow for a private conversation that covers who the child considers family and how they use personal assets in order to facilitate resilience.

The Data Collection Protocol for use in this project has been devised in consultation with the Local Advisory Group in order to:

- Ensure maximum rapport with the child during the interview process,
- Increase the context validity of the questions,
- Ensure the correct use of language and terminology,
- Provide accountability and transparency to the project.

The researcher will adopt a position of inquiry during the interview, allowing for the child to demonstrate competency and expertise in street-life.

It is likely that the tour and interview may take up to 1.5 hours in duration. The researcher will gauge the participant's fatigue or comfort during the interview process and offer to postpone or cease the interview at any time.

A translator who will be trained regarding the project aims and interview protocol will also be available. The translator will be sourced from the Philippine Social Service Association and will be supported and trained by the researcher prior to the interview.

A Bahay Tuluyan staff or a member from a partner organization will be available for post-interview support if required by the child.

8. Roles and Responsibilities

The following table documents roles and responsibilities associated with the evaluation.

Role	Role at BT	Responsibilities
Project Sponsor	Deputy Director of BT – Catherine Scerri	Advise researcher regarding BT Management directives Available for consultation during project development Application of Selection Criteria for child participation Enabling researcher access to children Oversee implementation of study findings and service improvements
Staff of BT	Social Workers House Parents Youth Facilitators	Available for consultation during the project development Passing on invitation to participate in research to children in accordance with Privacy and Confidentiality Policy Participate in Local Advisory Group (Voluntary)
Researcher	Alisa Willis	Undertake Literature review Build relationships, consult and collaborate with BT staff Design research materials Facilitate Local Advisory Group Undertake interview with children Facilitate Focus Group Collate and analysis data Feedback to BT staff and management
University Supervisor		As per Flinders University Policy

9. Work Plan

Date	Activity	Output
June 2017	Development of Project Documentation Acceptance of Candidature	Project Proposal
June 2017	Ethics Approval (Australia)	Ethics Application Aust

June 2017	Local Advisory Group Established & First Meeting	Advisory Meetings
Aug–Nov 2017	Researcher attending Children's Assemblies	Presentations
Aug–Nov 2017	Sample selection undertaken based on Selection Criteria Provision of Children's Information Sheet to Children Invitations to participate issued to children	List of possible children to participate
Oct–Dec 2017	Child led tours and interviews with children across BT sites	Interviews completed
Jan 2019	Community Feedback	TBA

10. Informed Consent

The following written information will be provided to participants to ensure informed consent. Information will be tailored to adult and child participants.

Participants who are children will be provided with:

1) **An Information Sheet** in Tagalog and English that includes the following information: details about the project aims and objectives, benefits and risks to the project, confidentiality and privacy information, voluntary participation and the right to withdraw without penalty.
2) **An Assent Form** in Tagalog and English that documents: a statement of the purpose of the research, a description of the procedures to be applied to the minor; a description of the potential risks and discomforts associated with the research; a description of any direct benefits to the minor; a statement that the minor does not have to participate if he/she does not want to; a statement that the minor is free to withdraw at any time; a statement that the minor should discuss whether or not to participate with his/her parents prior to signing the form; a statement that the guardian of the minor will be asked for their permission on behalf of the minor; an offer to answer all questions and seek further information.

3) **A Guardian's Consent Form for each child.** Signed by BT for each child, amended based on the Flinders University Parental Consent Form for Child Participation in Research Consent Form.

11. Confidentiality, Privacy & Informed Consent Protocol

The Republic of the Philippines Act no. 10173 "Data Privacy Act of 2012" requires that consent of the data subject is obtained in a way that is "freely given, informed indication of will, whereby the subject agrees to the collection and processing of personal information relating to his/ her. Consent shall be evidenced by written, electronic, or recorded means. It may be also be given on behalf of the subject by an agent specifically authorized by the data subject" (Section 3b). This Act requires compliance in and outside the Philippines if the information pertains to a Philippines resident (Section 6a).

In order to manage the complex confidentiality and informed consent challenges associated with this study, the following has been agreed to.

1) The Bahay Tuluyan Management Committee will select participants in accordance with the Selection Criteria in a confidential process.
2) Staff will be advised on the children that will participate in the study on a need to know basis.
3) The invitation to children to participate in the study will be delivered by the BT staff member at the request of management. The invitation will include the provision of the Children's Information Sheet and the Assent Form, which will be discussed with the child. The child will have the opportunity to ask further questions. If the child is willing to proceed the BT staff member will contact the researcher who will attend the service on nominated dates that are convenient to the child.
4) The BT staff member prior to interview will provide the Children's Information Sheet and Assent Form to the child. This is to ensure adequate time for deliberation. These documents will be available in Tagalog and English.

12. Disclosures, Allegations and Complaints

If though the delivery of the research, the researcher becomes aware of illegal activities or information to suggest a child is in danger, in accordance with Mandated Reporter requirements (South Australian Child Protection Act) and the Philippines National Privacy Act, these activities will be reported to Bahay Tuluyan.

In the event of an allegation or complaint, the researcher will ask the child how they would like the information to be passed and take their wishes and feelings into account.

In the event of an allegation of complaint concerning a BT staff member, the researcher will advise BT management who will seek the assistance of a partner organization for support and assistance. This may include assistance with an investigation that includes an examination of the complaint and recommendations for next steps. Support offered to the child by the partner organization may include seeking support for the child such as counselling or alternative accommodation services.

At the conclusion of the research, the researcher will meet with BT management to discuss key themes and findings. BT will be provided with a copy of the final thesis for use. No identifying information will be provided unless consented to by the child.

A matrix of risk and mitigation strategies has been developed and is attached to this document.

Burden and Risk Management Matrix

The following burdens and risks have been identified in a joint process between the researcher and BT. In the following table, each risk is identified below with associated mitigation strategies.

Risks and Burdens to Children	Risk Level Low, Med, High	Mitigation Strategies
Psychological Risks		
Child do not like being identified as street children due to social stigma	**High**	• All documentation and terminology used will be considered and determined by the Local Advisory Group. Agreed terminology has been used in all documentation including written information provided to the child.
Children become distressed during the interview process	**High**	• The researcher will build relationship prior to the interview and ensure the child is well prepared for topics of conversation via the Children's Assembly. • Questions will be crafted to ensure minimal distress during the interview including focusing on opinions and attitudes rather than life stories • Researcher will be aware of child's verbal and non-verbal communication during the interview and check in with the child regarding their emotional state, halting the interview if required. • The researcher will be mindful of their own emotional reaction during the interview in order to minimize distress of the child • The researcher will advise the child that interview can take place over several meetings if required. • BT staff, or those of a partner organisation, will be available after the interview to "check in" with the child and provide debriefing if required. • The researcher will ensure the interview ends on a positive note. • The researcher will advise BT staff if the child becomes distressed during the interview.
Children are uncomfortable being interviewed by a white older woman	**High**	• The researcher will attend the service regularly to build a relationship with the children and staff, in the months prior to interviews taking place. • The researcher will make efforts to reduce power differentials between the

		child and the researcher, considering dress and appearance. • The researcher will adopt an informal manner during all contact with the children and staff that is in keeping with culturally appropriate modes of communication. • The data collection method will include child friendly activities that promote discussion and comfort levels as determined by the Local Advisory Group. • The researcher will ask children and staff for feedback after the data collection processes to indicate comfort levels.
Children are distressed with how they are personally presented in the findings	**Medium**	• All data in the report will be depersonalized with fictitious names used in place of real names. • Other identifying data will be removed from the report. • Questions in the interview are structured to ensure children are not revealing "life stories" but rather reflecting on opinions and attitudes. • The researcher will ensure that in the report, each child's responses are treated with respect and impartiality.
Children feel coerced to participate because they are dependent on BT	**High**	• Voluntary participation will be addressed in the Children's Information Sheet. • Children will be asked to sign an Assent Form that documents voluntary participation. • Staff will advise children that participation is voluntary when they are approached after the Children's Assembly. • Children are advised during the interview that participation is voluntary and they are able to withdraw at any time. • The researcher will observe any verbal or non-verbal communication before and during the interview that indicates if the child feels coerced, halting the interview if required.
Children are concerned that they will displease BT with their responses	**High**	• The purpose of the project will be explained at the Children's Assembly, highlighting that there is no "right" or

		"wrong" answers and that this research is about increasing our understandings. • All interview data will be confidential with de-identifying names used. • Children will be advised of the confidential nature of the information verbally at the Children's Assembly and prior to the interview. • Confidentiality provisions will be explained in the Children's Information Sheet and the Assent Form.
Children feel their privacy is intruded upon as the interview takes place at their place of residence	**Low**	• Children will be interviewed in a confidential space at the site, which is reserved for private conversations and are regularly used by social workers to speak with children as part of the case management process. This space is away from the living quarters and located near the "classrooms" and social work office.
Participating in the project takes the child away from other activities such as school or program activities	**Low**	• Participation in activities will be planned around the children's activities including school and BT programs. • Children will be advised of the time requirements of the interview process and these will be stated in writing and verbally prior to participation. • Children will be selected for participation in accordance with the selection criteria that include consideration of the child's commitments and availability. • The researcher will make themselves available on weekends and after-school hours
Children feel uncomfortable revealing negative information about their families due to "Hiya" or shame	**Medium**	• Children are likely to have already revealed negative information about their families to BT during the process of BT becoming Guardians of the child. • Researcher will build rapport prior to, and during the interview process. • Researcher will ensure non-judgmental responses to questions and observe own non-verbal body languages. • Child will be assured of confidentiality.
Children feel the project has "come to		• Children will be advised in verbally (at the Children's Assembly) and in writing (on

nothing" after participation due to "time" lag between research and report	**Medium**	the information sheet) regarding the time lag between research and the final report. • The researcher will keep the Local Advisory Group and BT Management regarding the time frames for the final report. • The community will be presented with the final research report at a celebration at BT. All children who participated will be invited to take part. • The community will be advised when the final report will be made available to children who participated
Safety Risks		
Children disclose illegal activity	**High**	• Children will be advised of the limits to confidentiality prior to the semi-structured interview. • Children will be advised of the researcher's role and limits to confidentiality will be stated verbally and in writing and made available to the child via the Children's Information Sheet and the Assent Form. • Disclosure of serious criminal activity (e.g. rape, murder) will be reported to BT management as per research requirements.
Children are physically injured during the research process including transport to and from the interview	**Low**	• The children are familiar with the environment and are well versed in safety requirements at the sites. • The sites have well-established Safety Plans and policy regarding children's safety procedures, first aid, fire, and natural disasters. • Children will walk to and from the interviews.
Children disclose current or past abuse	**High**	• It is likely that abuse is already known due to BT guardianship and admission process. • Children will be advised of the limits to confidentiality and the responsibilities of the researcher as a mandated notifier to advise BT of any abuse concerns.

Children make a complaint or disclose poor practice at BT	**Medium**	• Children will be advised of confidentiality agreement verbally and in writing. • Researcher will discuss with the child that it is important that poor practice is acted upon by BT and that BT has a complaints process. • Researcher will offer to support the child in discussing their complaint with BT. • Researcher will act on the wishes of the child unless the child is in danger.
Risks and Burdens to Staff at BT	**Risk Level Low, Med, High**	**Mitigation Strategies**
Participation by staff in the research detracts from other duties	**Medium**	• The project has been negotiated with BT Management who oversee workload management. • The researcher will seek to minimize the imposition on staff including preparation of materials, gathering of resources and travelling to the venue. • Staff will be advised verbally and in writing that participation is voluntary. • The researcher will regularly "check in" with staff and BT management regarding workload issues and the impact of the project.
Participation in the research makes staff feel under stress due to workload	**Medium**	• The project has been negotiated with BT Management who oversee workload management. • The researcher will seek to minimize the imposition on staff including preparation of materials, gathering of resources and travelling to the venue. • Staff will be advised verbally and in writing that participation is voluntary. • The researcher will regularly "check in" with staff and BT management regarding workload issues and the impact of the project.
Staff disagree with research findings	**Low**	• Staff have contributed to the research aims and objectives. • Staff are progressively informed of the research progress and emerging findings

		via staff meetings and the Local Advisory Group. • Staff provide input in the Social Worker Focus Group Discussion. • Staff draw on the research after the completion of the project in the BT continuous improvement program. • Staff devise actions as a result of the research that improve their social work model.
Staff do not feel listened to as part of research process	**Low**	• Staff are given the opportunity to comment on the research aims, objectives and process as part of Staff Meetings. • Staff can participate in the Local Advisory Group. • Staff will be provided with an Adult Participant Information Sheet that includes contact details for the researcher and invites further questions.
Staff do not feel engaged in research process	**Medium**	• Staff are given the opportunity to comment on the research aims, objectives and process as part of Staff Meetings. • Staff can participate in the Local Advisory Group. • Staff will be provided with an Adult Participant Information Sheet that includes contact details for the researcher and invites further questions. • Staff workload is managed in accordance with their participation in the project.
Staff reveal poor practice	**Medium**	• Staff have the opportunity to reflect on the implications of the research for social work practice and are therefore likely to suggest improvement for service provisions at BT. • Management have the opportunity to reflect on service provision as the result of the research in the spirit of continuous learning. • Revelations of negligence of a serious nature will be discussed with the social worker concerned to make a decision regarding informing management.

		• Confidentiality agreement will be observed unless revelations are illegal or a child is likely to come to harm. • Agreement between BT and the researcher will be made prior to research being conducted and documented in the MOU.
Staff reveal illegal activities	**Low**	• Illegal activities will be reported to the BT management group. • Issues of concern will be discussed with the social worker who made the disclosure with the researcher informing the social worker of their obligations as a mandated notifier. • Procedures to manage revelations of illegal activities will be agreed and documented as part of the MOU between the researcher and BT. • Police report will be made as per the Privacy Act.
Staff reveal organisational barriers to good practice	**Medium**	• If during Focus Group Discussions organisational barriers are revealed, the researcher will ask staff how they might like to discuss this with management. • The researcher will only discuss issues with the BT management committee at the express request of the staff, taking care not to reveal personal information as per the confidentiality arrangements.
Staff break confidentiality agreements established in the focus group discussion	**Medium**	• Confidentiality agreements are explained verbally and in writing to staff in the Adult Participant Information Sheet and at the beginning of the Focus Group Discussion.
Staff fail to observe practices established to protect the privacy of children	**Medium**	• Privacy practices in the research process are developed in collaboration with BT staff and management at Staff and Management Meetings. • Privacy practices are explained in the Adult Participant Information Sheet and consent forms. • Privacy arrangements are discussed at the Local Advisory Group. • Staff are reminded of privacy procedures prior to interviews.

Staff feel the research has “come to nothing” due to lag time between research and report	**Medium**	• Staff are advised regularly of the research progress via Staff Meetings and the Local Advisory Group. • Staff participate in the research project planning. • Staff are presented with the final research report. • Staff are involved in planning the final presentation of findings to the community.
Staff are physically injured before, during or after the data collection process	**Low**	• Staff observe BT Occupational Health and Safety Policies of the agency. • Staff take all reasonable precautions to prevent accidental injury before, during and after data collection.
Risks and Burdens to Incidental People		**Mitigation Strategies**
Children who are clients of BT but do not meet selection criteria yet wish to participate may feel excluded	**Low**	• Participation in the research is one of a number of options for participation in research activities. • Children will not receive incentives for participation. • Participation will be similar to other centre activities and not attract undue attention.
Service Partners who wish to use the centre resources may not be able to due to resources devoted to this project	**Low**	• The service site is managed by the BT Management Committee who will assess organisational priorities and resource allocation.
Risks and Burdens to Researchers		**Mitigation Strategies**
The researcher is physically injured before, during or after the data collection process including transport to and from the site.	**Low**	• The researcher operates within BT Occupational Health and Safety guidelines. • The researcher takes reasonable precautions to prevent injury during the research process. • As much as possible, the researcher ensures personal transport to and from the site is safe with all reasonable

		precautions taken to prevent injury or accidents. • The researcher exercises personal precautions in order to ensure safety such as being aware of surroundings and ensuring personal items are secured. • The researcher advises a third person when travelling to and from the site via public transport
Researcher feels isolated in the research process	**Low**	• The researcher regularly meets with BT staff and management regarding the study. • The researcher attends BT staff meetings when invited. • The researcher builds relationships with Flinders University Higher Degree support services. • The researcher has regular supervision with supervisor via Skype.
Researcher becomes distressed during the research process in relation to children's stories	**Medium**	• The researcher will be well prepared for interviews and anticipate likely distressing conversations with strategies for self-management. • The researcher monitors and manages their own emotional response during the interview. • The researcher halts the interview if distressed. • The researcher seeks support from BT management after interviews with children. • The researcher sets time for regular debriefing with supervisor during the research period.

Appendix 5: Local Advisory Group Terms of Reference

Local Advisory Group, Terms of Reference

Purpose of Local Advisory Group

This group has been established with the purpose of providing a mechanism for staff of Bahay Tuluyan to participate in the research project entitled "Understanding Resilience in the lives of Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines" undertaken by Doctoral Candidate Alisa Willis from Flinders University of South Australia.

This resilience research project seeks to investigate the role of relationships in facilitating resilience in the lives of Filipino street-involved children and uncover the implications for social work practice.

The goal of the group is to provide:

- Local knowledge regarding resilience in the context of Bahay Tuluyan's client group to inform data collection methods,
- Act as a conduit to other Bahay Tuluyan staff and raise awareness about the study in the service,
- Inform decisions regarding the logistics of the project including the dissemination of study findings in the community,
- Decide how the research findings might be best used in service improvements at Bahay Tuluyan after the completion of the project.

Tasks of the group will include:

- Approve the Terms of Reference for the group,
- Inform the development of the Data Collection Protocol,
- Support the implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding and the Confidentiality Protocol in the delivery of the research,
- Contribute to understanding and interpreting study findings in the local context,
- Help identify appropriately qualified interpreters and transcribers to support the study,
- Inform the planning of the community feedback process at the conclusion of the project.

Membership of Local Advisory Group

The Bahay Tuluyan Management Committee in consultation with the researcher will determine membership of this group. Proposed members will be advised that participation is voluntary and can be discontinued at any time.

Membership will include:

- 1 x researcher
- 1 x member of the Bahay Tuluyan Executive
- 1 x social worker at Bahay Tuluyan
- 2 x youth facilitators over the age of 18 years.

Membership will last for the duration of the research project with maximum completion date in March 2020. The Bahay Tuluyan Management Group in consultation with the researcher will determine any changes or amendments to the membership.

Accountability

The researcher is responsible for determining the agenda for each meeting in consultation with the Bahay Tuluyan Management Committee.

The executive member is responsible for providing management advice and final decision-making. Decisions regarding child participants or staff members will be provided outside this forum in order to protect confidentiality.

All other members are responsible for providing expert local advice in a timely manner. Some consultation of members will occur out-of-session in order to ensure the workload burden is minimized.

Working Methods

The Advisory Group will meet on a semi-regular basis, in-session and out-of-session, as determined by the phase of the research project.

Initial meetings will take place in July 2017, August 2017, September 2017, and October 2017 at dates to be mutually determined. Ideally these meetings will occur face-to-face at the Malate site, but if unable, Skype will be utilized. The researcher will chair the meetings and generate an agenda for the meetings, circulating via email one week prior to the meeting. Meetings will be conducted in an “informal” nature facilitating open discussion and in a spirit of enquiry and collaboration.

The Advisory Group will meet together post interview process in order to access feedback regarding the findings of the research and tool development process. This information will be available for the development of the local resilience measure.

The management group will manage any conflicts or disagreements in the group in consultation with the Bahay Tuluyan Conflict Resolution Policy.

Information and Resources

Information and resources will be provided via email prior too, and post group meetings. All group members will ensure that sensitive matters remain confidential within the confines of the group discussions. This includes feedback post-interview and any personal information about staff or child participants.

Definition of Terms

Data Collection Protocol: A document that details agreed questions delivered during the data collection process. These questions will be exploratory, open ended and semi-structured in order to uncover the complex relationships between protective factors in the lives of children in the context of their day-to-day lives. The interview protocol will also document preparation of participants, rapport-building activities and demonstrate the capacity to meet ethical challenges during the research process.

Conflict Management

Any conflicts will be managed as per the Bahay Tuluyan Conflict Management Policy and in keeping with the mission and values of Bahay Tuluyan.

Agreement of Terms of Reference

Bahay Tuluyan Management Committee and researcher approve this document. January 2017.

Appendix 6: Data Collection Protocol

Data Collection Protocol for Child Participants

Meeting 1:

PURPOSE:

Introduce self (provide letter of Introduction)

Establish voluntary participation

Establish informed consent

Build rapport

Explore children's conception of "Risk" & "Doing Well"

Set up logistics for interview & tour

Introductions

Hello and thank you for agreeing to talk with me today. My name is Alisa Willis and I am a researcher from the Flinders University of South Australia.

This is … and she/he is here to help us with language, as my Tagalog is very bad! She/he will act as an interpreter and ask the questions in Tagalog after I have asked it in English. If there is something that you cannot describe, feel free to talk in Tagalog and she will explain what you have said to me after.

Can I show you a letter of introduction from my supervisor at the university? I am wondering if we could read it together. Should we read it in English, or would you prefer in Tagalog?

Establishing Voluntary Participation

Before we start, I want to make sure you understand that participating in the study is voluntary. If you do not want to take part, no one will be upset with you and nothing will change for you at Bahay Tuluyan.

Do you feel ok to talk today?

I will keep checking with you throughout our talks, like I just did then, to see if you are ok to keep going. You can let me know at any time, for any reason, that you don't want to keep going. We can make another time to meet, or you can finish all together.

I know you heard about the study at Bahay Tuluyan. Let's looks at the Children's Assent Form. This form gives you important information about this study. You would have seen it when your social worker talked with you. I am wondering if our interpreter can help us by reading it to you in Tagalog? After that, you can ask me any questions that you might have.

Is there anything you would like to ask me after reading this form?

Do you feel happy to sign the form today to indicate you understand the project? You can sign it later if you like. I will need to collect the form before I use your data in the study.

Purpose of the Study

I would like to tell you a bit about the purpose of the study.

This study is trying to understand children who grow up to do well in life, despite having experienced difficulties and problems.

We think children like you have lots of interesting ways of surviving and achieving their dreams, with some difficult experiences making them stronger. For example, we wonder if children who do not live with their families create other "families" with their friends and adults in the community that help them.

In order to understand this, we need to talk with children like you, who are doing well, despite experiencing difficult times in the past. We think that you might be an expert in this, and can help us understand how children overcome trauma and do well in life.

In this study, the term we use to describe this is called "resilience."

Have you heard this word before? Can you tell me what you think it means?

There are two parts of resilience; one is the many difficulties, risks and problems that children face. The second part describes how children overcome these difficulties, to do well in life.

I am interested in what you think it means to "do well" in life. I am also interested in what you think the risks and challenges are that children like you experience.

Let's start by thinking about someone you know who has experienced many difficulties and still managed to do well and live a good life?

PROMPTS:

- *Can be a famous person or someone you know personally like:*
- *Youth facilitator*
- *Staff member*
- *Relative*
- *Stepbrother or sister*

Can you describe that person to me?

How do you know they did well in life?

What troubles did they face in life?

How did they overcome those troubles?

Who might have helped them?

Benefits and Risks of Participation

We think that participating in the project might be a good experience for you. It might be that thinking about the positive and protective relationships in your life might make your feel happy.

It also might help you in the future to manage problems by drawing on the people around you.

You might also feel good being considered an expert in children's lives. The information you share with me today and tomorrow is important, and will be used by social workers and the government to help other children like yourself.

I don't think you will have any problems with our talks today and tomorrow. But it could be that we talk about personal things from your past that might make you feel upset. If that happens, please let me know so we can take a break or stop talking. You don't have to tell me anything that you don't want to.

Also, a Bahay Tuluyan staff member will talk with you after our session to make sure you feel ok.

Process of research

Today we are just going to talk about the research, and I am going to answer any questions you might have about the study. You can ask anything you like.

Tomorrow, I will be here again and we will begin by talking about the Assent Form that you have seen today. I am hoping that you feel OK to sign it at that point. But if you need more time, I can collect it later. I can only use your data in the final report once you have signed that form.

I am then hoping that you will take me on a tour of where you live. The tour is the opportunity for me to learn about your life and who helps you to overcome the difficulties of life. You are the expert in life around here, so during the tour I will ask you questions about your life and your neighborhood. This might take about 20 minutes – or longer if you like. We won't go far from BT, but we can walk around outside and you can point out places and people you like to visit around here.

We will then come back here and have a talk. During our talk I will ask you some personal things, like who has helped you when you are in trouble, and who you consider to be family.

We will record our talk on this digital voice recorder. Would you like to look at it?

(Researcher offers the child the recorder)

During our tour, I will get you to hold the recorder so that we can speak into it when you are telling me about the people and places you like to visit. If other children join us on the tour, that is Ok. But I am really interested in what you think and feel. So it is important for the recorder to capture your voice. We will also use the recorder when we come back here and talk.

Later, I will listen to the tape, and those from other children and then put all the information together in a report.

It takes a long time to write the report, but when it is done, I will come back to Bahay Tuluyan to talk about what we have found. A summary of the report will also be available in Tagalog if you would like to keep one.

Remember, in our tour and in the talk, everything you say is going to be very interesting to me. There are no right or wrong answers. I know it will feel a little bit strange at first, but I am hoping you will become comfortable to talk freely about your life.

Confidentiality

When I write up the report, I will give you a different name, so we can describe what you think without someone knowing that it was you. Any other identifying information will also be changed. Your thoughts and feelings will go into the report, but we will make sure that no one reading it knows whom you are.

You can tell anyone you like about the research but I will treat what you say as confidential. This includes the staff at Bahay Tuluyan.

This would only change if I feared you were in danger or if you had committed a very serious crime. Then I would have to tell someone at Bahay Tuluyan or a partner agency that we trust. I would not do this without you knowing, and before I did this, we would talk about whom we should tell.

Drawing Activity – 2 drawings

I am wondering if we can do a drawing activity to begin to think about the risks and difficulties that children around here face in life. I also want to start to talk about what it means to "do well."

I am wondering if we can draw a picture or brainstorm some words using these art materials.

Remember, this isn't a test and there is no right or wrong answers. I will be interested in everything you say or draw today. *If you choose to draw today, the picture doesn't have to be perfect – I am more interested in what you are thinking then the quality of the drawing.*

DRAWING 1:

Can we draw or write a list of experiences and challenges that children around here face in life?

DRAWING 2:

Can we draw a picture of what it means to you to "do well" in life?

Meeting Close

Thank you so much for talking with me today. We have nearly finished now, but:

- Is there anything else you would like to ask me about what we have talked about today?

I am really excited about our tour and talk tomorrow.

- How are you feeling about our tour and chat tomorrow?

We will start with the tour of BT.

- Where would you like to start our tour tomorrow?
- And then where might we go?

Here is the Assent Form, please take it with you and read it. Feel free to talk about it with a friend or a staff member at BT. If you have any questions, you can contact me by talking to a staff member. If you feel ready we will sign the form tomorrow.

Thank you so much for helping me today.

Let's meet here tomorrow in this room, and we will sign the Assent Form together.

Looking forward to seeing you tomorrow.

Meeting 2:

PURPOSE:

Data gathering via child-led tour

Data gathering via semi-structured interview

Stage 1: Introduction and Reconnection

Question Stage	Building Rapport
Question Purpose	Establish Voluntary Participation Establish conversation flow

Hello and great to see you again.

Thanks for coming to see me today.

Yesterday we talked about the research and what would happen today. One of the really important parts of our conversation was making sure that you understand your participation is voluntary. I want to check with you that you feel happy to proceed today?

Did you have a chance to read the Assent Form; are there any questions you would like to ask of me?

If you are happy to proceed, do you feel comfortable to sign the Assent Form and get started?

(Researcher collects the Assent Form if the child is comfortable)

If you don’t feel ready to sign the Assent Form yet, it is OK. I will just need to collect it before we finish our talks so that I can use the data for the study.

Stage 2: Tour of Social Ecology

I am wondering if we can start today by going for a walk around Bahay Tuluyan and you showing me around – almost like you are a tour guide and I am a visitor here for the first time.

I am wondering if you can show me Bahay Tuluyan, and particularly point out all the people, places and objects around here that are important to you.

During the tour I will ask you lots of questions so that I can understand your experiences and in particular, how you manage to overcome problems and difficulties in your life.

I am hoping that as we walk together, you are reminded of things that are important to you. Feel free to tell me anything – everything you say will be interesting to me. Remember there are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in your thoughts, feelings, memories, objects and people that you think are important.

I have this audio recorder. (Show the child)

I am wondering if you would like to hold it, so we can record your answers. (Offer the recorder to the child.)

After we finish the tour we can come back here and I will ask you some questions. How does this sound for you? Do you want to ask any questions?

Ok let's get started. Maybe we can start the tour from the front entrance of Bahay Tuluyan.

Neighborhood (Researcher and child will stand just outside BT looking at the street)

- Can you imagine for a moment that I can't see, can you describe this street for me? What are people doing on this street?
- Can you point out to me the people and places around here that are important to you?
  Prompts
    - Church, school, neighbors, shops and venders, hospital, basketball, square, park, makeshift homes.
- What sorts of activities do you and other children do in those places?
- Why are they important to you and other children?
- Are there any risks on this street, or the streets around here, for children? What are they?

Bahay Tuluyan

(Entrance)

- How did you feel when you first walked through these doors?
- What did you learn about Bahay Tuluyan? Who do they help?
- What kinds of difficulties might the children have experienced in life?
- How does Bahay Tuluyan help these kids?
- What happens to children's lives after they come here?

Communal Areas

(Kitchen, group rooms, play-rooms, outside play area, gardens, animal enclosures)

- What is happening in this room?
- What are children doing?
- What are they doing together in this room?
- What adults are helping children in this room?
- How are they helping them?
- Why do they need to do this activity?
- How does this help them?
- How might this make the child feel towards the other children? The adults?

General walk around questions:

- What do you like about BT?
- Can you describe the other children that are here with you? What do they mean to you?
- Can you tell about the other adults that are here with you? What do they mean to you?

Child's Room (Researcher will not enter)

- What happens in this room?
- Who do you share this room with?
- How did you first feel when you first saw this room?
- If you have had a difficult day, what do you do in this room to relax?
- How might your roommates help you when you have had a difficulty?

Thanks for giving me a tour of BT. I am wondering if we can go back to the social work room and talk about your life here at BT.

Tour closes by walking toward social work room.

Stage 3: Interview QUESTIONS

Stage	Overcoming Apprehension Establishing Child as the Expert
Purpose	Construction of recovery and "doing well" Construction of risks Identification of personal skills

Let's start by you telling me a little bit about yourself…

- Can you tell me what brought you to live at Bahay Tuluyan?
- Can you tell me about a time when life was hard for you? Can you tell me a story about that time?
- How did you get through this time?
- Who helped you? How did they help you?

Questions about you:

- Tell me about some things you are good at.
- What words might your friends use to describe you?
- How might your family describe you?
- How might your social worker or teacher describe you?

Question Stage	Establishing Participation
Question Purpose	Identification of Biological Family Resources

- Who do you call Na nay and Ta ta? What do they mean to you?
- Tell me about all your siblings, including your half siblings? What are your feelings about them?
- Do you have Lolo, Lola, Tita and Tito? Are they in your life? How do they help you overcome difficulties?
- Who do you consider to be family right now?

Question Stage	Sharing Expertise
Question Purpose	Exploring “chosen” family Identification of Peer Resources Hidden Resilience Adaptive distancing

- Can you tell me about friends in your life that have become like family?
- How do children help each?
- Can you describe your “Bakarda?”
- How does a Bakarda help you?
- How do you feel when you are together?
- Can you think about a time when you and your friends did something “hindi tama” but it made you feel strong or helped you in some way? Can you tell me about it?
- Can you tell me how you feel about the vice and temptations of street life like drug use or crime?
- How do you keep away from vice and temptations (for example drug use or crime)?

Question Stage	Sharing Expertise
Question Purpose	Identification of Community Resources Role of the social worker

- Can you describe the experience of going to school for you?
- What does school mean to you and your future?
- Who helps you get to school?
- Do you participate in any community activities, organisations or religious groups? Can you describe them?
- Are there any special people at these community activities that help you?
- Which staff members here are important to you? Why are they important?
- Can you tell me about any adults who are like family to you?
- How would you describe your social worker?
- How has your social worker helped you overcome the difficulties that you have experienced?

Question Stage	Sharing Expertise
Question Purpose	Identification of Cultural Resources

- What does it mean to be a good Filipino?
- How would you describe your relationship with God? How does this help children who live on the street?

Filipino Values

I AM NOW GOING TO SHOW YOU A WORD IN TAGALOG.

- CAN YOU LOOK AT THIS CARD AND EXPLAIN WHAT THE TERM MEANS?
- CAN YOU TELL ME ABOUT A TIME WHEN YOU HAVE USED THIS FILIIPNO VALUE TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES?

Question Stage	Conclusion
Question Purpose	End interview positively

- Can you tell me your hopes and dreams for your future?
- How will you achieve this?
- Who are the people that will help you get there?
- What are your hopes for your family?
- How will you help them get there?
- What advice would you give to people trying to help children like you? What should they do?
- What advice would you give the government to help children like you?

Question Stage	Close
Question Purpose	Seek feedback Monitor the emotional state of the child

- How has this interview been for you?
- How are you feeling now?
- Would you like to spend some time with a BT staff member now?
- Would you like to spend time with someone from a partner agency now?
- ** Check if child has not signed Assent Form.

Appendix 7: Transcriber and Interpreter Confidentiality Agreements

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Transcription Services

Understanding Resilience in the Lives of Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines

I, _____, translator and transcriber, agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to any and all recordings and documentation received from Alisa Willis related to her doctoral study on Understanding Resilience in the lives of Street-involved children in Manila Philippines.

Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the translation of interviews, or in any associated documents;
2. To not make copies of any recordings or computerized files of the interview texts, unless specifically requested to do so by Alisa Willis;
3. To store all study-related recordings and materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;
4. To return all recordings and study-related documents to Alisa Willis in a complete and timely manner.
5. To delete all electronic files containing study-related documents from my computer hard drive and any backup devices.

I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audiotapes and/or files to which I will have access.

Translator's name (printed) _____

Translator's signature _____

Date

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Interpreter Services

Understanding Resilience in the Lives of Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines

I, _____, Interpreter, agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to any and all recordings and documentation received from Alisa Willis related to her doctoral study on Relationships that Facilitate Resilience in Street-involved children in Manila Philippines.

Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the translation of interviews, or in any associated documents;
2. To not make copies of any recordings or computerized files of the interview texts, unless specifically requested to do so by Ailsa Willis;
3. To store all study-related recordings and materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;
4. To return all recordings and study-related documents to Alisa Willis in a complete and timely manner.
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Interpreter's name (printed) _____

Interpreter's signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 8: Systematic Review Terms

Record of search strategies

Databases	**Citations retrieved (n)**
PsycINFO (Ovid)	156
Medline (Ovid)	110
ProQuest Social Sciences Premium Collection	408
ProQuest Psychology Database	42
Scopus	303
Informit Databases	10
Total citations before duplicates removed	**1029**
Total citations after duplicates removed	**642**

Searches run 14/6/17

PsycINFO 1806 to June Week 1 2017

#	**Searches**	**Results**
1	(Homeless/ or Abandonment/) and (childhood birth 12 yrs or adolescence 13 17 yrs or School Age 6-12 yrs).ag.	1783
2	Child neglect/	3654
3	("mga anak ng kalye" or "batang kalye" or Binata).tw,id.	0
4	(child* adj4 (difficult circumstance* or special protection or protection)).tw,id.	4681
5	((street* or homeless* or "at risk" or abandon* or neglect* or exploit* or community or beggar* or begging or working or scaveng* or runaway*) adj4 (child* or urchin* or youth or minor? or adolescen* or teen* or girl* or boy* or gang* or family* or families)).tw,id.	56035
6	or/1-5	60673
7	"resilience (psychological)"/ or well being/ or "adaptability (personality)"/ or cognitive reserve/ or coping behavior/ or emotional adjustment/ or emotional stability/ or posttraumatic growth/ or	383308

	psychological endurance/ or adjustment/ or person environment fit/ or well being/ or self-preservation/ or instinctive behavior/ or self-defense/ or emotional control/ or "sense of coherence"/ or "stress and coping measures"/ or agency/ or goal orientation/ or interpersonal control/ or self-determination/ or self-regulation/ or volition/ or autonomy/ or choice behavior/ or freedom/ or "independence (personality)"/ or empowerment/ or "internal external locus of control"/ or social behavior/ or competence/ or ability/ or achievement/ or social skills/ or positive psychology/ or optimism/ or positive emotions/ or positivism/ or Psychosocial Readjustment/ or persistence/ or self-efficacy/ or self-confidence/ or self-esteem/ or social identity/ or identity formation/ or self-concept/ or mental health/	
8	psychological development/ or cognitive development/ or emotional development/ or moral development/ or psychosocial development/ or adolescent development/ or early childhood development/ or childhood development/ or Psychosocial Development/	150457
9	(Resilien* or adapt* or adjust* or coping or emotion* or growth or endurance or wellbeing or well being or mental health or instinct* or "sense of coherence" or agency or goal orient* or control or volition or autonom* or choice* or freedom or independence or empower* or social* or competen* or abilit* or achieve* or positive psycholog* or optimis* or positivism or readjust* or persist* or recover* or surviv* or thriv* or identity).tw,id.	2147118
10	(self adj2 (preserv* or defen* or determin* or regulat* or efficac* or confiden* or esteem or concept*)).tw,id.	127331
11	(develop* adj2 (psycho* or social* or emotional* or cognitive* or moral* or adolescen* or childhood or advers* or normative or threat*)).tw,id.	110386
12	((social* or economic*) adj (actor or acting)).tw,id.	143
13	or/7-12	2278482
14	protective factors/ or prevention/ or risk management/ or safety/ or protective services/	47430
15	social environments/ or home environment/ or environmental enrichment/ or social ecology/	16197
16	Environmental Effects/	7256
17	ecological factors/ or behavioral ecology/ or ecological psychology/ or Ecology/	9199
18	Environment/ Or School Environment/	26359

19	family/ or extended family/ or dysfunctional family/ or family background/ or kinship/	50785
20	family members/ or biological family/ or cousins/ or daughters/ or foster children/ or grandchildren/ or grandparents/ or sons/	25468
21	parents/ or adoptive parents/ or fathers/ or foster parents/ or mothers/ or single parents/ or stepparents/ or "surrogate parents (humans)"/ or siblings/ or brothers/ or sisters/	84291
22	family relations/ or interpersonal relationships/ or parental role/ or sibling relations/	55708
23	parent child relations/ or father child relations/ or mother child relations/ or filial responsibility/	49192
24	interpersonal interaction/ or "assistance (social behavior)"/ or collaboration/ or collective behavior/ or cooperation/ or group participation/ or interpersonal communication/ or interpersonal compatibility/ or interpersonal influences/ or participation/ or peer relations/ or interdependence/ or interpersonal relationships/ or relationship satisfaction/	116426
25	"trust (social behavior)"/	8532
26	social networks/ or social capital/ or social groups/ or social interaction/ or social support/	69165
27	respect/ or "self-monitoring (personality)"/ or "social and interpersonal measures"/	1349
28	friendship/ or relationship quality/	13253
29	social capital/ or social integration/ or social mobility/ or socialization/ or solidarity/ or sociocultural factors/	60465
30	communities/	27478
31	community involvement/	3766
32	attachment behavior/	19149
33	social acceptance/ or need for approval/ or peer pressure/ or popularity/	7199
34	belonging/ or membership/ or affiliation motivation/ or group identity/ or group participation/ or religious affiliation/	10250
35	Christianity/ or Religion/ or Spirituality/ or Religious Beliefs/ or God Concepts/	42248

36	religiosity/ or faith/ or religious education/ or religious experiences/ or religious practices/	14825
37	gangs/ or juvenile gangs/	1563
38	social workers/	10909
39	residential care institutions/ or group homes/	10579
40	Community Services/	14998
41	teachers/ or educational personnel/ or elementary school teachers/ or high school teachers/ or junior high school teachers/ or middle school teachers/ or preschool teachers/	58035
42	mentor/ or peer counseling/ or significant others/ or social influences/	20501
43	(protect* or prevent* or safety or environment* or ecolog* or sociocultural* or sociolog* or cultural* or culture?).tw,id.	826642
44	(family* or families or familial or kin or kinship* or parent* or mother* or father* or grandparent* or grandmother* or grandfather* or sibling* or brother* or sister* or cousin*).tw,id.	574317
45	(daughter* or son or sons or foster* or stepparent* or filial*).tw,id.	66128
46	(relationship* or relational* or relatives or interpersonal* or inter-personal* or peer* or mentor* or others or group* or interdepend* or network* or belonging or belong or bond or bonding or bonds or ties or attachment* or affiliat*).tw,id.	1605839
47	(social* adj2 (capital or interact* or support* or integrat* or involve* or mobil* or accept* or attach* or behav* or identif* or identit* or participat* or membership* or influen*)).tw,id.	158347
48	(community* or communities or neighbour* or gang or gangs or peer* or bakarda or supportive adult* or teacher* or leader* or facilitator* or surrogate*).tw,id.	545221
49	(social worker* or case worker* or caseworker* or house parent*).tw,id.	23512
50	(Christian* or religion* or religious or spiritual* or God or faith).tw,id.	101237
51	or/14-50	2559545

52	(Philippine* or Filipino* or Pilipinas or Pinio* or Manila* or Quezon* or Malate* or Cebu* or Mindanao* or Caloocan* or Pasay* or Luzon* or Visayas*).tw,id,lo.	5520
53	collectivis*.tw,id.	5175
54	or/52-53	10571
55	6 and 13 and 51 and 54	156

Ovid MEDLINE(R) Epub Ahead of Print, In-Process & Other Non-Indexed Citations, Ovid MEDLINE(R) Daily, Ovid MEDLINE and Versions(R)

#	Searches	Results
1	("mga anak ng kalye" or "batang kalye" or Binata).tw,id.	17
2	(child* adj4 (difficult circumstance* or special protection or protection)).tw,kw.	3681
3	((street* or homeless* or "at risk" or abandon* or neglect* or exploit* or community or beggar* or begging or working or scaveng* or runaway*) adj4 (child* or urchin* or youth or minor? or adolescen* or teen* or girl* or boy* or gang* or family* or families)).tw,kw.	43281
4	or/1-3	46493
5	(Resilien* or adapt* or adjust* or coping or emotion* or growth or endurance or wellbeing or well being or mental health or instinct* or "sense of coherence" or agency or goal orient* or control or volition or autonom* or choice* or freedom or independence or empower* or social* or competen* or abilit* or achieve* or positive psycholog* or optimis* or positivism or readjust* or persist* or recover* or surviv* or thriv* or identity).mp.	8186730
6	(self adj2 (preserv* or defen* or determin* or regulat* or efficac* or confiden* or esteem or concept*)).mp.	109881
7	(develop* adj2 (psycho* or social* or emotional* or cognitive* or moral* or adolescen* or childhood or advers* or normative or threat*)).mp.	53462
8	((social* or economic*) adj (actor or acting)).tw,kw.	29

9	or/5-8	8232195
10	(protect* or prevent* or safety or environment* or ecolog* or sociocultural* or sociolog* or cultural* or culture?).mp.	4514985
11	(family* or families or familial or kin or kinship* or parent* or mother* or father* or grandparent* or grandmother* or grandfather* or sibling* or brother* or sister* or cousin*).mp.	1614819
12	(daughter* or son or sons or foster* or stepparent* or filial*).mp.	86981
13	(relationship* or relational* or relatives or interpersonal* or inter-personal* or peer* or mentor* or others or group* or interdepend* or network* or belonging or belong or bond or bonding or bonds or ties or attachment* or affiliat*).mp.	5690341
14	(social* adj2 (capital or interact* or support* or integrat* or involve* or mobil* or accept* or attach* or behav* or identif* or identit* or participat* or membership* or influen*)).mp.	177695
15	(community* or communities or neighbour* or gang or gangs or peer* or bakarda or supportive adult* or teacher* or leader* or facilitator* or surrogate*).mp.	782296
16	(social worker* or case worker* or caseworker* or house parent*).mp.	9042
17	(Christian* or religion* or religious or spiritual* or God or faith).mp.	80038
18	or/10-17	10179735
19	Philippines/	7530
20	(Philippine* or Filipino* or Pilipinas or Pinio* or Manila* or Quezon* or Malate* or Cebu* or Mindanao* or Caloocan* or Pasay* or Luzon* or Visayas*).tw,kw.	25568
21	collectivis*.tw,kw.	935
22	or/20-21	26485
23	4 and 9 and 18 and 22	110

ProQuest Social Sciences Premium Collection

N=408

Includes databases:

Databases

- Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA)
- Criminal Justice Database
- Education Database
- ERIC
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)
- Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA)
- PAIS Index
- PILOTS: Published International Literature On Traumatic Stress
- Political Science Database
- Social Science Database
- Social Services Abstracts
- Sociological Abstracts
- Sociology Database
- Worldwide Political Science Abstracts

(ti((Resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR (self NEAR/1 (preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*)) OR (develop* NEAR/1 (psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*)) OR ((social* OR economic*) NEAR/1 (actor OR acting)))) OR ab((Resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR (self NEAR/1 (preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*)) OR (develop* NEAR/1 (psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR

adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*)) OR ((social* OR economic*) NEAR/1 (actor OR acting)))) OR su((Resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR (self NEAR/1 (preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*)) OR (develop* NEAR/1 (psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*)) OR ((social* OR economic*) NEAR/1 (actor OR acting))))) AND (ti((protect* OR prevent* OR safety OR environment* OR ecolog* OR sociocultural* OR sociolog* OR cultural* OR culture OR cultures OR family* OR families OR familial OR kin OR kinship* OR parent* OR mother* OR father* OR grandparent* OR grandmother* OR grandfather* OR sibling* OR brother* OR sister* OR cousin* OR daughter* OR son OR sons OR foster* OR stepparent* OR filial* OR relationship* OR relational* OR relatives OR interpersonal* OR "inter-personal*" OR peer* OR mentor* OR others OR group* OR interdepend* OR network* OR belonging OR belong OR bond OR bonding OR bonds OR ties OR attachment* OR affiliat* OR (social* NEAR/1 (capital OR interact* OR support* OR integrat* OR involve* OR mobil* OR accept* OR attach* OR behav* OR identif* OR identit* OR participat* OR membership* OR influen*)) OR community* OR communities OR neighbour* OR gang OR gangs OR peer* OR bakarda OR "supportive adult*" OR teacher* OR leader* OR facilitator* OR surrogate* OR "social worker*" OR "case worker*" OR caseworker* OR "house parent*" OR Christian* OR religion* OR religious OR spiritual* OR God OR faith)) OR ab((protect* OR prevent* OR safety OR environment* OR ecolog* OR sociocultural* OR sociolog* OR cultural* OR culture OR cultures OR family* OR families OR familial OR kin OR kinship* OR parent* OR mother* OR father* OR grandparent* OR grandmother* OR grandfather* OR sibling* OR brother* OR sister* OR cousin* OR daughter* OR son OR sons OR foster* OR stepparent* OR filial* OR relationship* OR relational* OR relatives OR interpersonal* OR "inter-personal*" OR peer* OR mentor* OR others OR group* OR interdepend* OR network* OR belonging OR belong OR bond OR bonding OR bonds OR ties OR attachment* OR affiliat* OR (social* NEAR/1 (capital OR interact* OR support* OR integrat* OR involve* OR mobil* OR accept* OR attach* OR behav* OR identif* OR identit* OR participat* OR membership* OR influen*))

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ProQuest Psychology Database

N=42

(ti((Resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR (self NEAR/1 (preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*)) OR (develop* NEAR/1 (psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*)) OR ((social* OR economic*) NEAR/1 (actor OR acting)))) OR ab((Resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR (self NEAR/1 (preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*)) OR (develop* NEAR/1 (psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*)) OR ((social* OR economic*) NEAR/1 (actor OR acting)))) OR su((Resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR

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OR brother* OR sister* OR cousin* OR daughter* OR son OR sons OR foster* OR stepparent* OR filial* OR relationship* OR relational* OR relatives OR interpersonal* OR "inter-personal*" OR peer* OR mentor* OR others OR group* OR interdepend* OR network* OR belonging OR belong OR bond OR bonding OR bonds OR ties OR attachment* OR affiliat* OR (social* NEAR/1 (capital OR interact* OR support* OR integrat* OR involve* OR mobil* OR accept* OR attach* OR behav* OR identif* OR identit* OR participat* OR membership* OR influen*)) OR community* OR communities OR neighbour* OR gang OR gangs OR peer* OR bakarda OR "supportive adult*" OR teacher* OR leader* OR facilitator* OR surrogate* OR "social worker*" OR "case worker*" OR caseworker* OR "house parent*" OR Christian* OR religion* OR religious OR spiritual* OR God OR faith))) AND (ti(("mga anak ng kalye" OR "batang kalye" OR Binata OR (child* NEAR/3 ("difficult circumstance*" OR "special protection" OR protection)) OR ((street* OR homeless* OR "at risk" OR abandon* OR neglect* OR exploit* OR community OR beggar* OR begging OR working OR scaveng* OR runaway*) NEAR/3 (child* OR urchin* OR youth OR minor OR minors OR adolescen* OR teen* OR girl* OR boy* OR gang* OR family* OR families)))) OR ab(("mga anak ng kalye" OR "batang kalye" OR Binata OR (child* NEAR/3 ("difficult circumstance*" OR "special protection" OR protection)) OR ((street* OR homeless* OR "at risk" OR abandon* OR neglect* OR exploit* OR community OR beggar* OR begging OR working OR scaveng* OR runaway*) NEAR/3 (child* OR urchin* OR youth OR minor OR minors OR adolescen* OR teen* OR girl* OR boy* OR gang* OR family* OR families)))) OR su(("mga anak ng kalye" OR "batang kalye" OR Binata OR (child* NEAR/3 ("difficult circumstance*" OR "special protection" OR protection)) OR ((street* OR homeless* OR "at risk" OR abandon* OR neglect* OR exploit* OR community OR beggar* OR begging OR working OR scaveng* OR runaway*) NEAR/3 (child* OR urchin* OR youth OR minor OR minors OR adolescen* OR teen* OR girl* OR boy* OR gang* OR family* OR families))))) AND (ti((Philippine* OR Filipino* OR Pilipinas OR Pinio* OR Manila* OR Quezon* OR Malate* OR Cebu* OR Mindanao* OR Caloocan* OR Pasay* OR Luzon* OR Visayas* OR collectivis*)) OR ab((Philippine* OR Filipino* OR Pilipinas OR Pinio* OR Manila* OR Quezon* OR Malate* OR Cebu* OR Mindanao* OR Caloocan* OR Pasay* OR Luzon* OR Visayas* OR collectivis*)) OR su((Philippine* OR Filipino* OR Pilipinas OR Pinio* OR Manila* OR Quezon* OR Malate* OR Cebu* OR Mindanao* OR Caloocan* OR Pasay* OR Luzon* OR Visayas* OR collectivis*)))

Scopus

N=303

TITLE-ABS-KEY (("mga anak ng kalye" OR "batang kalye" OR binata OR (child* W/3 ("difficult circumstance*" OR "special protection" OR protection)) OR ((street* OR homeless* OR "at risk" OR abandon* OR neglect* OR exploit* OR community OR beggar* OR begging OR working OR scaveng* OR runaway*) W/3 (child* OR urchin* OR youth OR minor OR minors OR adolescen* OR teen* OR girl* OR boy* OR gang* OR family* OR families))) AND (resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity OR (self W/1 (preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*)) OR (develop* W/1 (psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*)) OR ((social* OR economic*) W/1 (actor OR acting))) AND (protect* OR prevent* OR safety OR environment* OR ecolog* OR sociocultural* OR sociolog* OR cultural* OR culture OR cultures OR family* OR families OR familial OR kin OR kinship* OR parent* OR mother* OR father* OR grandparent* OR grandmother* OR grandfather* OR sibling* OR brother* OR sister* OR cousin* OR daughter* OR son OR sons OR foster* OR stepparent* OR filial* OR relationship* OR relational* OR relatives OR interpersonal* OR "inter-personal*" OR peer* OR mentor* OR others OR group* OR interdepend* OR network* OR belonging OR belong OR bond OR bonding OR bonds OR ties OR attachment* OR affiliat* OR (social* W/1 (capital OR interact* OR support* OR integrat* OR involve* OR mobil* OR accept* OR attach* OR behav* OR identif* OR identit* OR participat* OR membership* OR influen*)) OR community* OR communities OR neighbour* OR gang OR gangs OR peer* OR bakarda OR "supportive adult*" OR teacher* OR leader* OR facilitator* OR surrogate* OR "social worker*" OR "case worker*" OR caseworker* OR "house parent*" OR christian* OR religion* OR religious OR spiritual* OR god OR faith) AND (philippine* OR filipino* OR pilipinas OR pinio* OR manila* OR quezon* OR malate* OR cebu* OR mindanao* OR caloocan* OR pasay* OR luzon* OR visayas* OR collectivis*)) AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English"))

Informit Databases

N=10

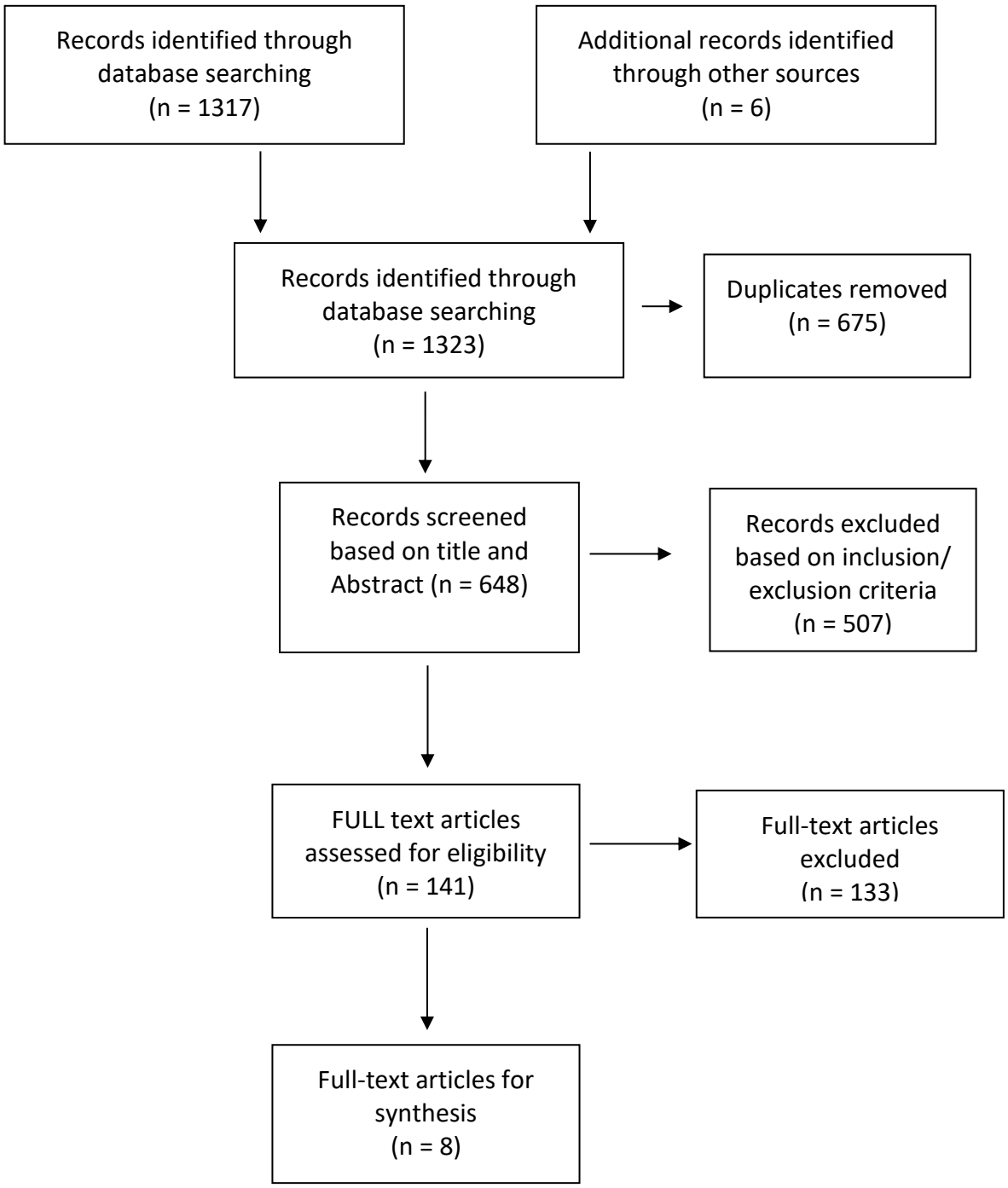
((resilien* OR adapt* OR adjust* OR coping OR emotion* OR growth OR endurance OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR "mental health" OR instinct* OR "sense of coherence" OR agency OR "goal orient*" OR control OR volition OR autonom* OR choice* OR freedom OR independence OR empower* OR social* OR competen* OR abilit* OR achieve* OR "positive psycholog*" OR optimis* OR positivism OR readjust* OR persist* OR recover* OR surviv* OR thriv* OR identity) AND ((((preserv* OR defen* OR determin* OR regulat* OR efficac* OR confiden* OR esteem OR concept*) %1 self) OR ((psycho* OR social* OR emotional* OR cognitive* OR moral* OR adolescen* OR childhood OR advers* OR normative OR threat*) %1 development*) OR social* %1 act* OR economic* %1 act*))) AND (((((street* OR homeless* OR "at risk" OR abandon* OR neglect* OR exploit* OR community OR beggar* OR begging OR working OR scaveng* OR runaway*) AND (child* OR urchin* OR youth OR minor OR minors OR adolescen* OR teen* OR girl* OR boy* OR gang* OR family* OR families))) OR ((("difficult circumstance*" OR "special protection" OR protection) %3 child*))) AND (philippine* OR filipino* OR pilipinas OR pinio* OR manila* OR quezon* OR malate* OR cebu* OR mindanao* OR caloocan* OR pasay* OR luzon* OR visayas* OR collectivis*))

Appendix 9: Filipino Universities Contacted for Hard Copy, Unpublished Studies

University	Department/ School + location
Ateneo de University	School of Social Science Department of Psychology Manila
Brokenshire College	School of Psychology and Behavioral Science Davao
De La Salle University	Collage of Liberal Arts Psychology Department Multiple Campuses
Mindanao State University	School of Psychology and Behavioral Science Davao
Notre Dame of Dadiangas University	School of Psychology and Behavioral Science General Santos City South Caotabato
Philippines Women's University	School of Social Work Manila
San Pedro College	School of Psychology Davao
Siliman University	School of Psychology and Behavioral Science Manila
University of San Carlos	School of Psychology and Behavioral Science Cebu
University of Santo Thomas	Department of Psychology Manila
University of the Philippines	Department of Psychology Department of Social Work Manila

Appendix 10: PRISMA Flow Chart

PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram Results for: "Resilience and Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines"



Appendix 11: Memo 1 to Ethics Committee

Memorandum to the Human Research Ethics Committee

For projects previously approved by the SBREC

1.	Project Information

Project No.	**7765**	Ethics Approval **Expiry Date**	30/6/2018
Project Title	Facilitating Resilience in the Lives of Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines		
Principal Researcher	Alisa Willis	Email address:	alisaewillis@gmail.com
Annual Reports up to date?		Next annual report due?	

2.	Details

The researcher would like to advise the committee that during the course of data collections there have been instances in which the researcher has been required to break the confidentiality of a child participant. Breaking the child's confidentiality has been deemed necessary in accordance with the research protocol documented in the Memorandum of Understanding between the researcher and Bahay Tuluyan.

The situations are summarized below:

Incident 1: During an interview conducted on the 1st of October, a 17-year-old child participant revealed that they had previously sold drugs as a means of generating income. As part of their strategies to avoid detection by police, the child advised that he had recruited very young children to act as couriers to transport drugs around the region. The researcher advised the child that this information revealed would need to be passed onto Bahay

Tuluyan. The child indicated that his social worker was already aware of this situation and that he no longer undertook the activities he described. The researcher suggested that the child speak with their social worker and seek emotional support and together assess any ongoing risks to his safety.

The researcher discussed the concern with the Bahay Tuluyan Deputy Director one day after the interview. The Deputy Director advised that the allocated social worker was aware that this child participant had previously supplemented his income with selling drugs, and that the dangers associated with this activity were addressed in his assessment and case plan. It was her understanding that this activity was historical, but she advised that she would alert the child's social worker with the intention of reviewing the risk assessment. She advised that this included assessing the reported practice of recruiting young children to courier drugs with the intention of insuring that this activity did not present risk to other children.

She further advised that it is common practice to use young children as drug couriers to avoid detection by police. She determined the best course of action that in order to manage this risk to the other young children, who may be recruited to this activity, was to alert all social workers that recruitment might be taking place currently within the client group. She advised that all social workers would be vigilant in counseling children regarding the risks associated with drug-related activities. She advised that this would be discussed at the next team meeting. In order to protect the privacy of the child the identification the child who made the disclosure would be withheld.

Incident 2: At an interview on the 7th of October, a 12-year-old child disclosed that they had witnessed an extra-judicial killing by police of a young man in the community for dealing drugs. He revealed that this event had taken place prior to his admission to Bahay Tuluyan. During the interview the child expressed fear and revealed that witnessing the event had caused emotional distress. After the disclosure the researcher asked the child whom he had asked to help him after this experience and the child advised that he had advised the social workers at Bahay Tuluyan.

As per the Memorandum of Understanding, the researcher assessed that this incident could cause emotional harm to the child and passed this information onto the Deputy Director of Bahay Tuluyan. The Deputy Director advised that they were aware of this incident and that the child had shared this information with their social worker and that appropriate measures were in place to protect and support him. The Deputy Director advised that the social worker met with the child post interview and assessed his emotional wellbeing and safety as part of the case management process.

Appendix 12: Memo 2 to Ethics Committee

MODIFICATION REQUEST

For projects previously approved by the SBREC

A Modification Request should be submitted for all items listed below:	IMPORTANT
1. proposed changes to the research protocol; 2. proposed changes to participant recruitment methods; 3. amendments to participant documentation and/or research tools' 4. change of project title; 5. extension of the ethics approval expiry date / extension of time; and 6. personnel changes (e.g., additions, removals, supervisor changes) Submit modification requests to human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au Typically, the Committee's response will be emailed to you in 1-2 weeks.	a) Proposed modifications should *not* proceed until formal notification of modification approval has been received. b) Annual reports - annual progress reports should be up to date *before* a modification request is submitted. c) Indigenous peoples – modifications that involve or impact on Indigenous peoples in Australia will also be reviewed by the Flinders University Office of Indigenous Strategy and Engagement (OISE), which will impact Committee response time. d) Contact Details – email SBREC if details change as Ethics *is not* linked to Student Two or Human Resources.

1. Project Information

Project No.	**7765**	Ethics Approval **Expiry Date**	30/6/2018

Project Title	Facilitating Resilience in the Lives of Street-Involved Children in Manila, Philippines

Principal Researcher	Alisa Willis	Email address:	alisaewillis@gmail.com

Annual Reports up to date?		Next annual report due?	

2. Extension of time

2A Extension of Time Requested (if applicable)

Current Ethics Approval Expiry Date		New Expiry Date requested	

2B Justification

3. Change of Project Title

3A Change of Project Title (if applicable)

Old project title:	
New project title:	

3B Participant Document Revisions

Please note: if the project title is changed, copies of all documents to be distributed to potential participants will need to be revised to include the new title (e.g., email text, Letter of introduction, Information Sheet, Consent Form). Please submit copies of the revised documents for review.

Revised Participant Documents Attached?	

4. Change of Personnel

4A Change of Personnel Summary (if applicable)

Add/ remove	Full name & title	Postal address	Email address

4B Conflicts of Interest

Comment on whether a conflict of interest may exist for any new personnel (e.g., role / relation to participant source). If yes, explain how this will be managed.

4C Participant Document Revisions

Please note that if personnel are added and/or removed from a project that documents to be distributed to potential participants will need to be revised to ensure that a current list of researchers is included (e.g., email text, Letter of Introduction, Information Sheet, Consent Form).

Revised Participant Documents Attached?	

5. Modified Research Protocol

5A Revision of Research Protocol Table

Please indicate in table below what type of changes are proposed.

Select Options that Apply	
Research Objectives Revision, or addition to, research objectives (item D1c)	
Research Method – Revision of approved research method – Addition to approved research method	
Research Participants – Addition of new participant group – Exclusion of participant group already approved by Committee	
Consent	

– Revised method for seeking informed consent from participants – New method for seeking consent	
Recruitment Process Change to approved process for participant recruitment	
Research Tools For example, survey, interview questions, focus group discussion topics. – Revision of approved research tools – New research tools	**Yes**
Documents / Information For example, verbal script, email text, Letter of Introduction, Information Sheet, Consent Form – Revision of existing documents / information – New documents / information	
Other (if yes, please specify)	

5B Outline of Research Protocol Changes

Provide a clear outline of changes and/or additions to the research protocol are being requested and explain why it is necessary to address the research objectives (e.g, change to research objectives; changes to recruitment process; change to research tools; addition of research tools etc).

The researcher has undertaken two child-led tours as per the original research proposal. The original research method provided a useful amount of data regarding personal, relational and community resources. However, the researcher found it difficult for children to understand and respond to questions regarding cultural resources that may facilitate resilience.

As a result, the researcher requests that the Ethics Committee provide approval for a small amendment in the research method. The researcher has worked with the interpreter to develop 6 “flash cards” with a Tagalog word on each card that denotes a Filipino value. The child will be shown the card and then asked the following question:

“Can you explain what this Tagalog word means to you?”

“Can you tell me of a time in your life when you have used this Filipino value to help you survive despite difficulties?”

The Tagalog words used on the cards are as follows:

- Pagtitiis – translated as “seeing things in perspective”
- Utang na Loob – debt of gratitude owed by children to their parents
- Pakikiramdam – being sensitive to others needs
- Pakikisama – patience and fortitude
- Bahala na – come what may, life will go on
- Amor Propio – self-esteem in relation to others

5C Participant Document Revisions

To ensure that informed consent can be obtained changes to the research protocol may need to be reflected in the

documents to be distributed to potential participants.(e.g., email text, Letter of Introduction, Information Sheet, Consent Form). Revised documents and/or new participant documents may need to be provided for review.

Revised Participant Documents Attached?	

6. Permissions / Other Ethics Committee Approvals

Please indicate whether any other ethics committee approvals and/or permissions need to be sought that are related to the requested modification. If yes, please either (a) provide a copy of approvals and/or permissions **OR** (b) confirm that copies will be submitted to the committee on receipt.

NA

7. Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples

7A Impact and/or involvement of Indigenous peoples

Please indicate whether the *proposed modification* will involve or impact on Australian Indigenous peoples.

YES	
NO	**X**

7B Explanation

IF the proposed modification involves or impacts on Australian Indigenous peoples, please explain how.

8. Burdens and/or Risks

Could there be any potential inconveniences or risks to participants as a consequence of the modifications requested? If **YES,** outline what they are and specify whether there will be any changes to anonymity and confidentiality assurances given to participants, time commitments and research location. Please explain how you will reduce inconveniences and/or risks to participants.

None

9. Document amendments and/or additions

New or amended?	Document	Brief outline of changes made	Attached yes/no
	Data Collection Protocol	Addition of flash cards and questions as per above	Yes

Note: All new and modified participant documents must be submitted for review and approval