Appropriation, Translation and Transformation of Institutionalised Development Discourses: The Case of Faith-based Organisations Doing Development Work in the Philippines

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ABSTRACT

This study looks into the experiences of five Evangelical faith-based organisations which are doing development work in Metro Manila, Philippines. Using an analytical framework informed by discourse theory and institutionalism, this study provides a description on each of four dimensions of the development work of FBOs: the first dimension is practices/actions, which relates to the program activities of FBOs; the second is community/actor, which refers to the actor's network and his or her role in translating or transforming institutionalised discourses (e.g. models) that are put into practice/action; the third is discourse, which identifies teachings or ideas that may frame the understanding of actors; and the fourth is institutions, which identifies models and innovations adopted by actors. This study also explains how and why actors appropriate or contest, and translate or transform development models or innovations that they encounter through their interactions with other actors.

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Middlesex University

By

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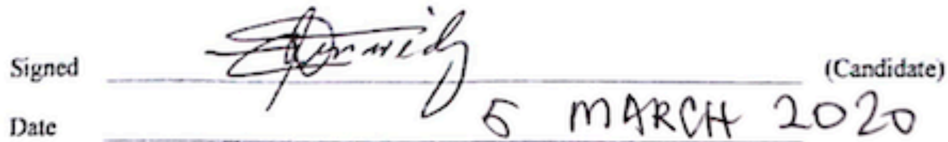
Oxford Centre for Mission Studies

DECLARATION

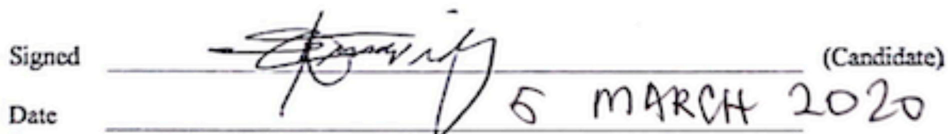
This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.



STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.



STATEMENT 2

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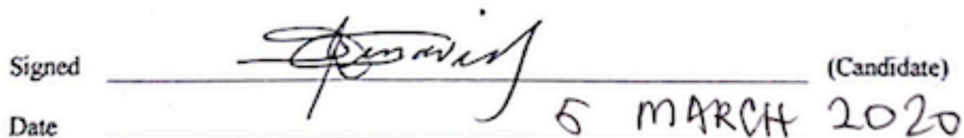

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late dad, 2Lt Eduardo C. Benavidez, who loved me, believed in me, and encouraged me until the time that he died.

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I would like to thank my family, my loving wife Doreen, my daughter Abigail, my son Nathan, Mommy Nelia, Mama Wilma, Ned, AJ and Jaco, Kalai and Love. I would also like to thank all who supported me and prayed for me. Thank you also to my PCCC and OCMS family.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Religion, Development and Post-Development

The influence of modernism and secularism stirs uneasiness in linking religion and development. How can religion, which is traditional, be related to development that is typically associated with industrialisation, economic growth, and modernisation? The basic themes of modernisation and secularisation theories are rooted in the writings of Durkheim and Weber, specifically their view of the contrast between the traditional (in which they include religion) and the modern.[1] Modernisation theory classifies what is considered to be traditional and modern in terms of people's values, norms, and beliefs, and holds that changes in these values, norms, and beliefs are key towards a transition from traditional to modern.[2] Change, it is asserted, happens as traditional values, norms, and beliefs yield to the pressures of modernisation. In particular, it is assumed that when societies become modern, the 'sacred' loses its prominence, giving way to the 'secular', meaning that religion will cease to exist (or at least will no longer have a public role) when societies become modern or developed.[3] In this view, religion is understood as 'the opium of society' by Marx[4], as 'sacred', that is separated from the 'profane', by Durkheim,[5] and as traditional and irrational by Weber,[6] pointing to the supposedly negative effect of religion in society and setting it in opposition to the goals of 'development', such as rationality and the achievement of material or worldly aims. Religion, from the perspective of modernism and secularism, was deemed likely to become irrelevant and was excluded from mainstream discussions on development to the extent that it became "a development taboo".[7,8] On the occasions when religion and development are both discussed, "religion is generally couched in limited stereotypes

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1 Andrew Webster, "Modernisation Theory" in *Development Studies: An Introduction through Selected Readings*, Greenwich Readers: 3, Ayres, Ron, ed. (Dartford, Kent, UK: Greenwich University Press, 1995); Séverine Deneulin and Masooda. Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script* (London: Zed Books, 2009)

2 Webster, "Modernisation theory"

3 Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*

4 Emma Tomalin, International Development Dept., University of Birmingham, *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*, Religions and Development Research Programme (Birmingham: International Development Department, University of Birmingham, 2007)

5 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Great Britain: Biddles Ltd., 1976)

6 Bryan S. Turner, "The Sociology of Religion," in *The SAGE Handbook of Sociology*, Calhoun, Craig J.; Rojek, Chris; Turner, Bryan S. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2005)

7 Matthew Clarke, *Development and Religion: Theology and Practice* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011)

8 Kurt Alan ver Beek, "Spirituality: A Development Taboo," *Development in Practice*, 10, 1, :2000

9 Clarke, 10

10 Kurt Alan ver Beek, "Spirituality: A Development Taboo," *Development in Practice*, 10, 1, :2000

11 Severine Deneulin and Carole Rakodi, "Revisiting Religion: Development Studies Thirty Years On", *World Development* 39, no. 1 (2011): 45–54, doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2010.05.007.

12 Carole Rakodi, "Understanding the Role of Religions in Development: The Approach of the RaD Programme", in *Working Paper 9* (Birmingham: UK: Religion and Development Research Programme

that presume a minimal role that sits outside the driving process".[9] These stereotypes view religion as:

> an instrumental tool that can be used to further the aims of development interventions; or 2) part of a society's culture that is often considered an impediment to development; or 3) a private pursuit that can assist in furthering development – but only in certain forms (those linked to Protestantism); or finally 4) a factor that is included in vague non-economic considerations of 'culture'.[10]

From the early 1950s to the late 1990s, religion was neglected in both the academic field of development studies and mainstream development policy.[11] The special issue of the *World Development* journal published in 1980 that was devoted entirely to the role of religion in development did not give rise to sustained interest in the issues it raised.[12] It was Ver Beek, observing that between 1982 and 1998, spirituality and religion were rarely mentioned in three of the most prominent development studies journals – *Journal of Development Studies, World Development* and the *Journal of Developing Areas* -¯ who referred to 'spirituality' as a "development taboo"[13]. He identified possible reasons for this avoidance of discussing religion in development, including the lack of models for relating religion to development; the apprehension that discussing religion in development might incite conflict; the fear, as an outsider, of imposing or appearing to impose one's own biases; and lastly, the disengagement of the social sciences from religion, influenced by the Northern/Western view that dichotomizes the sacred and the secular.[14]

This neglect resulted in limited knowledge within development agencies of religion and religious institutions and the lack of a suitable analytical framework to understand the link between religion and development.[15] Ver Beek explains that because of this neglect, "little is known about the role of spirituality in the development process, and little or no guidance is given to development practitioners as to how to

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[9] Matthew Clarke, *Development and Religion*., 9-10
[10] Clarke, 10
[11] Severine Deneulin and Carole Rakodi, "Revisiting Religion: Development Studies Thirty Years On", *World Development* 39, no. 1 (2011): 45–54, doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2010.05.007.
[12] Carole Rakodi, "Understanding the Role of Religions in Development: The Approach of the RaD Programme", in *Working Paper 9* (Birmingham: UK: Religion and Development Research Programme, University of Birmingham, 2007).
[13] Ver Beek, "Spirituality: A Development Taboo".
[14] Ibid.; Katherine Marshall, "Development and Religion: A Different Lens on Development Debates", *Peabody Journal of Education* 76, no. 3&4 (2001): 339–375; Deneulin and Rakodi, "Revisiting Religion".
[15] Carole Rakodi, "Religion and Development: Subjecting Religious Perceptions and Organisations to Scrutiny", *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5–6 (2012): 621–633, doi:10.1080/09614524.2012.686602.

address spiritual issues, resulting in less effective and even damaging development efforts".[16] Rakodi also observes that,

> Not only were many of those concerned unfamiliar with the beliefs, histories, organisational structures, and variations within the array of faith traditions, they were also ill-informed about the long history of interactions between religious bodies and states, which have left legacies as commonly characterised by resentment and suspicion as by collaboration.[17]

However, this observed neglect of religion in mainstream development studies and policy is not to say that the significance of religion was not recognized. Deneulin and Rakodi comment that "[n]o-one observing the tensions that led to partition in South Asia or the role of the Christian churches and missions in Latin America, Africa, and Asia could fail to acknowledge the political salience of religion".[18] It has also been acknowledged that religion remained significant in most countries in the South (and East), where it continued to shape people's values, worldviews and social institutions.[19]

Change in this scenario occurred in the late 1990s, when development agencies started to initiate efforts to better understand their relationships with religious organisations and several dialogues occurred between international development agencies and religious groups; and when publications on religion in development began to emerge in the mainstream development studies literature.[20] A decade after ver Beek's declaration, Jones and Petersen, asserted that the 'development taboo' had been broken and the previous neglect of religion in development studies is said to be no longer the case.[21] Various factors led to this willingness to pay some more attention to religion, such as increasing recognition of the continuing importance of religion in most of the world, which challenged the dominant "narratives of modernisation and secularisation",[22] the growing number of faith-based organisations (FBOs) engaged in development work,[23] and a "fragmentation of development studies that has allowed space for religion".[24]

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[16] Ver Beek, "Spirituality: A Development Taboo": 38

[17] Rakodi, "Religion and Development": 623

[18] Deneulin and Rakodi, "Revisiting Religion": 45

[19] Séverine Deneulin and Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script* (Zed Books, 2009); Rakodi, "Religion and Development"; Emma Tomalin, *Religions and Development* (Routledge, 2013).

[20] Rakodi, "Understanding the Role of Religions in Development".

[21] Ben Jones and Marie Juul Petersen, "Instrumental, Narrow, Normative? Reviewing Recent Work on Religion and Development", *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 7 (2011): 1291–1306, doi:10.1080/01436597.2011.596747; Rakodi, 'Religion and Development'.

[22] Jones and Petersen.

[23] Robert Wuthnow, *Saving America?: Faith-Based Services and the Future of Civil Society* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

[24] Jones and Juul Petersen, 'Instrumental, Narrow, Normative?'.

In the Philippines, however, academic interest in the links between faith, spirituality or religion and development goals and activities has not increased as much as in other parts of the world and there is a continued dearth of research on religion and development, in spite of the strong influence of religion in Philippine politics and the lives of most Filipinos. This scarcity of research is also in spite of the long-standing work of the Catholic Church in development and social services. Being associated with the Spanish colonisation of the Philippines, studies on the involvement of the Catholic Church on societal issues focus on their influence in the Philippine politics or lack of it, and whether it is helpful or not.[25] However, in the early 1990s, Dizon and Ticao observed increased participation by Evangelical non-government organisations (NGOs) in development work and did an exploratory study mapping the development initiatives in which Metro Manila-based Evangelical NGOs were involved. They pointed out that Evangelical NGOs were working with local/community churches (Evangelical churches) in the implementation of their programs and that evangelism "appear[ed] to be closely interwoven with their development activities".[26] For Dizon and Ticao, the initiatives of Evangelical NGOs "were relatively successful in responding to the moral and spiritual needs" of the people through their evangelistic efforts, but experienced difficulty in implementing projects that met their material needs.[27]

In the same period, Tagaro researched the role of spirituality in the lives of members of a community which had experienced being evicted and relocated and examined how spirituality had contributed to the subsequent community development process.[28] She concluded that spirituality has a vital role in community development, observing that it affects multiple units in society, from the individual, to the family, neighbourhood, and organizations to which people belong, because it forms and reforms values, attitudes and aspirations.[29]

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[25] see Aloysius Cartagenas, 'Religion and Politics in the Philippines: The Public Role of the Roman Catholic Church in the Democratization of the Filipino Polity', *Political Theology* 11, no. 6 (15 December 2010): 846–72, https://doi.org/10.1558/poth.v11i6.846; Roberto E. N. Rivera, 'Philippine Catholicism as Disruptive Public Religion: A Sociological Analysis of Philippine Catholic Bishops, Statements, 1946 to 2000', *Philippine Sociological Review* 58 (2010): 75–96, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43486333.

[26] Jose Carlos A. Dizon and Rodolfo D. Ticao, "An Exploratory Study on the Involvement of the Metro Manila Based Evangelical NGOs in Community Development" (Masters, University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development, 1992): 180

[27] Dizon and Ticao, vi-vii

[28] Ruby A. Tagaro, 'Spirituality in Community Development : An Exploration of the Experience of the SAMAGKADAUP Spiritual Committee' (Masters, University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development, 1994).

[29] Ibid.

In the early 2000s, Suico did a study of the perspectives of Pentecostals in the Philippines that affect their involvement or non-involvement in social action. While the study shows evidence of the influence of religion on Pentecostal responses to social issues, this is not the only relevant factor. He found that Pentecostals' involvement or non-involvement in social action can also be attributed to their socio-economic attitudes and behaviours.[30]

Studies on faith-based development work that inquired into the role of faith, spirituality or religion did not appear again in the academe until the late 2000s. In 2006, Tendero, through a participatory research, identified the perspective of and development practices implemented by four faith-based organisations in Metro Manila. She described their their empowerment and development work as holistic, using education as their primary approach to help the children in the slum communities that they serve.[31] She observed that while there was a desire among the organisations include a focus on spiritual development, as stated in their program goals, they were still trying to navigate how to go about it in their practice.[32]

In 2007, Toquero investigated the involvement of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP) in Paete, Laguna, in advocacy for environmental protection against a proposed sanitary landfill in the area. He documented the involvement of the UCCP Paete in initiating and leading the campaign "No to Landfill – Kilos Paete" and identified the role of the church as key to the success of the campaign.[33] He stated that "the UCCP Paete was the catalyst to unify all the efforts against the landfill project"[34], observing that "for the campaign to prosper, the concern for heath was coupled with faith imperatives to compel the people to act".[35] For Toquero, this faith dimension of the campaign

> brought about not only a new consciousness among the people of Paete but a different kind of faith expression or faithing. This consciousness and faith expression for environmental protection broke the culture of silence of the town and replaced this with a culture of responsibility for the environment.[36]

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[30] Joseph L. Suico, 'Pentecostalism and Social Change', *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 8, no. 2 (2005): 195–213.

[31] Sierry Soriano Tendero, 'The Practice of Empowering the Urban Poor by Four Non-government Organizations in Metro Manila: Grounding for Emancipation Education,' (Dissertation, Asia Graduate School of Theology): 2006.

[32] Tendero.

[33] Mervin Sol H. Toquero, 'Faith in Action for Environmental Protection: The United Church of Christ in the Philippines-Paete, Laguna and the No to Landfill Campaign' (University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development, 2007): 85

[34] Toquero, 123

[35] Toquero, 132

[36] Toquero, 133

In 2012, Fankhauser did an ethnographic study on the role of spirituality and religion in the lives of two faith-based organisations (FBOs) which had responded differently to the issue of eviction and relocation in San Roque, Quezon City.[37] His findings demonstrated not only how religious beliefs and spirituality were lived out as people faced eviction and relocation, but also how these beliefs were reinterpreted or strengthened in the light of their experience.[38] Fankhauser observed how spirituality and religion helped "adherents to make sense [of] and find explanations for their everyday circumstances"[39], but also observed that particular elements of spirituality and religion can hinder a community in the context of a social action initiative.[40]

In 2013, Mangarin did a descriptive-exploratory study of the faith-based organising experience of the Daughters of Charity (DC – a Catholic congregation of sisters) in Barangay Pinaglapatan, Infanta, Quezon – a community struck by two typhoons in 2004. She described the processes by which the DC implemented faith-based community organising and identified the socio-cultural and religious values that helped the people survive and recover from the natural disaster. At the same time, as described by Mangarin, the faith-based community organising strategy helped the DC fulfill their ministry to help the survivors of the calamity to recover.[41]

Two concerns arise out of this earlier research that I aim to address in this study. First there is a need for studies on the development work of faith-based organisations to take a more critical and reflexive stance – being aware of and working through the complexities of particular cases, with less focus on linking the findings directly to the interests of donors and development agencies. There is a need for researchers and funding agencies to challenge their own assumptions about FBOs; in particular being aware of how their assumptions influence both the questions asked and their interpretations of the research findings.[42] Jones and Juul Petersen observe that, while there is an increasing body of literature focussed on understanding the relationships between religion and development, particularly the development work of faith-based organisations, studies published since 2000 are mostly "instrumental" – religion or faith

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[37] Simon P. Fankhauser, 'Weaving Spirituality, Social Action and Relocation : Voices of Two Urban Poor Faith-Based Organizations Faced with Eviction and Relocation' (Masters, University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development, 2012).
[38] Fankhauser.
[39] Fankhauser, xi
[40] Fankhauser.
[41] Fe Rosalie M. Mangarin, 'Faith-Based Organizing Processes and Strategies in Disaster Affected Community : The Case of Barangay Pinaglapatan, Infanta, Quezon' (Masters, University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development, 2013).
[42] Jones and Juul Petersen, 'Instrumental, Narrow, Normative?'; Rakodi, 'Religion and Development'.

is regarded as a helpful instrument for advancing the development agenda; "narrow" – focused on established religious traditions such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, etc., while paying less attention to traditional religion; and "normative" – emphasising religious aspects that are in agreement with mainstream development perspectives while seemingly avoiding issues that are in conflict with them.[43] Jones and Juul Petersen attribute these shortcomings to the influence of donors and development agencies in funding development projects and research.[44] Deneulin and Rakodi also critique current research in two respects. On the one hand, they suggest, the emphasis on a positivist approach (quantitative methods) to the study of religion does not capture the perspectives which religious actors have as they become involved in development work; and on the other hand, studies tend to be based on the assumptions that societies moving toward modernisation also undergo secularisation and that religion is a static rather than dynamic and complex phenomenon.[45] Thus studies need to consider not only the influence of religion on development but also how engagement in development activities and policy making may be reshaping religious discourse and practice.

My second concern is that there is an important body of literature in development studies – the literature grouped under the heading 'post-development' – which, despite its criticisms of the mainstream development literature and its attempts to address the latter's shortcomings, continues to neglect religion in the analysis and conceptualisation of development. According to Escobar, the approaches grouped as post-development arose directly from the post-structuralist critique of mainstream approaches to development in the 1980s. They ask the question "why, through what historical processes, and with what consequences did Asia, Africa, and Latin America come to be 'invented' as the 'Third World' through discourses and practices of development?".[46] Two other waves of authors writing on post-development, as represented in the volumes edited by Sachs, *The Development Dictionary*, and by Rahnema and Bawtree, *The Post-Development Reader,* shared a resistance not only to the means of development, but also to its goals and results. For example, for Pieterse, post-development perspectives accuse the state of "authoritarian engineering", reject economic growth as the goal of development, and view the results of development initiatives as "failure or disaster for

[43] Jones and Juul Petersen, 1296

[44] Jones and Juul Petersen

[45] Deneulin and Rakodi, 'Revisiting Religion'.

[46] Arturo Escobar, "'Post Development' as Concept and Social Practice," in *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, ed. Aram Ziai (USA: Routledge, 2007), 18–31: 19

the majority of the population".[47] Escobar explains that the idea of post-development refers to: one, the need to identify or create alternative discourses and representations that are not so influenced by the mainstream concepts of development; two, "the need to change the practices of knowing and doing and the 'political economy of truth' that defines the development regimen;" three, "the need to multiply the centres and agents of knowledge production" – to give prominence to the voices of the supposed objects of development; and four, can be accomplished "by focusing on the adaptations, subversions and resistance that local peoples effect in relation to development interventions . . . and by highlighting the alternative strategies produced by social movements as they encounter development projects".[48] Moreover, Ziai points out that, while there was widespread resistance to the post-development critique by many development theorists, a good number of authors have applied some of the ideas in their studies.[49] Post-development analysis therefore constitutes an important recent contribution to development theory and practice. However, and surprisingly, in spite of the efforts to hear the voices of the supposed objects of development projects, the voices of religious communities remain silent in the post-development literature.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

This study will contribute to the small body of existing research on the links between religion and development in the Philippines, by focusing on the development work of a selected group of religious organisations - Evangelical church organisations working in communities of the urban poor. To address the two concerns identified above, it seeks to adopt a critical and reflective approach that recognises not only that religion may influence understanding of development, potentially resulting in a diversification of the approaches adopted beyond the models promoted in the mainstream development literature, but also that the experience of being involved in development may shape religious thinking and organisation. To develop a deep understanding of these mutual influences, the analysis will focus on the discourses adopted by the analysts, organisations and actors involved. The aims of the study are presented below and will be justified and elaborated in the subsequent sections.

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[47] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*, Second Edition (London: SAGE, 2010).
[48] Escobar, '"Post Development" as Concept and Social Practice'.: 21
[49] Aram Ziai, 'Development Discourse and Its Critics: An Introduction to Post-Development', in *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, ed. Aram Ziai (USA: Routledge, 2007), 3–17.

The overarching research question that will be addressed in this study is therefore: how and why do faith-based organisations (FBOs) appropriate, translate, or transform development discourses and practices, with what implications for their own religious identity, discourses and practices?

To answer the research question, this study has two main objectives:

First, to identify and explain how religious discourses are reflected in the development discourses and practices of FBOs, by examining how social and historical processes have led to those discourses and practices.

Second, to examine whether and how the religious organisations have redefined their religious identity, discourse and practice, in the light of their encounter with development discourses and practices.

1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

I have presented briefly above concerns about the study of religion in development internationally, namely the limited knowledge of and lack of a suitable analytical framework for understanding the interplay between religion and development, which is also observed in the Philippine context, where relevant research is scarce; the need for a critical and reflexive stance in doing research on religion and development; the inability, for the most part, of positivist (quantitative) approaches to the study of religion to capture the perspectives which religious actors have as they become involved in development work; the assumptions that societies moving toward modernisation also undergo secularisation, and that religion is a static rather than a dynamic and complex phenomenon; and the failure to consider religion in post-development discussions.

The hope of this study is to contribute to understanding of the development work of FBOs in urban poor communities in the Philippines from a more critical and reflective standpoint than much contemporary advocacy, by limiting the influence of donors with regard to the research questions and analytical framework, acknowledging the intertwining and complexity of both religion and development, analysing not only the effects of religion in development but also the influences of development on religion, and capturing the perspectives of religious actors involved in development work. This study will also use and contribute to post-development discussion, by assessing whether FBOs may be considered to be part of a wider social movement in which, it is claimed, organisations are appropriating, contesting, translating and transforming development discourses and practices.

Influenced by the theoretical assumptions and methodological approach of post-development analysis, this study focuses on different dimensions of religion and

development, adopting discursive institutionalism as the basis for a theoretical and analytical framework and to provide a methodological approach for studying the development work of FBOs. Here, religion and development are viewed as 'tradition' having dimensions of discourse, practice, community, and institutions; and that these two traditions are intertwined with one another and with other domains or dimensions of society. The influence of discourse theories and perspectives in the study of religion can be observed in the works of Asad and Lincoln.[50] Also, the discursive study of religion has been advocated in recent works, such as those by von Stuckrad, Taira, and Hjelm.[51]

In addition, this study addresses certain claims made in the post-development literature, in particular that social movements appropriate, contest and re-embed development discourses, and also its emphasis on the importance of recognising and providing for the creation of culturally and locally informed alternatives to development.

The main contribution of this study is an improved understanding of the development work of FBOs in urban poor communities in the Philippines using a discourse theory and discourse analysis approach.

1.4. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study will be working within the discipline of social science, particularly those elements relevant to the study of religion and development. While theology may inform the study, for example, with respect to understanding the theological beliefs of the FBOs under study, analysis will remain grounded in the social sciences. Being part of an Evangelical Christian congregation and having used to work as a staff member of an Evangelical FBO, this research will look into the development work of a particular subset of Evangelical Christian FBOs. Christian FBOs comprise the majority of FBOs in the Philippines and have long history of development work. All the cases selected are Christian FBOs that have worked in the National Capital Region, also called Metro Manila. While some generalisations may emerge, care must be taken in applying these to all Christian FBOs, let alone those associated with other religious traditions and operating in other regions within the Philippines and other countries.

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[50] Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, 1st edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition: Thinking About Religion After September 11* (University of Chicago Press, 2010).

[51] Kocku von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion: Approaches, Definitions, Implications', *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 25, no. 1 (January 2013): 5–25, https://doi.org/10.U63/15700682-L2341253; Teemu Taira, 'Making Space for Discursive Study in Religious Studies', *Religion* 43, no. 1 (January 2013): 26–45, https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2013.742744; Titus Hjelm, 'Religion, Discourse and Power: A Contribution towards a Critical Sociology of Religion', *Critical Sociology* 40, no. 6 (1 November 2014): 855–72, https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920513477664.

1.5. Outline of the Study

Chapter two is a literature review on the concepts relevant to the study. Chapter three draws from the literature review and comes up with a theoretical and analytical framework. Chapter four plots the methodological underpinnings of this study. Chapter five provides an overview of the context of the study. Chapter six, seven, and eight present the cases in the study and its analysis, Chapter nine provides a summary and conclusion of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The aim of this chapter is threefold. First, it will identify the area of literature to which this study contributes and provide a rationale for the study; second it will identify what has been written already and critically analyse this literature to identify its shortcomings or gaps and its strengths and weaknesses; and third it will identify and define the concepts that are relevant in this study.

2.1. RELIGION

The interest on religion in development studies has re-emerged in recent years. As mentioned in Chapter 1, religion was neglected in the past, partly because of a limited understanding of the concept of religion. This section aims to elaborate the conceptions of religion that led to this neglect and to identify a conceptualisation of religion that allows for its interactions with concepts of development to be acknowledged and analysed.

2.1.1. Religion from the Perspective of the Founding Fathers of Sociology

Marx, linking together the stages of the mode of production into an evolutionary process - from primitive communism, then to feudalism, then to capitalism, and finally socialism, viewed religion as reflecting the specific economic status of particular modes of production.[1] His evolutionary perspective on religion assumed that religion will cease to exist once confronted with "'critical criticism' and scientific socialism".[2] He therefore acknowledged the crucial role played by religion in society, but in a negative sense.[3] In particular, he did not believe that social change is a product of extra-human agency but of material forces.[4] For Marx, religion is a "human invention, blinding people to the real source of their oppression and serving the interest of the ruling class through enabling them to retain their power and status".[5] He famously depicted religion as the 'opium of the people'.[6] In the current capitalist era, during which the working class was being exploited by the upper class to gain more profit, Marx believed that,

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[1] Bryan S. Turner, 'The Sociology of Religion', in *The SAGE Handbook of Sociology*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Chris Rojek, and Bryan S. Turner (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2005), 284–301.
[2] Turner, 285.
[3] Emma Tomalin, *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*, Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper 4 (Birmingham: UK: International Development Department, University of Birmingham, 2007), http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/research/rad/working-papers/wp-04.pdf.
[4] Tomalin.
[5] Tomalin, 2.
[6] Tomalin

"when people seek solace in religion they are compensating for their sense of alienation and suffering: it masks and mitigates the true nature of the exploitative structures of capitalism that oppresses the lower classes".[7] For Marx, religion acts as an 'opiate' by providing an explanation for the causes of human suffering, but not the right one, "creating illusions about the human condition".[8]

Durkheim defined religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them".[9] For Durkheim, society has a *sui generis* characteristic: "it exists apart from and is greater than the sum of its parts (i.e. individuals). People are born into a social reality that transcends their individual existence, yet that shapes and limits their beliefs and actions through the action of the 'collective consciousness'".[10] In Durkheim's sociology, one "cannot understand forms of consciousness by a study of the consciousness of separate individuals".[11] The social exists prior to the individual, therefore "to understand consciousness (or classification) we need to study its social forms".[12]

According to Durkheim and Mauss, the influence of a classification system is drawn from "classificatory systems that are collective, and which are sustained by a shared emotional life."[13] Durkheim and Mauss explained:

> for those who are called primitives, a species of things is not a simple object of knowledge, but corresponds above all to a certain sentimental attitude. All kinds of affective elements combine in the representation . . . it is this emotional value of notions which plays the preponderant part in the manner in which ideas are connected or separated. It is the dominant characteristic in classification.[14]

Drawing from his sociology of classification, Durkheim's sociology of religion explains that "religion is a method of apprehending reality in terms of the force of the classificatory principle: sacred/profane."[15] Durkheim started with the study of a basic religious system, Australian aborigines' totemism, arguing that their totemic gods are, in reality, expressions of how they understand their society.[16] He then used this argument to study 'traditional' human societies, explaining that religion is a kind of societal expression by which the notion of the supernatural is imposed by members of a

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[7] Tomalin
[8] Tomalin, 2.
[9] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York, USA: Courier Corporation, 2012), 47.
[10] Tomalin, *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*, 2.
[11] Turner, 'The Sociology of Religion', 287.
[12] Turner, 287.
[13] Turner, 288.
[14] Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, *Primitive Classification (Routledge Revivals)* (Routledge, 2009).
[15] Turner, 'The Sociology of Religion', 288.
[16] Tomalin, *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*.

society – “religion has social rather than divine causes and when people worship gods they are actually worshipping society”.[17] For Durkheim, religion functions through the ‘collective consciousness’ that represents the beliefs and moral codes shared by members of a society. Religion contributes to social cohesion and stability through this collective consciousness. Therefore, in this view, belief in divine or supernatural powers is actually “a reflection of our experience of the collective social consciousness. And religious believers are mistaken that their relationship to God is in anything other than their relationship to society”.[18]

In Durkheim’s study of a basic religious system, he also tried to understand the elementary forms of religious thought, such as the sacred and the profane, and for a broader range of human societies, used this understanding to give a sociological explanation of the basic forms or structures of consciousness.[19] This division of things into either ‘sacred’ or ‘profane’ is fundamental in Durkheim's conceptualisation of religion. The sacred includes religious beliefs and actions, while the profane includes the social and all other of human activity. However, while the sacred and the profane are distinct from one another, the two are also inherently dependent upon each other. As mentioned above, traditional societies depend upon religion to maintain social cohesion and stability. This line of thought led Durkheim to be concerned that the complex division of labour in modern societies is problematic, because it fosters social fragmentation and increases individualism. Individuals in the modern context, he suggested, experience “‘anomie’, a sense of alienation, as their communities disintegrate and religion begins to lose its integrative function”.[20] Durkheim gave much importance to the impact of this decline in religion and religious belief (secularisation). While anomie and anarchy are possible effects of the combination of fragmentation and secularisation, he assumed that “the *function* of religion would be replaced by other ‘secular’ institutions in society, particularly to foster and transmit a sense of moral consensus that binds people and their societies together”.[21]

Max Weber suspended giving a definition of religion at the beginning of his treatise to avoid imposing an outsider’s perspective of it. He stated,

> It is not possible to define religion; to say what it ‘is’ is not possible at the start of a presentation such as this. Definition can be attempted, if at all, only at the conclusion of the study. The ‘essence’ of religion is not even our concern, as we make it our task to study the conditions and effects of a particular type of social action. The external causes of religious

[17] Tomalin, 2.
[18] Tomalin, 2–3.
[19] Turner, ‘The Sociology of Religion’, 287.
[20] Tomalin, *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*, 3.
[21] Tomalin, 3.

> behaviour are so diverse that an understanding of this behaviour can only be achieved from the viewpoint of the subjective experiences, notion, and purposes of the individuals concerned – in short, from the viewpoint of the religious behavior's 'meaning'.[22]

Weber was less concerned with explaining religion *per se* than with explaining the relationships between various types of religion and particular social groups and understanding the effects of different kinds of religious perspectives upon other aspects of social life, specifically economic life.[23] Hamilton observes that for Weber:

> the sociology of religion is . . . the study of the relationships between religious ideas and the particular social groups that are the 'carriers' of those ideas and of the consequences for history and society of such religious orientations and their impact upon styles of life, attitudes and behaviour.[24]

Turner also observes that understanding the economic and political ethics of world religions is part of Weber's sociology. He observes:

> Weber was concerned to understand whether Christianity, as a cultural precondition for rational economic behaviour, could ultimately survive capitalism and whether the democratic ethos of secular institutions would eventually undermine the hierarchical notions of charismatic authority that underpin ecclesiastical organizations.[25]

Weber developed a general approach to religion as a social phenomenon and tried to evaluate its nature and the kind of human concern and motivation that underlie it.[26] Although he viewed religion as a social phenomenon, he was cautious not to insinuate that in connecting religion to social factors, one need adopt a reductionist standpoint. Weber actually separated "the issue of truth claims of religious traditions from his analysis" and therefore avoided the reductionism of Marx and Durkheim.[27] He placed emphasis upon "religion as a system of meaning rather than its social function such as a pacifying opiate or a source of cohesion",[28] viewing it as independent or disconnected from society and therefore religion not fully accounted for by a sociological approach.[29] Weber did not accept the view that "religious ideas are mere reflections of the material position and interests of social groups" nor did he agree with "theories of religion which see it as basically a response to deprivation and, consequently, motivated by resentment".[30]

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[22] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fishoff, New edition edition (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1993), 1.
[23] Malcolm B. Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Second (London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002).
[24] Hamilton, 157.
[25] Turner, 'The Sociology of Religion', 288.
[26] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*.
[27] Tomalin, *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*. 5.
[28] Tomalin, 5.
[29] Tomalin.
[30] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*, 155–56.

The roots of religion, for Weber, "lie in the necessity of accounting for the conditions of life in which individuals find themselves, for good or bad fortune . . . it is always at root an attempt to make sense of the world".[31] Religion, for him, "is fundamentally a response to the difficulties and injustices of life which attempts to make sense of them and thereby enables people to cope with and feel more confident when faced by them".[32] He built on the premise that life is uncertain, because human beings have experiences that are inconsistent with what they desire or what they think is ideal. These discrepancies between human desires (what people think ought to be) and human experiences in reality (what actually is) create tension, which becomes the cause or source religious conceptions. Religion therefore provides a 'theodicy' – meaning for the good or bad experiences in life (i.e. good experiences are rewards, while bad experiences are only temporary or are part of fate that one needs to accept).[33]

In his study on religions of tribal societies, Weber observed that the desire to survive and prosper in this material life is the main motivation for religious behaviour. For him, people are so absorbed in solving urgent everyday life problems and ensuring survival that they focus on nothing other than magical and manipulative ways of gaining their material goals.[34] Magic, for Weber, is mainly manipulative and is used to coerce gods and spirits. Magic views gods and spirits as part of the material world and immanent in the objects and entities of daily life.[35] Religion, for Weber, involves the worship of gods and spirits and so "has a more transcendental conception of them".[36] In his view, 'primitive' religion is inclined towards the magical, so he worked on mapping out "development from more magical to more religious conceptions and practices in the evolution of human society."[37]

He observed that in the most primitive stage, "magic centres on the experience of extraordinary characteristics of powers that seem to be inherent in certain objects, actions or persons",[38] referring to these powers or extraordinary qualities as 'charisma'.[39] Magic progresses into religion, he asserted, when "charisma is attributed less to the objects themselves than to something behind the object which determines its

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[31] M. Hamilton, *Sociology and the World's Religions* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1998). 13.
[32] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*, 156.
[33] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*, 157.
[34] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*.
[35] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*.
[36] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*. 157.
[37] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*, 157.
[38] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*.
[39] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*.

powers – in other words to a spirit, soul, demon or similar conception."[40] When the charisma is placed outside and in a sense beyond the material world, the path is open to ethical rationalisation becoming the dominant religious attitude.[41] As the spirits become more and more distant from this world, people have to increasingly depend upon their own skills and strategies to survive and prosper in this world and life.[42] Gods are linked with ethical considerations, because they are viewed as making demands that people must live according to particular moral and ethical principles.[43] These values and principles become more important than narrow self-interest.[44] For Hamilton, Weber "tends to equate religion with the appearance of ethical rationalisation and . . . tends to see religious developments in terms of development in ethical rationalisation".[45]

Weber connects the development of ethical rationalisation with increasing complexity in society, for example, the rise of capitalism. The development of ethical rationalisation increases interdependence among people in societies and increases their dependence on law and formal procedures because they no longer live in small face-to-face groups where mutual control and behaviour modification can be done in informal and conventional ways.[46] For Weber, the development of ethical rationalisation, in tandem with Calvinist Protestantism, facilitated and justified capitalism in the West.[47] This work of Protestantism, as Gane observes, led "towards an unforeseen and ironic end",[48]

> First, while there exists an affinity between the Protestant spirit and the rise of capitalism, capitalism itself engenders the decline of religious (ultimate) values, for once fully established it obeys its own formal logic of production, accumulation and exchange, and no longer requires any form of spiritual legitimation . . . Second, just as advanced capitalism no longer requires the spiritual support of Protestantism, rational thought (science) breaks free from the constraints of religious narrative, and, like capitalism, turns against and attacks the very basis of all forms of religious legitimation.[49]

By giving way to rationalisation, in effect, Protestantism "*devalued* or *disenchanted*" itself.[50] Weber pointed out that this rationalisation of society, in which cost and benefits guide the actions and dealings of the people rather than emotions or

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[40] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*.
[41] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion.*
[42] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion.*
[43] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion* .
[44] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion* .
[45] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*. 158.
[46] Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*
[47] Nicholas Gane, *Max Weber and Postmodern Theory : Rationalization Versus Re-Enchantment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)
[48] Gane, 20
[49] Gane. 20-1
[50] Ibid., 21

traditions, led to the decline of religion as "an overarching and integrative source of meaning".[51] He characterised modern society as "one 'robbed of Gods', where mysteries could be solved by science and technology rather than recourse to the divine."[52]

Similar to Marx and Durkheim, Weber's analysis of religion and society responded to the political and intellectual climate of his time, which was interested in "the rapid social and economic changes brought about by capitalism and industrialisation" for European societies, changes that did not all seem positive.[53]

The conceptualisations of religion as 'the opium of society' by Marx, as 'sacred' (that is separated from the 'profane') by Durkheim, and as traditional and irrational by Weber led to a negative perspective of the roles of religion in society and a view of it as standing opposition to what development espouses, such as rationality and material or worldly progress. Durkheim's prediction that the 'function' of religion in maintaining social cohesion and stability could be replaced by secular institutions and Weber's view that the disenchantment of society that accompanied the decline of religion as a system of meaning led to the emergence of the secularisation thesis.[54]

2.1.2. Defining Religion

As mentioned above in Section 1, the purpose of this section is to explain views on religion that led to its neglect in the development literature and present a definition of religion that permits the study of its interfaces with concepts of development.

There is no agreed definition of religion. However, there are two prevalent approaches, which define it substantively or functionally. Substantive definitions focus on what religion is. They tend to identify the objects of belief and attempt to identify common characteristics of religion that distinguish it from other aspects of society.[55] For example, Tylor defines religion as "a belief in spiritual beings".[56] This definition has been criticised for being too cognitive – because it focuses on beliefs and ignores practices, and ethnocentric, because it excludes Asian world religions such Buddhism,

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[51] Tomalin and University of Birmingham, *Sociology*: 6
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] see Bryan S. Turner, *Religion and Modern Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[55] Inger Furseth and Pål Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives* (USA: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006).
[56] Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches Into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (J. Murray, 1871).: 383

Hinduism and Confucianism.[57] Robertson provides another example of a substantive definition of religion by utilising the idea of "supra-empirical", pointing out how a "distinction between an empirical and a supra-empirical, transcendent reality" differentiates religious culture from religious action.[58] Similarly, Hill defines religion as:

> The set of beliefs which postulate and seek to regulate the distinction between an empirical reality and a related and significant supra-empirical segment of reality; the language and symbols which are used in relation to this distinction; and the activities and institutions which are concerned with its regulation.[59]

While the inclusion of empirical (experiential) aspects of religion is an improvement, the distinction between the empirical and the supra-empirical, which is inspired by a Western understanding of the natural and supernatural, is only helpful from a Western perspective and does not have much significance in cultures where "all existence is permeated by what the West calls the supra-empirical, that is, a culture where everyday experiences are impregnated by forces and powers".[60] Hill expands Robertson's definition by including belief, language, symbols, practice, and institution in his definition. Spiro attempted to avoid ethnocentrism by defining religion as "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interactions with culturally postulated superhuman beings. Other substantive definitions include belief in the sacred, religiosity, and belonging to a religious organisation.[61]

Geertz offers one of the most widely used functional definitions of religion, in his essay 'Religion as a Cultural System'. He defines religion as,

> a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting mood and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seems uniquely realistic.[62]

However, this definition is strongly criticised by Asad in two aspects. First, Geertz made symbols and moods, motivations and conceptions the centre of religion, but failed to include the historical and social processes that are fundamental to interpretations of the meaning of symbols in religion. Asad points out that,

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[57] Furseth and Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*.

[58] Roland Robertson, *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970): 47 in Furseth and Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*.: 17

[59] Michael Hill, *A Sociology of Religion* (London: Heinemann, 1973): 42-3 in Furseth and Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*.: 17-8

[60] Furseth and Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*.: 18

[61] Carole Rakodi, 'A Guide to Analyzing the Relationship between Religion and Development', in *Religion and Development Research Programme, Working Paper 67* (Birmingham: UK: Religion and Development Research Programme, University of Birmingham, 2011).

[62] Clifford Geertz, "Religion As a Cultural System" in *The Interpretation of Culture*, Geertz, Clifford (New York: Basic Books, 1973): 90-1

> a symbol is not an object or event that serves to carry a meaning but a set of relationships between objects or events uniquely brought together as complexes or as concepts, having at once an intellectual, instrumental, and emotional significance . . . 'symbols' (complexes, concepts) are conditioned by social relations . . . What is being argued is that the authoritative status of representations/discourses is dependent on the appropriate production of other representations/discourses; the two are intrinsically and not just temporarily connected.[63]

Deneulin and Bano, building on Asad, also assert that,

> religion is not a cultural system, a set of beliefs or symbols oriented towards the status of the individual believer. It requires embodied practices to express these beliefs or convey meaning to symbols. It also requires discipline and power to enforce these practices, and an institutionalized community of believers in which this discipline is exercised – all these conditions being subject to changes following events in the wider world.[64]

Asad's second critique concerns the project of defining religion. For Asad, "a transhistorical definition of religion is not viable" because both the definition and the act of defining are products of discourse in a historical context, such as that of the enlightenment and the emergence of secularisation in the West.[65] For Asad, a definition, which may favour one aspect, dimension, or component of religion, is imposed as a model, norm or standard to another context, is bound to fail, for it "normalizes some specific traditions" while at the same time "demonising or stigmatizing others".[66] Asad points out that "there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes".[67]

However, this absolute prohibition may not be necessary, even if one accepts that "definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes".[68] Like Asad, von Stuckrad also expresses a concern related to the defining of religion. He critiques approaches to the study of religion that base their analysis on a particular definition of religion but lack a "systematic reflection about how those concepts came into being, what rationalities they comprise, what effect they have, and which interests they serve".[69] Von Stuckrad shares the idea that definitions of religion are historical products of discursive processes. He calls for a move away from depending on definitions of

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[63] Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reason of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993): 31

[64] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*: 58

[65] Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*: 30

[66] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors*: 5

[67] Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*: 29

[68] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*: 58

[69] Kocku von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion: From States of the Mind to Communication and Action', *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 2003, http://0-search.ebscohost.com.library.acaweb.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.23550029&site=eds-live.: 262

religion and proposes that an "integrative theory of religious studies that no longer depends on any definition of religion, should take the form of a theory of discourse".[70] Drawing from the theory of discourse, von Stuckrad argues for an understanding of religion as a discourse.[71] Moberg and Taira share von Stuckdar's idea that religion is "an empty signifier in the sense that it is historically, socially and culturally constructed and negotiated in various situations".[72]

Accepting that all language is the "historical product of discursive processes" and is therefore "imperfect, elusive, and considerably more complex than common sense would have it", Lincoln nevertheless argues that a definition of religion is possible, "particularly when one understands [this] as a provisional attempt to clarify one's thought, not to capture the innate essence of things".[73] Responding to Asad's appeal by stressing the need to incorporate discourse, practice, community and institutions, Lincoln states that "a proper definition [of religion] must therefore be polythetic and flexible," permitting wide variations and taking into consideration at least the four domains mentioned above.[74] Lincoln then defines religion as having the following dimensions: discourse, practice, community, and institutions.

The first dimension is a discourse that is claimed to be transcendent and "whose concerns transcend the human, temporal, and contingent".[75] Lincoln explains that religious discourse has claims to transcendent authority or truth grounded in scripture, revelation, or immutable ancestral traditions.[76] It "can recode virtually any content as sacred . . . for it is not any specific orientation that distinguishes religion, but rather its metadiscursive capacity to frame the way any content will be received and regarded."[77]

The second dimension is practice. Lincoln claims that religion has "a set of practices whose goal is to produce a proper world and/or proper human subjects, as

[70] von Stuckrad.: 263
[71] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', January 2013.
[72] Marcus Moberg, 'First-, Second-, and Third-Level Discourse Analytic Approaches in the Study of Religion: Moving from Meta-Theoretical Reflection to Implementation in Practice', *Religion* 43, no. 1 (January 2013): 4–25, doi:10.1080/0048721X.2013.742742: 13; Teemu Taira, 'Making Space for Discursive Study in Religious Studies', *Religion* 43, no. 1 (January 2013): 26–45, doi:10.1080/0048721X.2013.742744.: 27
[73] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', 2
[74] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', 5
[75] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion'
[76] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion'
[77] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', 6

defined by a religious discourse to which these practices are connected."[78] Religious practices are the rituals and ways of life that reflects the religious discourse.[79]

The third dimension is community. For Lincoln, religion requires "a community whose members construct their identity with reference to a religious discourse and its attendant practices."[80] Members of a religious community, who adhere to the same teachings and are involved in the same practices, are similar in many ways in spite of disagreements. Lincoln explains that members' disagreements are "framed by reference points on which they can concur", which establish the foundation for a strong bond that is also promoted by characteristics of its discourse and practice.[81] "Borders, simultaneously social and religious, hold members of one group separate from those whose beliefs and practices differ sufficiently that they can be marked as other."[82]

Finally, a religion is said to require "an institution that regulates religious discourse, practices, and community, reproducing them over time and modifying them as necessary, while asserting their eternal validity and transcendent value."[83, 84] Religious institutions may vary in structure and whether they are highly or loosely structured.[85] For Deneulin and Bano, institutions have a very important role because in their view "no religion can function without a minimum level of institutional stability that guarantees its existence over time".[86]

Lincoln used these four domains of religion in analysing the last communication of the terrorists involved in the 11th of September 2001 terrorist attack in the US, seeking to explain the relationships between religion and terrorism. Deneulin and Bano point out that Lincoln's conceptualisation of religion is similar to MacIntyre's idea of tradition.[87] MacIntyre defines a tradition of thought as:

> an argument extended through time in which certain fundamental agreements are defined and redefined in terms of two kind of conflicts: those with critics and enemies external to the tradition who reject all or at least key parts of those fundamental agreements, and those

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[78] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion'
[79] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion'
[80] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion'
[81] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', 6
[82] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', 7
[83] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion'
[84] There is a large literature that distinguishes institutions (the rules and norms that govern social behavior and interactions, which may be formal e.g. state laws or informal e.g. social customs) and organisations (see Section 2.5.5. below). It is a very useful distinction that is nowadays recognized more or less throughout the development studies literature. Here, Lincoln may be using the term institutions to mean both institutions and organisations.
[85] Séverine Deneulin and Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script* (London: Zed Books, 2009).
[86] Deneulin and Bano, 61.
[87] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*.

> internal, interpretative debates through which the meaning and rationale of the fundamental agreements come to be expressed and by whose progress a tradition is constituted.[88]

Drawing from MacIntire, Deneulin and Bano view a religion as a tradition, because it is characterised by a fundamental agreement about what it is, what it believes, and what it aims to achieve, and these are embedded in institutions and practices that are continuously contested from within and outside the tradition, resulting in reinterpretation and redefinition of relevant concepts.[89] They explain that viewing religion as a tradition "entails the recognition that religions are constantly evolving and changing according to their understanding of what it means to live well according to their core teachings, and what social practices best express this".[90]

This study takes into account Asad's critique of attempts to define religion, and Lincoln's and von Stuckrad's view that religion is a historical product of discursive processes. It follows Lincoln and Deneulin and Bano in understanding religion as dynamic and multidimensional. While Lincoln is able to define what he means by the four dimensions he identified, discourse, practice, community and institution, and is able to explain how they relate to one another, the existing broader literature on studies of discourses and institutions (discussed below) provides a more in-depth understanding of these concepts and how they relate to one another.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT

One of the aims of this study is to explain how and why FBOs appropriate, contest, and transform development discourses as these encounter religion. Identifying the various understandings of development can help discern what particular development discourse is being appropriated, contested and transformed in the development work of FBOs in the Philippines. Following is a survey of various perspectives on development.

2.2.1. Defining Development

The term development, in its current sense, traces back to the post war period of modern development thinking. However, definitions of development are very diverse, so that arriving at a definition poses a challenge. For example, Cowen and Shenton claim that "development defies definition . . . because of the difficulty of making the intent to

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[88] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Reality?* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988): 12

[89] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Reality?*.

[90] Séverine Deneulin and Masooda Bano, 'Religion in Development: Education and Dialogue' (Religion and Development, University of Copenhagen, 2009), 3, http://www.analytickecentrum.cz/upload/soubor/original/religion-in-development.pdf.

develop consistent with immanent development".[91] Development has acquired various meanings through history and different understandings of it emerged, influenced among other things by the ideological context[92]

The classical political economists, although they did not use the term development, have been viewed as providing the antecedents of development policies, as they were addressing the economic development issues of the late 18th century and the early 19th century.[93] During this period, development is viewed as a "remedy for progress" – to be able to catch up with progress.[94] Classical political economists aimed to influence political decisions and the creation of policies during their time.[95] The theories they conceptualised supported the emergence of a new bourgeois society but opposed noble landowners, whose right to property was, in their view, anchored in force – both the force of conquest and the force of out dated religious beliefs; mercantilists who demanded state protection of trade and were in favour of the regulation of trading by the state, and who equated wealth with gold and silver; and physiocrats who gave prominence to landowners and viewed industrial labour as futile.[96] Classical political economists assumed the existence of three classes in society, landowners, capitalists, and labourers, and explained the capitalists' pursuits in relation with the other classes.[97] Adam Smith, who was considered to be the father of classical economics, articulated the relationship of labour/wages, capitalists/profits and landowners/rent in terms of their roles in achieving economic growth.[98] Smith viewed development as "the extension of the division of labour and the application of machinery to the productive process so that an increase in the productivity of labour could be achieved."[99] For Smith, "one of the factors which promotes development is an increasing proportion of the work force dedicated to productive work" by producing "an increase in productivity through the division of labour which is achieved through the expansion of the market and international trade".[100] David Ricardo was another thinker who contributed to

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[91] M. P. Cowen and R. W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005): 407

[92] Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*.

[93] Pieterse.

[94] Pieterse, 5, 7

[95] Jorge A. Larrain, *Theories of Development: Capitalism, Colonialism and Dependency* (Cambridge, UK : Cambridge, MA, USA: Polity Press, 1989).

[96] Larrain; Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development, Second Edition: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives* (Guilford Press, 2009); Peter Preston, *Development Theory: An Introduction to the Analysis of Complex Change* (Wiley, 1996).

[97] Larrain, *Theories of Development*.

[98] Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development, Second Edition*.

[99] Larrain, *Theories of Development*. 19

[100] Larrain. 20

understanding classical political economy. Ricardo shared Smith's idea that 'supply created its own demand' and his understanding of free trade grounded on the concept of 'comparative advantage'.[101] For Ricardo, development is "a process of self-sustained accumulation of capital and growth which could be arrested only by the limitations of available land."[102]

In the era of colonial economics, the precursor of modern economics, during which "[e]conomics in the European colonies and dependencies had gone through several stages" from commerce, to plantations and mining, to trusteeship[103], "[d]evelopment, if the term was used at all, in effect referred mainly to colonial resource management, first to make the colonies cost-effective and later to build up economic resources with a view to national independence".[104]

In the nineteenth century, in the context of latecomers to industrialization such as central and Eastern Europe, development was concerned with the issues raised by the relationship between agriculture and industry. In the context of England, development "referred to remedies for the shortcomings and maladies of progress" – development was contrasted to progress, on the basis that it "differs from and complements progress".[105]

In the early twentieth century, in the evolution of modern development thinking and economics, economic growth became the core meaning of development, as promoted by growth theory and big push theory.[106] Towards the mid-twentieth century, modernisation theory became the dominant influence. Modernisation theory aimed to explain the circumstances that had led to the development of first world countries and why these were missing in third world countries.[107] In the context of the Cold War, two competing development strategies were being promoted – the western development economics of capitalism and the central planning of communism. During these periods, the meaning of development was "catching up with the advanced industrialized countries",[108] In the 1950s and 1960s, the process of development was understood as a sequence of stages of economic growth through which every society or country was

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[101] Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development, Second Edition*.
[102] Larrain, *Theories of Development., 21*
[103] '[T]he management of colonial economies not merely with the view to their exploitation for metropolitan benefit but also allegedly with a view to the interests of the native population' Ibid.
[104] Larrain, *Theories of Development*.
[105] Larrain, *Theories of Development*, 6
[106] Larrain, *Theories of Development*.
[107] John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*, 3rd Revised edition (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2007).
[108] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory,* 7

expected pass.[109] It was assumed that certain conditions must be fulfilled, such as a motivation for profit, and the right amount of savings, investments and foreign aid, before a country could move to the next stage.[110] Walt Rostow, the most influential proponent of the 'stages of growth' model of development, believed that all countries pass through five stages, namely, "the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off into self-sustaining growth, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption".[111] For Rostow, countries like the USA and other advanced countries in Europe had already passed the 'take off' stage and were entering into the 'self-sustaining growth' stage, while other countries, labelled as underdeveloped countries, were still in the 'traditional society' or 'preconditions for take off' stages.[112] Driven by this understanding, developed countries took on the role of assisting underdeveloped countries to speed up the process of development.[113]

In the 1970s, development understanding shifted to two opposing schools of thought. One school of thought, structural change theory, focused on theories and patterns of structural change using modern economic theory and statistical analysis in presenting the intrinsic processes of structural change that a "typical" developing country must go through in order to attain rapid economic growth.[114] The other school of thought, dependency theory, views "underdevelopment in terms of international and domestic power relationships, institutional and structural economic rigidities, and the resulting proliferation of dual economies and dual societies both within and among the nations of the world".[115] "The positive goal was national accumulation (or autocentric development)" but the "distorted form was dependent accumulation which led to the 'development of underdevelopment'", and an intermediate form was "associated dependent development".[116] The development of underdevelopment perspective led to the rise of alternative development perspectives in the 1970s, characterised by attempts to bring new meaning to development centred on social and community development

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[109] Michael Todaro and Stephen C. Smith, *Economic Development*, 11th edition (Boston, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 2012).

[110] Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development, Second Edition*.

[111] Walt Whitman Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge University Press, 1990) cited in Todaro and Smith, *Economic Development*. 111

[112] Todaro and Smith, *Economic Development*.

[113] Rapley, *Understanding Development*.

[114] Todaro and Smith, *Economic Development*.

[115] Todaro and Smith., 110

[116] Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*.: 6

and ‘human flourishing’.[117] In the mid-1980s, development meant ‘capacitation’ – it was viewed as ‘enabling’ and “the enlargement of people’s choices”.[118]

During the next stage of the evolution of development thinking, two radically different perspectives on development emerged – neoliberalism and post-development. In neoliberalism, the meaning of development returned to its neoclassical meaning, that is economic growth, but it also “eliminated the foundation of development economics” and replaced the ways and means of achieving development – from state-initiated to market-driven.[119] For neoliberalism, economic growth, which is the primary goal of development, is to be achieved by “deregulation, liberalization, and privatization” – which are intended to roll back government and reduce market-distorting interventions. In a sense, according to Pieterse, neoliberalism is “an anti-development perspective, not in terms of goals but in terms of means”.[120] Another anti-development and more radical view is the post-development perspective, which applies not only to the means, but also to the goals and results of development. Post-development will be discussed further in the next section.

Pieterse offers three ways of making sense of changes in the meanings of the term development through the years. The first is “to view this kind of archaeology of development discourse as deconstructions of development and as part of a development critique”.[121] The second is “to treat it as part of an historical context”, based on the view that it is quite sensible for development to change meaning in relation to changing circumstances and sensibilities.[122] “Development then serves as a mirror of changing economic and social capabilities, priorities and choices.”[123] The last approach, he suggests, is “to recombine these different views as dimensions of development, that is, to fit them all together as part of a development mosaic and thus to reconstruct development as a synthesis of components.”[124] However, he suggests that the weakness of this view is that it removes history out of the picture.[125]

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[117] Pieterse.
[118] Pieterse., 7
[119] Pieterse.
[120] Pieterse.
[121] Pieterse., 8
[122] Pieterse.
[123] Pieterse.
[124] Pieterse.
[125] Pieterse.

Sumner and Tribe, faced with the multiplicity of the meanings of development, identify three main definitions.[126] First, 'development' can be defined "as a long-term process of structural societal transformation".[127] This definition perceives development as a one-dimensional structural societal transformation, for example from an agriculture based economy to an industrial economy, adopting a historical perspective and a "long-term outlook".[128] The weakness of this definition concerns the imposition of a single model or direction of change, such as modernisation or emancipation, which may not necessarily occur or be a good change for everyone.[129] The second definition regards 'development' as "a short-to medium-term outcome of achieving desirable targets".[130] This definition focuses on the achievement of "short- to medium-term 'performance indicators'", such as those identified in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).[131] Sumner and Tribe criticise this definition because "it presupposes a set of goals or objectives which may not be shared by many of the people who are supposedly benefiting from development".[132] The third definition adopts a post-development perspective, in which 'development' is conceptualised "as a dominant 'discourse' of Western modernity".[133] This definition is based on a post-modern critique of the conceptualisation of development discourse that is influenced by the idea of "inherent inferiority-superiority".[134] Post-modernists condemn the conceptualisation of development "as synonymous with 'modernity', which is in their view [is] presented in the discourse as a superior condition . . . a discourse constructed in the North [and West] . . . and imposed on the South [and East]".[135] Post-development will be discussed further below.

Deneulin and Bano explain the different views of development as different 'traditions'. Following MacIntyre, as noted above, in a particular development tradition, there is a fundamental agreement about what development is and what it aims to achieve, such as economic growth, wellbeing, or freedom, goals which are embedded in institutions such as the United Nations (UN) [with their Millennium Development Goals

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[126] Andy Sumner and Michael Tribe, *International Development Studies: Theories and Methods in Research and Practice* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008)
[127] Sumner and Tribe, *International Development Studies* , 12
[128] Sumner and Tribe
[129] Sumner and Tribe
[130] Sumner and Tribe , 13
[131] Sumner and Tribe
[132] Sumner and Tribe
[133] Sumner and Tribe , 14
[134] Sumner and Tribe , 15
[135] Sumner and Tribe

(MDGs)] and the World Bank. Moreover, this fundamental agreement is embedded in particular institutions and practices, such as participation, although not without contestations that may lead to a redefinition of the concepts.[136] Development as a tradition of thought is multidimensional, having dimensions of discourse, practice, community, and institutions.[137] In this sense, development is conceptualised in the same way as religion. Using a framework on religion to understand development is not unique to Deneulin and Bano. Van Ufford and Schoffeleers propose another way of defining development by viewing it as a religious concept.[138] They adopt a definition of religion as "the relationship between man and the transcendent," and suggest that transcendence "implies the existence of two separate worlds, the one we actually live in and the other beyond that," in which the latter, the salvific and normative one, is superior to the former.[139] In this light, they argue that "development is a religious concept, since it, too, implies a belief in the existence of two worlds, referred to as 'developed' and 'developing' respectively, of which the former is superior to and normative for the latter".[140]

This study assumes that the changes in meanings of development through history have had an impact on the Philippines, which was once a colony and since World War II has been a recipient of external development initiatives. It is also assumed that, because of the presence of these initiatives, development actors in the Philippines, including government, non-governmental organisations, religious groups and other civil society communities, hold one, two or a combination of meanings of development that inform and guide their practice. This research examines how development is understood by those associated with the FBOs under study and explains how these understandings of development came to be. This study also takes into consideration the multidimensional character of development as having discourse, practice, institution and community dimensions, finding this a useful way to understand and analyse the interactions between religion and development.

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[136] Deneulin and Bano.
[137] Deneulin and Bano.
[138] Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers, "Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology and Development Studies," in *Religion & Development: Towards An Integrated Approach*, van Ufford, Philip Quarles; Schoffeleers, Matthew (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988)
[139] van Ufford and Schoffeleers, "Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology": 19
[140] van Ufford and Schoffeleers , 19

2.2.2. Post Development

In the 1980s, post-development arose as "a radical reaction to the dilemmas of development".[141] One group of analysts considers that the results of development initiatives, in terms of its both their goals and the means adopted, demonstrate "failure or disaster for the majority of the population".[142] These declared the mainstream development model as irrelevant to the extent that they anticipated its death – the "last forty years can be called the age of development. This epoch is coming to an end. The time is ripe to write its obituary".[143] Another group, inspired by Illich, accused development of being "a threat to people's autonomy".[144] Escobar saw post-development as a poststructuralist and postcolonial critique of development – viewing development as "a set of discourses and practices that had a profound impact on how Asia, Africa, and Latin America came to be seen as 'underdeveloped' and treated as such".[145] Escobar argues that "development discourse . . . has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World".[146] Influenced by Foucault, poststructuralists challenge "the ways in which Asia, Africa and Latin America came to be defined as 'under-developed' and so in need of development".[147] Escobar explains that the question was not "'how can we do development better?' but why, through what historical processes, and with what consequences did Asia, Africa and Latin America come to be 'invented' as 'the Third World' through discourses and practices of development?"[148] Escobar identifies some aspects that need to be understood in answering this question: the first is the historical beginning of this development discourse in the early post-Second World War period; secondly, this development discourse paved the way for the institutionalisation of the bodies charged with implementing the development agenda (e.g. the World Bank, the

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[141] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'After Post-Development', *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1 April 2000): 175–91, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590050004300.
[142] Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*.: 7
[143] Wolfgang Sachs, 'Introduction', in *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs, 2nd edition (London; New York, N.Y.: Zed Books, 2009).: XV
[144] Majid Rahnema, 'Introduction', in *The Post-Development Reader*, ed. Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (London ; Atlantic Highlands, N.J. : Dhaka : Halifax, N.S. : Cape Town: Zed Books, 1997), 9–19 cited in Aram Ziai, 'Development Discourse and Its Critics: An Introduction to Post-Development', in *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, ed. Aram Ziai (USA: Routledge, 2007), 3–17.: 5
[145] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, With a New preface by the author edition (Princeton University Press, 2012).: xii
[146] Escobar.: 9
[147] Escobar, '"Post Development" as Concept and Social Practice'.: 19
[148] Escobar.

IMF, and the UN); thirdly, the professionalization of development problems and the institutionalisation of development, as mentioned above, served as the operational mechanism for development discourse; and fourthly, alongside the development project, the knowledge, voices, and concerns of those supposedly served by it – the poor in Asia, Africa and Latin America – were ignored.[149] A Post-development approach appeals for the decentralisation of development and points to a "need to multiply the centres and agents of knowledge production"[150] to encourage more participation and representation and to give prominence to the voices of the supposed objects of development - Asian, African and Latin American countries and people. It thus argues that there is a need to provide a "discursive space to other ways of describing [prevailing] conditions, less mediated by the premise and experiences of 'development'"[151] For post-development, de-centring development discourse allows the identification or creation of alternative discourses and representations that are not so influenced by the prevailing concepts and experiences of development, resulting in the emergence of 'alternatives to development', rather than the 'end of development'.[152] Escobar explains further that post-development thinking emphasises "the need to change the practices of knowing and doing and the 'political economy of truth' that defines the development regimen".[153] For Escobar, the concerns raised above can be addressed "by focusing on the adaptations, subversions and resistance that local peoples effect in relation to development interventions . . . and by highlighting the alternative strategies produced by social movements as they encounter development projects".[154] One application of post-development perspectives is a focus on strategies by which "concepts and practices of modernity are appropriated and re-embedded in local life-worlds, resulting in multiple, local or mutant modernities", as local groups transform any development intervention to fit their context.[155]

Other development theorists accepted that the issues raised by post-development proponents were valid, although post-development thinking also encountered widespread resistance from its critics. Corbridge, for example, accuses post-development theorists of downplaying the positive contributions of development, modernity, science and technology. He also critiques "the view that poverty is mainly definitional [because in his view this] is thumpingly convenient for the rich and

[149] Escobar.
[150] Escobar.: 21
[151] Escobar, *Encountering Development*.: xii
[152] Escobar.
[153] Escobar, '"Post Development" as Concept and Social Practice'.: 21
[154] Escobar.
[155] Escobar.: 24

powerful, even if it is bang up to date with postmodernist conceits".[156] Post-development authors are also charged with romanticising local culture and idealising tradition and social movements.[157] Nanda points out that, unintentionally, post-development may provide legitimation for "traditional elites in maintaining their hegemony over the forces of change",[158] while Pieterse finds post-development premises to be "flawed" because of their reliance on "rhetoric and posturing".[159]

Ziai points out the implicit acquiescence of post-development critics with two of the main arguments put forward by its advocates, namely the Eurocentric character of the traditional understanding of 'development' and the view that it has "authoritarian and technocratic implications".[160] While some critiques of post-development thinking were found to be "rooted in superficial readings and misunderstandings and others simply in differing (meta-)theoretical perspectives", some were found by post-development analysts to be valid and, as iron sharpens iron, have contributed to the fine-tuning of post-development thinking, resulting in Ziai's view in more nuanced studies.[161]

However, as mentioned in Chapter 1 Section 1, while post-development analysis claims to hear the voices of social movements and communities, religious social movements have been ignored in many post-development discussions. Van Dijk observes this absence of religion in post-development studies, noting:

> In much of the so-called post-development literature there is little recognition of the importance of religion as a factor in the way in which post-development can be understood. If we agree with Escobar (2007: 24) that post-development is more a critical theory of practice than a concept, and aims at understanding local contestation of a singular, Western hegemonic perception of 'development', there is a need to look at how local movements

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[156] Stuart Corbridge, '`Beneath the Pavement Only Soil': The Poverty of Post-Development', *Journal of Development Studies* 34, no. 6 (August 1998): 138, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hlh&AN=1286026&site=ehost-live.:141

[157] Corbridge; Ray Kiely, 'The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory', *European Journal of Development Research* 11, no. 1 (June 1999): 30, http://0-search.ebscohost.com.library.acaweb.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=6420925&site=eds-live.

[158] Meera Nanda, 'Who Needs Post-Development? Discourses of Difference, Green Revolution and Agrarian Populism in India', *Journal of Developing Societies (Brill Academic Publishers)* 15, no. 1 (April 1999): 5, http://0-search.ebscohost.com.library.acaweb.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=4200919&site=eds-live.: 7

[159] Pieterse, 'After Post-Development'.: 188

[160] Ziai, 'Development Discourse and Its Critics: An Introduction to Post-Development'.: 8

[161] Ziai, 'Development Discourse and Its Critics: An Introduction to Post-Development': 8, see also Escobar, *Encountering Development*.

formulate re-conceptualisations of the interrelation between political economy and culture.[162]

For example, in the works of Pieterse, van Dijk observes that, "while discussing post-development as a radical reaction to the dilemmas of development, [he] fail[s] to take into account the extent to which in Africa post-development is increasingly informed by religion and religious actors".[163] The works in the volumes edited by Ziai, *Exploring Post-Development*, and Arce and Long, *Anthropology, Development and Modernities*, while focusing on 'social movements' – the grassroots movements that are of interest to post-development theory – do not include religious movements in the discussion.[164] Van Dijk, in his study on Pentecostalism and post-development in Africa, observes that while Pentecostals appropriate and re-embed development discourse and practices in their religious rhetoric, resulting in the formulation of alternatives to development discourse and practices, their emphasis on a 'total break with the past' (meaning a break with cultural traditions) to attain religious salvation and economic uplift stand in contrast with the emphasis of post-development on culturally informed alternatives to development.[165]

The subject of interest of post-development, the processes of how development discourses are appropriated, contested, transformed, and re-embedded by social movements, is central to this study of the development work of FBOs in the Philippines, for it assumes that this occurs when two or more distinct forces in society, such as religion and development, encounter each other. This study also sees that factoring in religion and religious actors to development work may fill an aspect of a gap in the post development literature.

2.2.3. Religion and Development Interactions

As mentioned in Chapter 1 Section 1.1., there was a time when religion was neglected in the academe and in mainstream development policy. While there had been negative consequences because of this neglect (see Chap. 1 Sec. 1.1), the renewed attention on religion in development in the past decade is contributing to the understanding of

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[162] Rijk van Dijk, 'Pentecostalism and Post-Development: Exploring Religion as a Developmental Ideology in Ghanian Migrant Communities', in *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa*, ed. Dana Freeman (USA: Routledge, 2007), 87–108.: 89

[163] van Dijk.: 89-90

[164] Aram Ziai, ed., *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives* (USA: Routledge, 2007); Alberto Arce and Norman Long, eds., *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring Discourse, Counter-Tendencies and Violence* (Routledge, 2003).

[165] van Dijk, 'Pentecostalism and Post-Development: Exploring Religion as a Developmental Ideology in Ghanian Migrant Communities'.

religion in development. This section presents various perspectives on how religion is related to development.

2.2.3.1 Religion as instrumental to development goals

As discussed in Section 2, one perspective on development, particularly during the first development decade in the 1950s, regarded economic growth as the central key to attaining higher standards of living because without it, no jobs would be available, no income for families to send their children to school, no savings to invest for entrepreneurial ventures, and no taxes for collection by governments to provide basic services. This development perspective views religion, if it is considered at all, as instrumental to development. Proponents of this view argue that economic growth is contingent on particular attitudes towards the value of material goods, wealth creation, work, inventions, savings, credit, trade, investments, population growth, and foreign relations.[166] Within this perspective, religion, being a source of value formation, can either impede or facilitate development. It facilitates development when people have a positive perception of the variables mentioned above – such as some Christians who view wealth and economic growth as a sign of blessing or being 'elect' and believe that wealth creation is a pursuit mandated by God.[167] However, one common response to this view of religion in development is an additive approach, in which "religion is simply added to development workers' existing toolkit".[168] In contrast, religion is said to impede development when people have a negative view of the variables mentioned above – when a religious society perceives accumulation of wealth and economic growth as a sinful and worldly endeavour, or when they do not acknowledge wealth as a means of social status because they favour knowledge or military achievements.[169] In this perspective, religion is viewed as being of little importance and may therefore be ignored, not only by development practitioners in the field but also in the evaluation and analysis of development programmes. The presentation of the history of ideas about and the meanings of development above shows that religion and religious organisations have mostly been absent from both development and post-development analysis.[170]

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[166] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*.

[167] Deneulin and Bano.

[168] Gerrie ter Haar, "Deligion and Development: Introducing a New Debate," in *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*, ed. Gerrie ter Haar (London: Hurst & Company, 2011), 3–25: 19

[169] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*.

[170] See also van Dijk, 'Pentecostalism and Post-Development: Exploring Religion as a Developmental Ideology in Ghanian Migrant Communities'.

2.2.3.2 Religion as embedded in people's values, legitimising development efforts

An alternative to the idea of development as being solely to do with economic growth asserts that it should be primarily concerned with meeting basic human needs, including non-material things such as sense of the meaning and purpose of life and work and self-determination.[171] Though this does not propose a particular view of religion, it can be understood from this perspective to be a basic human need. In this view, religion functions as a moral foundation for society and an institution that provides a body of norms on the basis of which the legitimacy and validity of the development process can be evaluated.[172] "Religion forms people's values and what counts as legitimate development".[173] This view of religion advocates, for example, that a religious society should be respected if it chooses to build places of worship if these are valued more than, say, the construction of roads.[174] It is suggested that a concept of development that ignores religion "as a moral basis of society may lead to a situation in which the development process, characterized by goals generated outside the country's value system, alienates people and make them reject the whole development process".[175] Ter Haar therefore proposes an integral model of religion in development, in which "the religious dimension of life is fully integrated in the development process . . . [and] an open attitude [is adopted] to local visions of 'the good life' that are culturally embedded and widely shared within a community".[176]

2.2.3.3 Religious freedom and worship as basic to human rights

The Human Rights Declaration in 1948 prepared the way for a non-instrumental view of religion in development. Article 18 states,

> Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.[177]

Though the declaration was slow to impact development conceptualisation and practice, the two merged in the 1990s, leading to a "rights-based approach to development". The aim of this approach is to ensure that all aspects of human rights are

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[171] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*.

[172] Charles K. Wilber and Kenneth P. Jameson, "Religious Values and Social Limits to Development", *World Development*, 8, 467-79 (Great Britain, Pergamon Press Ltd., 1980)

[173] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*: 37

[174] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*

[175] Deneulin and Bano, 38-9

[176] ter Haar, 'Deligion and Development: Introducing a New Debate'.: 19

[177] United Nations, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Declaration*, 2013, in Tagaro, "Spirituality in Community Development".

incorporated in the development process. However, this resulted in unavoidable compatibility challenges. For example, Article 18 – the right to religious expression, may clash with Article 16 – "marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses" – if a religious community practices arranged marriages.[178, 179] The report affirms the freedom of religious expression. This implies the "no one should suffer economic, political or social marginalisation because of their religious affiliation" and all countries should ensure and safeguard the rights of religious minority groups so that, whatever their religious affiliation is, they can have access to opportunities that they value.[180] In the eyes of UNDP, therefore, any development endeavour that does not allow people to freely "choose the way they wish to live, according to the precepts of their religious or cultural communities, is not legitimate".[181] This idea of human rights, however, has been criticised for being over individualistic and liberal. Critics also raise questions about the issue of individual versus collective rights, which are not always compatible. In addition, UNDP has been criticised for treating "religion as part of culture and deals with religion in the same way as it does with language, race or ethnicity".[182]

2.2.3.4 Religion as an integral part of people's wellbeing

The deepening understanding of poverty as a 'multi-dimensional phenomenon' also helped to bring about a change in development thought that acknowledged the importance of religion in the development process.[183] While economists dominated studies on poverty, analysis was largely limited to quantitative data and poverty was defined in terms of having sufficient/insufficient income to buy the basic material goods needed to survive.[184] Breaking from this paradigm for analysing poverty, the World Bank 'Voices of the Poor' study asked poor people themselves to describe their experience of poverty.[185] The study shows that "religion permeates people's conception of 'well-being'".[186] It also finds that on the whole, poor people trust and value religious leaders and faith-based organisations more than politicians and government

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[178] United Nations, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Declaration*
[179] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 41
[180] Deneulin and Bano,
[181] Deneulin and Bano, 41
[182] United Nations, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Declaration*
[183] United Nations
[184] United Nations
[185] United Nations
[186] United Nations , 43

institutions.[187] This finding resulted in a conceptualisation of religion "as an intrinsic component of people's well-being alongside health, education, shelter, material security and other, [potentially] transform[ing] conventional development practices which have so far ignored the religious dimension".[188]

2.2.3.5 Religion as a political force

"Religion is a political force that shapes a society's economic, social and political structures, either through civil society participation or direct involvement in political parties." [189] The 'human development' and 'capability approach' builds from the multi-dimensional approach to poverty and wellbeing and adds another dimension to it "the centrality of human freedom".[190] The rationale for adding the freedom dimension is first for an evaluative purpose – for the "assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedoms that people have are enhanced"; and second for an instrumental reason – the "achievement of development [is] thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people".[191] While the human development and capability approach has a negative characterisation of religion, bringing values back to centre stage is arguably its major contribution to recognition of religion's role in development. Proponents of this view assert that development is a value-laden project and that "the only legitimate development process is one which is based on the underlying social concerns and value within a particular society".[192] This perspective makes it possible for "the development process to be guided entirely by people's religious values".[193] But whose values are being propagated in development? Who decides which value is important? For the proponents of this approach, the democratic process of decision-making is fundamental, leading to another contribution of the human development and capability approach (together with other approaches) – the bringing of "politics back to the heart of the development policy processes".[194] Thus, it is argued that "development is the outcome of how different political actors interact with each other in the public sphere". [195] With this in mind, one cannot disregard the possibility that in some cases

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[187] United Nations
[188] United Nations, 44
[189] United Nations, 28
[190] United Nations, 45
[191] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Alred A. Knopf, 1999): 4, in Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*: 45
[192] United Nations, 46
[193] Deneulin and Bano, 45
[194] Deneulin and Bano
[195] Deneulin and Bano, 47

religion may be strongly influenced by such political actors as political parties and government leaders, whether elected or not.[196] Also, "[c]ivil society is another prominent force in shaping policies in democratic countries," where religious communities are also likely to be actively involved.[197]

2.2.3.6 Integral/Holistic Mission

Integral/holistic mission (hereafter Holistic Mission) was conceptualised as a result of the discussions and interactions of different Christian groups through conferences on the issue of Christian mission, particularly on the relationship between evangelism and social action. Among these Christian groups, there were those who emphasised evangelism as represented by the evangelicals, and there were those who view social action as priority as represented by the ecumenicals. However, in the course of time, both the ecumenicals and the evangelicals have come into an understanding that both evangelism and social action are vital to Christian mission. Holistic mission is concept within the evangelical community in which religion and development are integrated together. Holistic mission is generally defined as the "mission which addresses the body, mind and spirit in human beings. It is not exclusively addressed to the spirit, i.e. aimed at conversion and personal discipleship, nor is it exclusively concerned with the social gospel, which tends to care merely for people's physical welfare."[198]

The International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne in 1974 is considered as the "most important worldwide evangelical gathering of the twentieth century" that led to the development of the concept holistic mission within the evangelical community. It produced the Lausanne Covenant, 1974, which represented "a definitive step in affirming integral mission as *the* mission of the church" and became "a catalyst for evangelism and a matrix for theological reflection on issues that were placed on the evangelical missionary agenda by the Lausanne Covenant."[199] The Lausanne Covenant of 1974 is accepted to be main influence on the development of understanding of holistic mission.

Under the heading of Christian Social Responsibility, the Lausanne Covenant places social responsibility in alongside with evangelism, viewing both as Christian duties. The covenant states, "we express penitence both for our neglect [of our social

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[196] Deneulin and Bano

[197] Deneulin and Bano, 47

[198] Brian E. Woolnough, "Good News for the Poor - Setting the Scene," in *Holistic Mission : God's Plan for God's People*, Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series, Woolnough, Brian E.; Ma, Wonsuk (eds.) (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2010), 4

[199] Woolnough, 2

responsibility] and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive . . . [W]e affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty."[200] John Stott pointed out in his exposition that this paragraph on social responsibility is grounded in four Christian doctrines.[201] First is the doctrine of God. The affirmation that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all people emphasizes God's justice, which must, it is believed, be reflected in Christians' practice. As the covenant states, "We therefore should share his [God's] concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men and women from every kind of oppression."[202] The portrayal of God as Judge also serves as a warning for Christians who neglect this social responsibility.[203] Second is the doctrine of humankind. Affirming that "men and women are made in the image of God, every person, regardless of race, religion, colour, culture, class, sex or age, has an intrinsic dignity" and for this reason "he or she should be respected and served, not exploited." Any action that violates human dignity is in this view an insult to God's image in humankind and therefore a violation against God.[204] It follows that it is a Christian duty to respect and serve humankind and fight against the evil that tramples on the image of God in men and women. Third is the doctrine of salvation. Though this is not equated with socio-political liberation, both evangelism (which concerns salvation) and social responsibility are regarded as "necessary expressions of . . . our love for our neighbour and our obedience to Jesus Christ".[205] In addition, "[t]he message of salvation implies also a message of judgment upon every form of alienation, oppression and discrimination".[206] "Salvation is deliverance from evil, and implicit in God's desire to save people from evil is his judgment on the evil from which he saves them. Moreover, this evil is both individual and social."[207] Because God abhors evil and injustice, "we should not be afraid to denounce evil and injustice wherever they exist."[208] Fourth is the doctrine of the kingdom, the rule of God of which Christians are part – "[w]hen people receive Christ they are born again into his kingdom."[209] It is a Christian duty to "seek

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[200] The Lausanne Movement, *The Lausanne Covenant*, available at www.lausanne.org accessed 12 Jan. 2013: The Lausanne Movement, 1974, www.lausanne.org
[201] John Stott, *Lausanne Occasional Paper 3: The Lausanne Covenant Exposition*, accessed 12 Jan. 2013: The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism, 1975, www.lausanne.org
[202] Lausanne Movement, *The Lausanne Covenant*
[203] Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development,* 3
[204] Lausanne Movement, *The Lausanne Covenant*
[205] Lausanne Movement
[206] Lausanne Movement
[207] Stott, *Lausanne Occasional Paper 3*
[208] Lausanne Movement, *The Lausanne Covenant*
[209] Lausanne Movement

not only to exhibit but also to spread its righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world".[210]

Tension continued among the evangelicals between the narrow (evangelism only) and broad (integrated evangelism and social action) view of mission and between the dualistic (primacy of evangelism) and holistic perspective. During a Consultation on the Relationship between Evangelism and Social Responsibility in 1982, however, conservatives and radicals came to a consensus on how evangelism and social responsibility are related to one another. This was described as "a milestone in the evangelical understanding of the Christian mission in the modern world".[211] The consultation's report states that "evangelism and social responsibility, while distinct from one another, are integrally related in our proclamation of and obedience to the Gospel".[212] In this view, the two are not understood as "in opposition to one another but as a partnership which is 'in reality, a marriage'".[213] Participants in this consultation came up with three conclusions on how social action/responsibility is related to evangelism: social action is "1) a consequence of evangelism – one of the principal aims of a changed life is to serve others; 2) a bridge to evangelism – with no need for manipulation, good deeds naturally create opportunities to share the Gospel; and 3) a partner with evangelism – the church must witness Christ in the world by both word and deed".[214] In terms of the issue of the primacy of evangelism, for Padilla, this Report made clear that "the primacy of evangelism can only be stated in a relative, not absolute, sense."[215] He provides two explanations. The first one he terms "logical priority", since "[t]he very fact of Christian social responsibility presupposes socially responsible Christians, and it can only be by evangelism and discipleship that they have become such".[216] The second one is described as "a priority derived from the fact that 'evangelism relates to people's eternal destiny and bringing them the Good News of salvation, Christians are doing what nobody else can do'".[217] It was explained that this perspective on the primacy of evangelism "simply reflects the Christian conviction that the widest and deepest human need is wholeness of life through the power of the Gospel."[218] These developments did not satisfy critics of the report. For them, it

[210] Lausanne Movement
[211] Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 30
[212] Rene Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 31
[213] Rene Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 30-1
[214] Tizon, *Transformation After Lausanne,* 49
[215] Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 31
[216] Rene Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 31
[217] Rene Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 31
[218] Rene Padilla, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility", 31

reflected a false North American nurtured dualism between body and soul, and social and spiritual, separating these two vital realities from each other and then falsely asking which one has priority over the other".[219] Also, they critiqued the concept of a 'evangelism-social action marriage; because in their view this implies that, though the two are distinct and related, they can be separated, which opens up the possibility of again reducing evangelism to mean only the verbal proclamation of the Gospel.[220] The marriage metaphor, they suggest, may not represent a more integrated evangelism and social action concept of mission, because there is "no evangelism without a social dimension and there is no Christian action without an evangelistic dimension."[221] However, it must be noted that the Report stated that "evangelism, even when it does not have a primary social intention, nevertheless has a social dimension, while social responsibility, even when it does not have a primarily evangelistic intention, nevertheless has an evangelistic dimension."[222]

In 1983, a Consultation on the Church in Response to Human Need held in Wheaton in the US drafted the Wheaton 1983 Statement, Transformation: The Church in Response to Human Need. This is said by Padilla to be "the strongest evangelical affirmation of commitment to integral mission". The Wheaton 1983 Statement affirms that "only by spreading the Gospel can the most basic need of human beings be met: to have fellowship with God".[223] It denounces a view of social responsibility that "tended to see the task of the church as merely picking up survivors from a shipwreck in a hostile sea . . . since this denies the biblical injunctions to defend the cause of the weak, maintain the rights of the poor and oppressed, and practice justice and love".[224] The statement includes strong expression of disapproval for Christians who support or give into or do nothing when confronted with social evils – "either we challenge the evil structures of society or we support them".[225] As the Wheaton 1983 Statement views evil as "not only in the human heart but also in social structures", it points out that Jesus

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[219] Tizon, *Transformation After Lausanne,* 49; see also Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development*
[220] Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development*
[221] Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development*
[222] John Stott and Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, *Making Christ Known: Historic Mission Documents from the Lausanne Movement, 1974-1989* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996), 182, cited in Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development*
[223] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement, Transformation: The Church in Response to Human Need*, Consultation on the Church in Response to Human Need, Wheaton, Illinois, accessed 13 Jan. 2013, available at http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/all/consultation-statements/423-transformation-the-church-in-response-to-human-need.html:; Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development*
[224] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*; Padilla, *Integral Mission and Its Historical Development*
[225] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*

"through his acts of mercy, teaching and lifestyle . . . exposed the injustices in society and condemned the self-righteousness of its leaders".[226] It calls the local church to be radical in doing ministry, urging local churches "also address issues of evil and social injustice in the local community and the wider society".[227] In recognition of "the central place of the local church as the vehicle for communicating the Gospel of Jesus Christ both in word and deed", the Wheaton 1983 Statement calls Christian aid agencies "to see their role as one of facilitating the churches in the fulfilment of their mission".[228] The last section of the Wheaton 1983 Statement includes a firm claim that "the Kingdom of God is both present and future, both societal and individual, both physical and spiritual . . . It grows like a mustard seed, both judging and transforming the present age". It points out the critical role of the church, stating that "God's activity in history is focused on the church, it is not confined to the church. God's particular focus on the church – as on Israel in the Old Testament – has as its purpose the blessing of the nations. Thus the church is called to exist for the sake of its Lord and the sake of humankind", not to provide escape, but to "infuse the world with hope, for both this age and the next", to "prepare for the ultimate by getting involved in the penultimate, . . . to commit ourselves to a truly vigorous and full-orbed mission in the world, combining explosive creativity with painstaking faithfulness in small things".[229] Lastly, it asserts that the church's "mission and vision are to be nurtured by the whole counsel of God. A repentant, revived, and vigorous church will call people to true repentance and faith and at the same time equip them to challenge the forces of evil and injustice".[230]

In 1999, the Micah Network was formed. It is a network of Christian FBOs from different countries including the Philippines. In 2004, the WEA and the Micah Network launched the Micah Challenge in response to the Millennium development goals of the United Nations. In 2006, the first Micah Challenge Consultation in the Philippines was held. Drawing from the experience of the Lausanne Movement, Micah Network defines integral mission (their term for holistic mission) as,

> the proclamation and demonstration of the gospel. It is not simply that evangelism and social involvement are to be done alongside each other. Rather, in integral mission our proclamation has social consequences as we call people to love and repentance in all areas of life. And our social involvement has evangelistic consequences as we bear witness to the transforming grace of Jesus Christ. If we ignore the world we betray the word of God which sends us out to serve the world. If we ignore the word of God we have nothing to

[226] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*
[227] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*
[228] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*
[229] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*
[230] The Lausanne Movement, *Wheaton 1983 Statement*

bring to the world. Justice and justification by faith, worship and political action, the spiritual and the material, personal change and structural change belong together.[231]

2.2.3.7 Mission as Transformation

Another concept within the evangelical community that is related to development is the term 'transformation'. Like 'holistic mission', transformation is a widely used term and is significant in evangelical Christians' discourse on development.

The term 'transformation' was adopted during the consultation held on June 20 to July 1, 1983 at the Billy Graham Centre of Wheaton College in Wheaton Illinois. The consultation was convened by World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF). Theological Commission and was sponsored by about fifty churches, denominations, and mission groups. It focused on the theme, 'I will Build My Church' with three subthemes: Track I - The Church in the Local Setting; Track II - The Church in the New Frontier; and Track III - The Church in Response to Human Need.[232] This adoption of the term transformation is one of the significant accomplishments of Track III of the consultation, during which participants reflected on the subtheme, 'The Church in Response to Human Need'.[233]

The term transformation was adopted to replace the term 'development', because of the "ideological trappings" of the latter.[234] Christians, it was suggested, must be aware that the development model that they had adopted in their work in response to human need was a secular one, "a child of the European and American Enlightenment", based on views that are in conflict with Christian views (Sine 1987:2). Enumerating the contrasts, first, the conventional view of the future of western development is materialistic. Sine explains,

> Western development . . . is based on the implicit belief that human society is inevitably progressing toward the attainment of a temporal, materialistic kingdom. In fact, the certain belief that unending economic and social progress is a natural condition of free persons has become the secular religion of the West . . . Implicit in this progressive view of the future was the firm conviction that economic progress would automatically result in social and moral progress. This view of the better future is primarily economic, fusing largely on human activities of production and consumption. The 'good life' became synonymous with self-seeking and the ability to produce and consume ever increasing quantities of goods and services.[235]

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[231] Brian E. Woolnough, "Good News for the Poor - Setting the Scene", 5
[232] Tizon, *Transformation After Lausanne*
[233] Tizon
[234] Tizon, 69
[235] T. Sine, "Development: Its Secular Past and Its Uncertain Future," in *The Church in Response to Human Need*, Samuel, Vinay; Sugden, Chris (Oxford, UK: Regnum Books, 1987), 2-3

This view of development, it was felt, emphasises economics and disregards the role of spirituality and the value of culture.[236] Second, these western views of development "are tied to secular views of God and his universe that have their origins in the Enlightenment".[237] Third, in participants' view, development has a low view of human beings. Sine explains, "In an essentially economic worldview, human worth is largely derivative: the individual has worth only to the extent that he or she contributes to the collective economic growth."[238] In the western development model, human beings are viewed in economic terms. Sine states,

> Modern development theories tend to talk about human personality, human activity, and human goals in largely economic terms -- such as human resource, beneficiaries, and so on. Therefore, modern development activity tends to foster a reductionistic view of human personality and activity, often ignoring the areas of spiritual, cultural, and relational development.[239]

Fourth, the view that a better future can be attained by purely human effort implies that there is no need for Divine work.[240]

A Fifth reason for adopting the term 'transformation' was that it could be used to distinguish itself from the term 'liberation', which is used commonly by both Roman Catholics and some Protestants. Again, this was to avoid "the ideological baggage that came with the term 'liberation', i.e., Marxist socialism, political revolution, and so on".[241]

Sixth, the term transformation was adopted because it is believed to "align closer with their [the participants'] understanding of biblical teaching regarding deep-seated change from the human heart to human society".[242]

Seventh, the term "transformation" was adopted because of its other positive implications for the arguments about the mission of the Church in relation to evangelism or social action. Sugden comments,

> The argument over whether evangelism or social action was prior in the mission of God was resolved to a certain extent by the use of the term transformation in the following way. The difference between the two positions turned to a large extent on people's view of humanity - either as autonomous individuals (evangelism). or as persons in relationships (social action).. The term transformation assured those concerned for evangelism that their vision for changing or transforming people would not be lost in the concern to transform the social relationships in which people were set.[243]

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[236] T. Sine, "Development: Its Secular Past and Its Uncertain Future"
[237] Tizon, 5
[238] Tizon, 7
[239] Tizon, 7
[240] Tizon
[241] Tizon, 69
[242] Tizon, 69
[243] C. Sugden, "Transformational Development: Current State of Understanding and Practice," *Transformation* 20, 2 (2003), 71

Defining transformation is quite challenging. As Getu states, "Transformation is a value-loaded concept. As such there will be no one absolute definition. As with the many concepts of the term 'development', the variations of definitions of 'transformation' are as numerous as the people trying to define it".[244] There is no intention here to provide 'a' definition of the term transformation, but by stating how different people defined it, a broader understanding of its meaning may be achieved.

Beginning with the participants of the '83 Wheaton consultation, who focussed on Track III and introduced the term, Bragg defines transformation as,

> Transformation is a concept that permeates the biblical record, from the Old Testament images of shalom and the reign of God in Israel to the New Testament church and the kingdom of God . . . Transformation is a part of the God's continuing action in history to restore all creation to himself and to its rightful purposes and relationships . . . Transformation . . . is a corrective to both individual and institutional sin. It does not extract people from their earthly contexts for otherworldly piety, but rather changes the contexts as well as the people.[245]

In this definition of "transformation", Bragg tries to accomplish several things. First, he tries to establish the biblical grounding of the term by connecting transformation to the biblical imageries of 'shalom', 'church' and 'kingdom of God'.[246] Reflecting on the Exodus story and the story of the beginning of the church as examples of transformation, Bragg states, "through the Bible, we see how the existing reality is transformed into a higher dimension and purpose".[247] Secondly, Bragg identifies the role of God in transformation, pointing out that transformation "is a part of the God's continuing action in history to restore all creation to himself and to its rightful purposes and relationships".[248] Thirdly, Bragg also states that the purpose of transformation to be is "a corrective to both individual and institutional sin".[249] Lastly Bragg, in saying that transformation "does not extract people from their earthly contexts for otherworldly piety, but rather changes the contexts as well as the people" describes an element in transformation that approaches must address, namely that it includes both individual change (which may be the aim of Christian churches) and structural change (which may be the aim of most development organizations).[250]

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[244] M. Getu, "Measuring Transformation: Conceptual Framework and Indicators," *Transformation* 19, 2 (2002), 1
[245] W. G. Bragg, "From Development to Transformation," in *The Church in Response to Human Need*, Samuel, Vinay; Sugden, Chris (Oxford, UK: Regnum Books, 1987), 38-9
[246] Bragg, "From Development to Transformation"; see also Bryant L. Myers, *Walking with the Poor : Principles and Practices of Transformational Development* (Philippines: OMF Literature Inc., 2006)
[247] Bragg, "From Development to Transformation", 38
[248] Bragg, 39
[249] Bragg, 39
[250] Bragg, 39

Dayton, also a participant in the '83 Wheaton consultation, views "'intentional social transformation' as a process of external intervention intended to enable people to become better than they were before."[251] He elaborates his definition by explaining key words in it:

> It is a *process*, something that goes on in time and assumes a series of consequences . . . It includes *external intervention* . . . it is assumed that if the people with whom it is concerned are left to themselves, it is unlikely that the particular change will take place. Someone outside must intervene . . . this may well be the intervention of the Holy Spirit . . . The purpose of the intervention is *to enable*. Thus it assumes that the potential to be different, to be better, already lies within the people . . . The subject of social transformation is *a people*. The transformation we are talking about here is not only to the individual -- it is *social*. It assumes individuals in relationship, in community . . . The assumption is that the people will in the end be *better* in some way than they were before this intervention. Yet the definition does not define "better". That has to be uniquely defined for each people in their own context.[252]

Here, Dayton identifies a number of elements of transformation, in his use of key words.

Samuel, also a participant in the '83 Wheaton consultation, defines transformation as,

> Transformation is to enable God's vision of society to be actualised in all relationships, social, economic, and spiritual, so that God's will may be reflected in human society and his love be experienced by all communities, especially the poor . . . Transformation is the transformation of communities to reflect the kingdom values.[253]

Here, Samuel and Sugden state that the end goal is transformation which is the actualised vision of God in society, which thus reflects the values of the kingdom of God. This vision of God, actualised in all relationships – social, economic, and spiritual, implies that it is holistic. Myers also expresses such a holistic characteristic of transformation in his definition, stating that "I use the term *transformational development* to reflect my concern for seeking positive change in the whole of human life materially, socially, and spiritually".[254] Similarly, Alvarez et al. use the word "holistic" in their definition of transformation:

> Transformational development seeks to respond to the needs of the poor in a holistic manner. It seeks to follow Christ in the way he went about doing his ministry, encompassing the physical, spiritual, social and cultural dimensions of personal and societal life. It hopes and works for change in people toward the ideal of the kingdom of

[251] E. R. Dayton, "Social Transformation: The Mission of God," in *The Church in Response to Human Need*, Samuel, Vinay; Sugden, Chris (Oxford, UK: Regnum Books, 1987), 55
[252] Dayton, "Social Transformation", 55
[253] V. Samuel and C. Sugden, *Mission As Transformation* (Oxford, UK: Regnum Books, 1999), xiii
[254] Myers, *Walking with the Poor*, 3

God as demonstrated by improved relationship with God, self, others and the environment.[255]

The phrase "to enable" in Samuel's definition may implies human responsibility to effect transformation, and is also emphasised in Myers:

> 'True human development involves choices, setting aside that which is not for life in us and our community while actively seeking and supporting all that is for life. This requires that we say no to some things in order to say yes to what really matters. Transformation implies changing our choices."[256]

Alvarez, et al. also point to human responsibility in their definition of transformational development, which for them, is "an expression of the mission of shalom. It is the act of responding positively to God's call to be partners with God in rebuilding the kingdom".[257]

Several FBOs who are doing humanitarian works have also adopted and defined the term transformation. For example, Getu quotes Opportunity International's definition of transformation as "a deeply rooted change in people's economic, social, political, spiritual and behavioural conditions resulting in their enjoyment of wholeness of life under God's ordinances."[258] Byworth summarises World Vision's definition of transformational development as "a process through which children, families and communities move towards wholeness of life with dignity, justice, peace and hope . . . Transformational development is a journey from poverty to wholeness".[259]

Transformation is characterized by several characteristics. First is life sustenance having enough to satisfy basic needs. Goulet explains that "the provision of life-sustaining necessities and an overall increase in society's wealth generates a quantitative change. But this can form only the basis of what is really needed -- a qualitative change".[260] Second is equity, "An equitable distribution of material goods and opportunities among the peoples of the world".[261] Third is justice in all social relationships and structures[262] (Bragg, 1987). Pope Paul VI gives a picture of this justice as he states, "a vision of the transformed world is: where every man, no matter what race, religion, or nationality, can live a fully human life, freed from servitude imposed

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[255] Joy Alvarez, Nora Avarientos, and Tom McAlpine, "Our Experience with the Bible and Transformational Development," in *Working with the Poor: New Insights and Learnings from Development Practitioners*, Myers, Bryant (California: World Vision, 1999), 57
[256] Myers, *Walking with the Poor*, 3
[257] Alvarez, Avarientos and others, "Our Experience with the Bible", 57
[258] Getu, "Measuring Transformation", 92
[259] J. Byworth, "World Vision's Approach to Transformational Development: Frame, Policy and Indicators," *Transformation* 20, 2 (2003), 103
[260] Bragg, "From Development to Transformation"
[261] Bragg, 41
[262] Bragg.

on him by other men or national forces over which he has no control."[263] Fourth is dignity and self-worth, "True transformation also depends on the establishment and the affirmation of all people's dignity and self-worth – especially as society is changing".[264] Fifth is freedom, described as, "freedom from external control or oppression, a sense of being liberated in Christ".[265] Sixth is participation, meaning that "the affected people play a meaningful part in their own transformation".[266] Seventh is reciprocity, meaning that everyone can learn from one another, between cultures, societies and countries (even developed ones).[267] Eighth, there must be a culture fit: "Transformation must always be appropriate to the culture that is to be transformed."[268] Ninth is ecological soundness, which means that "Transformation should also be environmentally sensitive"[269] Tenth is hope having an attitude of expectation and optimism.[270] Lastly, it includes spiritual transformation. This refers to changes in attitudes and behaviour. To summarise, transformation has two characteristics:[271] The First is "recovering a true identity and discovering true vocation" – every individual (both poor and non-poor) must understand that he or she is created in the image of God for a purpose; and second is "just and peaceful relationships" – these are with God, oneself, others, the community, and the environment. [272] When marred relationships are restored, the physical or material side of development, it is believed, will follow.

2.3. FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS

Organisations with religious affiliations, which are now identified as Faith-based organisations (FBOs), have been involved in providing various social services for the disadvantaged and marginalised for a long time. While there used to be a scarcity of knowledge about FBOs due to the neglect of religion by academics and policy makers (as mentioned in Chapter 1 Section 1), there have been a growing number of studies focusing on them and the role of religion or faith in development work in the last 20 years.[273] According to G. Clarke, this growing prominence of FBOs in development

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[263] Bragg.
[264] Bragg, "From Development to Transformation", 42
[265] Myers, *Walking with the Poor*, 95
[266] Bragg, 44
[267] Bragg,
[268] Bragg, 45
[269] Bragg, 45
[270] Bragg
[271] Myers, *Walking with the Poor*
[272] Myers
[273] Emma Tomalin, 'Thinking about Faith-Based Organisations in Development: Where Have We Got to and What Next?', *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5–6 (1 August 2012): 689–703, https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2012.686600; Matthew Clarke and Vicki-Anne Ware, 'Understanding

discourse was a result of six factors: first, the rise of the Christian right in the US, i.e. Evangelical and Charismatic congregations and their leaders, who received much support from the US government; second, FBOs mushroomed and expanded their work both in developed and developing countries, as a response to the growing poverty and inequality resulting from economic liberalisation implemented in both Western/Northern and Eastern/Southern countries in the 1980s. In the US, development assistance policies were re-structured. For example, the "Charitable Choice" provision of the Welfare Act of 1996 and the Faith-based and Community Initiative Act of 2001 allowed FBOs to be awarded government contracts and receive funding; third, an increase in the number of Saudi Arabian funded Islamic aid organisations and the growth of political Islam; fourth, the rise of 'identity politics', including movements and organizations reflecting religious identity, associated in part with the decline of communism; fifth, the emergence of transnational civil society; and lastly, an increased number of international migrants in developed countries and the support they provide to their home countries, in the form of development aid, relief, etc..[274]

This study investigates the interaction between religion and development in the development work of faith-based organisation (FBO). To provide an overview on how the term FBO is used and understood in development literature, the following sections discuss how the FBO is defined (Section 2.3.1.) and how it is compared with NGOs (Section 2.3.2.).

2.3.1. Defining Faith-based Organisations

Faith-based organisation or FBO was the term commonly used in North America as "a label for organisations that arose or reshaped themselves in response to the new political climate, [and] which sought to elevate the role that faith traditions can play in many aspects of public life, including international development".[275] While the term has come to be used internationally, defining what it means poses a challenge. For one, Jeavons

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Faith-Based Organizations: How FBOs Are Contrasted with NGOs in International Development Literature', *Progress in Development Studies; London* 15, no. 1 (January 2015): 37–48, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.mdx.ac.uk/10.1177/1464993414546979; Tara Hefferan, Julie Adkins, and Laurie A. Occhipinti, 'Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development: An Introduction', in *Bridging the Gaps: Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Tara Hefferan, Julie Adkins, and Laurie A. Occhipinti (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 1–35; Gerard Clarke, 'Faith-Based Organizations and International Development: An Overview', in *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*, ed. Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Ram A. Cnaan and Charlene C. McGrew, 'Social Welfare', in *Handbook of Religion and Social Institutions*, ed. Helen Rose Ebaugh (New York, USA: Springer Science & Business Media, 2006), 67–93.

[274] Clarke, 'Faith-Based Organizations and International Development: An Overview'.

[275] Tomalin, 'Thinking about Faith-Based Organisations in Development', 692.

observes that many do not see a need to define the term FBO, claiming that 'they will know it when they see it'.[276] Sider and Unruh comment that the term FBO is a 'catch all' term that is confusing and divisive, since it lacks a clear definition.[277] Smith and Sosin critique the use of the term as too narrow and limiting, excluding many organisations whose faith dimension is implicit rather than explicit.[278] They find problematic the implicit assumption that faith elements in organisations are embodied in readily recognisable sets of practices, and dislike the term being used in studies of an ambiguously defined set of organisations.[279] Instead, they propose the use of the term faith-related, which they define as:

> social service organizations that have any of the following: a formal funding or administrative arrangement with a religious authority or authorities; a historical tie of this kind; a specific commitment to act within the dictates of a particular established faith; or a commitment to work together that stems from a common religion.[280]

For them, this "definition is analytically clear because it distinguishes the tie to faith from the actions that may result from this tie".[281] Also, they point out that it is more inclusive, reflecting "the variable nature of ties", as organisations with an explicit faith element do their work in a secular context and also it is possible that there is a degree of religious influence even in secular organisations.[282] Clarke and Jennings broadly define an FBO as "any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith".[283] Jeavons, however, considering government funding for religious work, proposes to exclude congregations from classification as FBOs because of the difficulty of classifying them as either a religious institution or a social service provider.[284] Smith and Sosin point out that the faith element in organisations is multidimensional and in identifying those dimensions, it is important to recognise that all agencies are heavily influenced by their overall

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[276] Thomas H. Jeavons, 'Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Do We Know One When We See One?', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (1 March 2004): 140–45, https://doi-org.ezproxy.mdx.ac.uk/10.1177/0899764003257499.
[277] Ronald J Sider and Heidi Rolland Unruh, 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (1 March 2004): 109–34, https://doi-org.ezproxy.mdx.ac.uk/10.1177/0899764003257494.
[278] Steven Rathgeb Smith and Michael R. Sosin, 'The Varieties of Faith-Related Agencies', *Public Administration Review* 61, no. 6 (November 2001): 651–70, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ehh&AN=5546684&site=ehost-live.
[279] Smith and Sosin.
[280] Smith and Sosin, 652.
[281] Smith and Sosin, 653.
[282] Smith and Sosin, 653.
[283] Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, eds., 'Introduction', in *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 6.
[284] Jeavons, 'Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Do We Know One When We See One?'

"*institutional environment,* that is, by the norms, beliefs, and cognitions apparent in other organizations".[285] Having a continuum of classification better reflects these multidimensional aspects than having one catch all definition. For example, Clarke classifies FBOs relevant to international development into various types: representative organisations or apex bodies; charitable or development organisations; socio-political organisations; missionary organisations; and radical, illegal, or terrorist organisations.[286] Sider and Unruh classify FBOs according to the degree to which and how faith is manifested in their work.[287] They distinguish between organizational characteristics, which include the mission statement, founding, affiliation, controlling board, senior management, other staff, support, and personnel religious practices; and program characteristics, with a view to identifying whether and how these are influenced by the latter, the religious environment, program content, religious influence on program content, and the expected connection between religious content and desired outcomes.[288] Using these characteristics, Hefferan et al. modified Sider and Unruh's five types of organisations, forming a continuum, with faith-permeated/faith-saturated organisations at one end, through faith-centred, faith-affiliated/faith-related, faith-background, faith-secular partnership, to secular organisations at the other.[289]

2.3.2. FBOs and 'Secular' Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)

Similar to FBOs, defining non-government organisations (NGOs) poses a challenge because despite many attempts to define them through the years, there has been "no agreement at an international level or at an interdisciplinary level on a definition that can precisely analyse what constitutes a[n] NGO".[290] Lewis explains that the reason for this disagreement is that:

> NGOs are a diverse group of organizations that defy generalization, ranging from small informal groups to large formal agencies. NGOs play different roles and take different shapes within and across different societies. As a result, ''NGO'' as an analytical category remains complex and unclear.

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[285] Smith and Sosin, 'The Varieties of Faith-Related Agencies', 563.
[286] Clarke, 'Faith-Based Organizations and International Development: An Overview'.
[287] Sider and Unruh, 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs'.
[288] Sider and Unruh.
[289] Hefferan, Adkins, and Occhipinti, 'Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development: An Introduction'; Sider and Unruh, 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs'.
[290] Albert Kuruvila, 'Non-Governmental Organisations(NGOs): Issues of Terminology and Definitions - ProQuest', June 2015, 24, https://search.proquest.com/openview/2d4bf6630d4fe865e8cb7ca35030bc9a/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=736335.

Salamon and Anheier identify four approaches to defining NGOs: the first is a legal definition, which pertains to how NGOs or non-profit organisations are defined and classified according to the laws within a country; the second is an economic/financial definition, which centres on the sources of resources of NGOs; the third is a functional definition, which emphasise the purpose of NGOs and what they aim to accomplish; and the fourth is a structural/operational definition, which focuses on the structure, common characteristics and operation of NGOs.[291] They evaluated these approaches following a set of criteria, namely: economy: to what extent can an approach identify "the truly critical aspects of a phenomenon or process and thereby produces a picture of reality that is simpler than reality itself"; significance: does an approach focus on "aspects or relationships that are not already obvious or that are not trivial"; and explanatory or predictive powers: does an approach have "rigour, combinatorial richness and organising power".[292] They find the first three approaches incomplete and therefore of limited usefulness and conclude that the approach that has more advantages and fewer disadvantages is the structural/operational approach.[293] In this structural/operational approach, NGOs are organisational entities having the following characteristics: formal, i.e. having a legal identity or conducting regular meetings, having officers or established rules of procedures, or having some degree of organisational permanence; private, i.e. institutionally separate from government; non-profit-distributing, meaning that any profits generated are not given back to owners, directors, donors or funders; self-governing, i.e. they have the capacity to run and control their own activities; and voluntary, i.e. that there is a significant level of voluntary participation either in the implementation or management of their activities or in giving resources.[294]

In explaining the role of faith/religion and FBOs in development work, the literature often compares and contrasts FBOs with 'secular' NGOs. Clarke and Ware identify several ways in which the literature classifies FBOs in relation to secular NGOs. They came up with six types of FBOs and offer one typology, which they claim, "may integrate all the others and better reflect the distinctiveness that FBOs might be

[291] Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, 'In Search of the Non-Profit Sector. I: The Question of Definitions', *Voluntas* 3, no. 2 (November 1992): 125–51, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01397770; Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis* (Manchester University Press, 1997).
[292] Salamon and Anheier, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector*, 35.
[293] Salamon and Anheier, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector*.
[294] Salamon and Anheier, 'In Search of the Non-Profit Sector. I'; Salamon and Anheier, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector*.

understood as having in relation to NGOs".[295] First is intersection. Here FBOs rest within the intersection of NGOs and religious organisations, meaning that they can be both classified as NGOs and religious organisations. Having a dual identity makes them somewhat distinct both from exclusively secular NGOs and from exclusively sectarian organisations who are not doing any development work. Second is distinct[iveness]. In this understanding, FBOs are considered distinct and separate from NGOs because of their religiosity. It is thought that religious principles and teachings inform the development approach and work done by FBOs and this differentiates them from NGOs. Third is substi[tu]tive. In this type, the emphasis is on the similarities between FBOs and NGOs. The focus is not on their religious motivation, but on the work of FBOs, including the processes, programs and impacts they adopt, which are viewed to be the same as those of NGOs. Fourth is subset. Within this understanding, the term NGO refers to a wide range of organisations, including FBOs. In this view, religious motivation or affiliation does not exclude FBOs from being a kind of NGO. Fifth is co-existing. Here it is viewed that FBOs and NGOs stand on an equal footing with each other within the wider civil society field. This equal footing implies that both have legitimate and equal rights to exist and gain access to resources. In this view, the role FBOs play as part of civil society is greatly valued. Sixth is atomistic grouping. Here, it is acknowledged that FBOs are comprised of organisations that are very diverse and suggested that they cannot be lumped together into one category because they are heterogeneous with respect to how culture, faith and religious interpretation are reflected in their work. Lastly, Clarke and Ware propose "a new way", the constitutive type. In this perspective, FBOs are constitutive of aspects of the different organisations which are also development work like them. They can claim a similar heritage and identity to NGOs, religious organisations, civil society, and communities enabling them to reach out and relate to other stakeholders in a society.

The intersection, co-existing and constitutive types distinguish between FBOs and NGOs, with the religious affiliation FBOs being the relevant aspect. The atomistic type, while pointing out differences among FBOs, does not refer to their relationship with NGOs. The substitutive and subset types suggest that there is no distinction between FBOs and NGOs. As Clarke and Ware conclude, these conceptualisations show that there is some confusion on how FBOs are understood in relation to NGOs. They point out that "there is as yet little clarity as to the similarities and distinctiveness of FBOs in contrast to NGOs and also how they are positioned in regards to the wider civil society".

[295] Clarke and Ware, 'Understanding Faith-Based Organizations'.

The main issue goes back to explaining whether, how and why FBOs are distinct from or similar to NGOs.

2.4. DISCOURSE THEORY

Discourse is identified as a dimension of both religion and development, particularly from a post development perspective (Section 2.1.2.). It is a concept that may be used as an analytical tool in understanding religion and development together, so it is helpful to clarify it in order to develop an in-depth understanding of it. This concept has already been used in different ways in the discussions in the previous sections (Sections 2.1.2. and 2.2.) For example, Lincoln explains that religious discourse refers to any language or text that is deemed true and authoritative. He emphasises the capacity of discourse to frame how other teachings or texts are regarded. In this sense, discourse has a regulatory function. In the discussion on the post development critique of mainstream development, the ideas endorsed by mainstream development are considered to constitute the dominant discourse of Western modernisation. Here, discourse is understood an instrument for domination. There is a large body of literature on discourse that can be accessed to have a better grasp of its meaning(s), its relationship with other aspects of society, and its possible use in this study. This section presents a review of studies on discourse, focusing on its presuppositions (4.1.); the various ways it has been defined (4.2.); its relationship to text (4.3.), knowledge, power (4.4.), and reality (4.5.); and a key term related to it – the dispositive (4.6.).

2.4.1. Presuppositions of Discourse Theory

The inception of the theory of discourse can be traced to the 'linguistic turn' in the humanities and social sciences in the late 1950s when the view that "language is much more than a simple reflection of reality – that, in fact, it is *constitutive* of social reality" was recognised, laying the groundwork for a "constructionist view of social phenomena".[296] Social constructionism, as Burr explains, challenges positivism and empiricism on the view of knowledge as based on objective observation of the world, and argues that there cannot be a presupposition-free investigation and understanding of the world. Instead, we access reality through our presupposed categories and conceptions, and our knowledge and understanding of the world therefore is not a reflection of the reality 'out there' but rather products of the ways we categorise the

[296] Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy, *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction* (SAGE Publications, 2002), 12.

world.[297] Burr explains further that for social constructionism, these presupposed categories and conceptions of the world are historically and contextually formed. They are also constructed and reconstructed as people from different historical and cultural contexts interact with one another, including interactions through language, and therefore the knowledge that is constructed or reconstructed is related to a particular behaviour or social action – when knowledge changes, action changes.[298]

From social constructionism a number of alternative approaches in social science research emerged, together with structuralist and poststructuralist linguistics philosophy. Jørgensen and Phillips point out that discourse analysis builds on the claim of structuralist and poststructuralist linguistic philosophy that we can only access reality through language, because through language "we create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality".[299] Jørgensen and Phillips explain that this claim does not deny either the existence of reality or the reality of meanings and representations, but rather asserts that "physical objects . . . exist, but they only gain meaning through discourse".[300] Jørgensen and Phillips elaborate that language does not only communicate information but is also "a 'machine' that generates, and as a result constitutes, the social world", including "the constitution of social identities and social relations", and that "changes in discourse are a means by which the social world is changed".[301] Jørgensen and Phillips identify the following poststructuralist perspectives that most discourse analytical approaches agree with:

> Language is not a reflection of a pre-existing reality; language is structured in patterns or discourses – there is not just one general system of meaning . . . but a series of systems or discourses, whereby meanings change from discourse to discourse; these discourse patterns are maintained and transformed in discursive practices; the maintenance and transformation of the patterns should therefore be explored through analysis of the specific context in which language is in action.[302]

2.4.2. Defining Discourse

Discourse has been defined in many ways in the discourse analysis literature. Foucault is acknowledged to have a central role in the development of discourse analysis in both

[297] Vivien Burr, *Social Constructionism* (UK: Routledge, 2015).
[298] Burr.
[299] Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: SAGE, 2002), 9.
[300] Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: SAGE, 2002): 9.
[301] Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: SAGE, 2002): 9.
[302] Jørgensen and Phillips: 12.

theory and practice. He has been quoted, related to, commented on, modified and criticised in most discourse analytic approaches. Foucault defines discourse as:

> a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, endlessly repeatable, whose appearance or use in history might be indicated (and, if necessary, explained); it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form that also possesses a history; the problem is not therefore to ask one self how and why it was able to emerge and become embodied at this point in time; it is, from beginning to end, historical - a fragment of history, a unity and discontinuity in history itself, posing the problem of its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality rather than its sudden irruption in the midst of the complicities of time.[303]

In this definition, discourse is viewed as "a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices".[304] Foucault holds a social constructionist perspective of knowledge as not only a mere reflection of reality but also one that is constructed discursively. What is true or false is determined by different regimes of knowledge and the goal in studies is to identify the structure of these regimes of knowledge – "the rules for what can and cannot be said and the rules for what is considered to be true and false".[305] Building on Foucault, Link defines discourse as "an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power".[306] Jäger and Maier, illustrating Link, describe discourse as "a flow of knowledge throughout time", where various discourses intersect and connect together forming "the giant milling mass of overall societal discourse".[307] Discourse does not only reflect social practices, but also legitimizes and institutionalizes how people think, speak and act.[308] Following this view of discourse as a social practice, Fairclough views it as "the particular view of language in use . . . as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements".[309] Von Stuckrad also defines discourse as:

> Practices that organize knowledge in a given community; they establish, stabilize, and legitimize systems of meaning and provide collective shared orders of knowledge in an

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[303] Michel Foucault, *The Archaelogy of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972): 117.
[304] Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*: 61.
[305] Jørgensen and Phillips.: 13
[306] Jürgen Link, 'Was Ist Und Was Bringt Diskurstaktik', *kultuRRevolution* 2 (1983): 60–66 cited in Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier, 'Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis', in *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE, 2009), 34–61.: 35
[307] Jäger and Maier, 'Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis'.: 35
[308] Jäger and Maier.
[309] Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003), 3.

> institutionalized social ensemble. Statements, utterances, and opinions about a specific topic, systematically organized and repeatedly observable, form a discourse.[310]

Another perspective is to view discourse as a system or framework of meaning. For example, Burr defines discourse as:

> a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events. It refers to a particular picture that is painted of an event, person or class of persons, a particular way of representing it in a certain light.[311]

Similarly Zwanikken defines discourses as "frameworks of meaning, consisting of key concepts and metaphors, where actors construct and interpret physical and social phenomena".[312] For Hajer, discourse is 'a frame', a 'framework of meaning' or "an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena".[313] Understood as a system or framework of meaning, van der Arend explains that discourse is "a more or less consistent way of thinking, speaking and writing about a particular subject . . . [it] works as a spectacle with which (groups) individuals perceive the world around them".[314] It not only represents ideas as they are articulated, but structures "how arguments are made as well as which ideas are represented".[315] Reflecting on the idea mentioned above, that language is our access to multiple versions or systems of meaning of events, there may be manifold distinctive discourses referring to any one particular object, person or event. Also, in this understanding of language, a discourse is "not the actual language [used for communication] between people in concrete situations, but a more or less delimited abstract object that can work in different places at the same time".[316]

Lastly, discourse is also understood as communication. For example, for Schmidt, it "is not only what you say, however; it includes to whom you say it, how, why, and where in the process of policy construction and political communication in the 'public sphere'".[317] Within the public sphere, agents interact with one another in a

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[310] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', January 2013.: 15

[311] Vivien Burr, *Social Constructionism* (Routledge, 2004).: 64

[312] T. H. C. Zwanikken, *Ruimte Als Voorraad? : Ruimte Voor Variëteit! : De Consequenties van Discoursen Rondom 'Ruimte Als Voorraad' Voor Het Rijks Ruimtelijk Beleid* ([S.l. : s.n.], 2001), 43, http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/handle/2066/19016. Translation by Translation by https://translate.google.co.uk.

[313] Maarten A. Hajer, *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process by Maarten A. Hajer* (OUP Oxford, 1995), 43.

[314] Sonja van der Arend, *Pleitbezorgers, procesmanagers en participanten: interactief beleid en de rolverdeling tussen overheid en burgers in de Nederlandse democratie* (Eburon Uitgeverij B.V., 2007) Translation by https://translate.google.co.uk.

[315] Vivien A. Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse', *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, no. 1 (2008): 309, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342.

[316] Arend, *Pleitbezorgers, procesmanagers en participanten*, 28 Translation by https://translate.google.co.uk.

[317] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism', 310.

'coordinative' discourse about policy construction. Participants in coordinative discourse are the individuals and groups involved in "the creation, elaboration, and justification of policy and programmatic ideas".[318] These policy agents may seek concurrence among themselves on policy ideas. Another part of the public sphere is the political sphere, in which agents interact with the public in a 'communicative' discourse regarding "the necessity and appropriateness of such policies".[319] Participants in communicative discourse are therefore the individuals and groups involved in "the presentation, deliberation, and legitimation of political ideas to the general public".[320]

2.4.3. Discourse and Text

Wodak defines discourse as:

> A complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types, that is genres.[321]

Phillips and Hardy also view discourse as "an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that bring an object into being".[322] While discourse is distinguished from text, these two definitions emphasise text as the focus of analysis. Wodak defines texts as "materially durable products of linguistic actions".[323] For Fairclough, text is not limited to written and spoken language, but also includes cultural artefacts such as pictures, buildings or music.[324] For Kress:

> Text are the sites of the emergence of complexes of social meanings, produced in the particular history of the situation of production, that record in partial ways the histories both of the participants in the production of the text and of the institutions that are 'invoked' or brought into play, indeed, a partial history of the language and the social system, a partiality due to the structurings of the relations of power of the participants.[325]

Phillips and Hardy add that "texts are not meaningful individually; it is through their interconnection with other texts, the different discourses on which they draw, and the nature of their production, dissemination, and consumption that they are made meaningful".[326]

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[318] Schmidt, 310.
[319] Schmidt, 310.
[320] Schmidt, 310.
[321] Ruth Wodak, 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: SAGE, 2001), 66.
[322] Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*.: 3
[323] Wodak, 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', 66.
[324] Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1995).
[325] Gunther Kress, 'The Social Producation of Language: History and Structures of Domination', in *Discourse in Society: Systemic Functional Perspectives*, ed. Peter H. Fries and Michael Gregory (London: Ablex Publishing, 1995), 122.
[326] Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*, 4.

2.4.4. Discourse, Knowledge and Power

As a social practice, Foucault strongly related discourse to knowledge and power, as he stated: "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together".[327] Power, according to him, is neither possessed nor controlled by an individual or a group of people with particular interests or the state, but lies within various social practices and relations; "it is seen as dispersed and subject-less, as elements of broad 'strategies' but without individual authors"; where " subjects are discursively constituted through power; their actions may contribute to the operation of power":[328]

> the power exercised on the body is conceived not as a property, but as a strategy; that its effects of domination are attributed not to "appropriation," but to dispositions, maneuvers, tactics, techniques, functionings; that one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might possess; that one should take as its model a perpetual battle, rather than a contract regulating a transaction or the conquest of a territory. In short, this power is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the "privilege," acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions–an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated. Furthermore, this power is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who "do not have it"; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts pressure on them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them… none of its localized episodes may be inscribed in history except by the effects that it induces on the entire network in which it is caught up.[329]

Foucault emphasised that power is everywhere, produced in every moment of interaction, therefore the operation of power exists in all social practices and relations:

> The omnipresence of power: not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invisible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another. Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere . . . power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society.[330]

He also pointed out that the effects of power are not only negative but also positive:

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.[331]

Haugaard and Ryan consider Foucault's conceptualisation of power as the foundation of the constitutive meta-language stream of the power debate. They also

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[327] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 100.

[328] Jonathan Gaventa, 'Power after Lukes: An Overview of Theories of Power since Lukes and Their Application to Development', *Brighton: Participation Group, Institute of Development Studies*, 2003, 3.

[329] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 26–27.

[330] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 93.

[331] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 194.

identify two other dominant meta-language streams, namely: the conflictual stream and the consensual stream.

The conflictual meta-language stream views power as 'power over'. According to Haugaard and Ryan, this stream draws from Hobbes' perspective in which "the Sovereign exercises *power over* their subjects".[332] It builds on Weber's definition of power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests".[333] Dahl provided a clearer explanation of Weber's definition when he defined power, where "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something B would not do otherwise".[334] Power as power over is usually understood as zero-sum – an increase in A's power results in a decrease of B's power and vice versa, and interpreted as domination and coercion. Within this understanding of power, Bachrach and Bartz argued that there are two faces of power, which were later called two dimensions of power by Lukes, and then added a third dimension, therefore presenting a three-dimensional framework for analysing power. The first face/dimension of power focuses on the exercise of power, analysing decision-making processes and the actors involved in it. The second face/dimension was explained by Bachrach and Baratz as the exercise of power where "A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A".[335] This dimension inquires about the reasons behind social action, e.g. decision-making and non-decision. The focus of analysis is not only on obvious conflicts like in open confrontations in debates, but also on obscure conflicts where issues do not get to be decided because they are not included in the agenda. The third dimension presented by Lukes is the exercise of power "to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things".[336] Lukes draws from Gramsci's concept of hegemony defined as an "ideological

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[332] Mark Haugaard and Kevin Ryan, 'Social and Political Power', in *Political Power: The Development of the Field*, ed. Mark Haugaard and Kevin Ryan (Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2012), 22 italics original.
[333] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (University of California Press, 1978), 53.
[334] Robert A. Dahl, 'The Concept of Power', *Behavioral Science* 2, no. 3 (1 January 1957): 202–3, https://doi.org/10.1002/bs.3830020303.
[335] Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, 'Two Faces of Power', *American Political Science Review* 56, no. 4 (December 1962): 948, https://doi.org/10.2307/1952796.
[336] Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan International Higher Education, 2005), 20.

subordination".[337] Hegemony "occurs when the ruled consent to their [(ruling group)] rule and imagine the reality of their everyday existence in terms of concepts that [they] cannot do [anything about] other than reproduce their consent and subordination".[338] It is assumed in this third dimension that the ruling group may exercise power, using various mechanisms like distorting communication, to shape the interest of the ruled creating a 'false consciousness' so that they would willingly concede to the interest of their ruler, even if it conflicts with their real interest (true consciousness) – which is objective and "distinct from the interest they think they have and express themselves as having through their preferences".[339] In addition to analysing decision-making and agenda setting, which are the foci of analysis in the first and second dimensions, the third dimension includes analysis of latent conflicts, which consist of contradictions between the interests of the ones exercising power and the real interest of those subjected to it.[340] Lukes' three dimensions can be compared and contrasted with Foucault's understanding of knowledge, power and discourse. Both perspectives provide a "direct mapping between the tacit social knowledge that actors use to reproduce social structure and the reproduction of relations of domination".[341] Also, their views of power both have consensual characteristics. The concepts of hegemony, adopted by Lukes, and discourse, conceptualised by Foucault, are both forms of domination that are built on the consent of those who are less powerful or of low status.[342] Both share the understanding of power as domination. However, Foucault contested the idea of sovereign power so for him, domination is not in the sense that an individual or a group is dominating others, like the control of the state over its citizens, rather, in the sense that power is a "multiplicity of force relations" constituting individuals through structures of discourse and social practices.[343] For Lukes, subjects can become independent from power and rid themselves of their false consciousness so that they are able to recognise their real interests ('true' consciousness). However for Foucault, subjects are socially constituted by the structures of power surrounding them.

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[337] Perry Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism* (New Left Books, 1976) cited in; Lukes, *Power*, 144.
[338] Stewart R. Clegg, David Courpasson, and Nelson Phillips, *Power and Organizations* (SAGE, 2006), 212.
[339] Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips, 211; Lukes, *Power*.
[340] Lukes, *Power*.
[341] Mark Haugaard, 'Rethinking the Four Dimensions of Power: Domination and Empowerment', *Journal of Political Power* 5, no. 1 (1 April 2012): 42, https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2012.660810.
[342] Mark Haugaard, 'Consensual Power, Theories Of', ed. Keith Dowding, *Encyclopedia of Power* (Thousand Oaks, CA.: SAGE, February 2011).
[343] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 92.

Power can also be understood as nonzero-sum or positive-sum. Parsons pointed this out when he critiqued Mills.[344] He argued that power, like money, is a "circulating medium", that it is "the *means* of acquiring control".[345] It is also observed that actors may impose their will, interest or objective over others in ways that may be beneficial to those who are being subjected to it, in situations where A knows B's interest better than B, like in paternalism and social relations similar to it.[346] Haugaard, like Foucault, sees the positive side of the exercise of power over and argues that it does not always mean domination, citing the use of coercion in democracies to get things done.[347] Haugaard explains that while zero-sum is power in which one party benefits at the expense of the other, nonzero-sum or positive-sum power is when none of the parties benefit at the expense of the other.[348] Moreover, he distinguishes between "exercises of power that are effective due to the reproduction of a structural context and the ones which do not depend on structural constraints", and argues that the former may result in positive outcomes.[349] Nevertheless, for Göhler, in spite of the possible positive intentions and effects, "exercising power over within a social relation always produces a negative result for those subjected to it, because it narrows their field of action" and that "A's autonomy within a power relationship necessarily means correspondingly less power for B".[350]

As noted above, in using money as an analogy, Parsons recognised that power exists and can be analysed even when it is not exercised. He defined power as:

> a generalized facility or resource in the society. It has to be divided or allocated, but it also has to be produced and it has collective as well as distributive functions. It is the capacity to mobilize the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for which a general 'public' commitment has been made, or may be made.[351]

Following Parsons, Luhmann was also interested in finding out what makes the exercise of power possible. Like Parsons, he also viewed power as a medium, although not as a circulating medium, but a communication medium. Strecker explains that for Luhmann, "power is the name for the symbolically generalized communication".[352] As

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[344] Talcott Parsons, 'On the Concept of Political Power', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107, no. 3 (1963): 232–62, https://www.jstor.org/stable/985582; C. Wright Mills and Alan Wolfe, *The Power Elite*, 1/18/00 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
[345] Parsons, 'On the Concept of Political Power', 234, 236.
[346] Haugaard, 'Rethinking the Four Dimensions of Power'.
[347] Haugaard.
[348] Haugaard.
[349] Haugaard, 35.
[350] Gerhard Göhler, '"Power to" and "Power over"', in *The SAGE Handbook of Power*, ed. Stewart R. Clegg and Mark Haugaard (London: SAGE, 2009), 28.
[351] Talcott Parsons, 'The Distribution of Power in American Society', ed. C. Wright Mills, *World Politics* 10, no. 1 (1957): 140, https://doi.org/10.2307/2009229.
[352] Keith Dowding, ed., *Encyclopedia of Power* (Thousand Oaks, CA.: SAGE, 2011), 191–93.

a medium of power, Göhler explains that for Luhmann, "credit is given and performance is expected: the high performance expected of a leader by those being governed demands an 'investment' in the form of increased support", resulting in "a joint increase in power".[353] Both Parsons and Luhmann contributed to the power debate by directing attention to none use of power and by putting forward an understanding of power as a resource.

The consensual meta-language stream views power as 'power to'. Building on Parsons and Luhmann, power, understood as power to, is a disposition – "it is a capacity as opposed to the exercise of power; while it remains unexercised, it is latent, still invisible, and only potential, not actual".[354] Having a view of power as a disposition, power resources become the focus of analysis instead of the exercise of power. Korpi defines power resources as "the attributes (capacities and means) of actors (individuals or collectivities), which enable them to reward or punish others".[355] Moreover, power, understood as power to, means empowerment. According to Haugaard and Ryan, this idea was pioneered by Spinoza as he defined power as "the constitutive force of political agency" where "actors are not isolated individuals who come together . . . rather they are empowered by the power of the multitude".[356] Arendt built on this as she defined power: "Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together".[357]

Knowledge, according to Foucault, cannot be separated from power:

> No body of knowledge can be formed without a system of communications, records, accumulation and displacement which is in itself a form of power and which is linked, in its existence and functioning, to the other forms of power. Conversely, no power can be exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution or retention of knowledge. On this level, there is not knowledge on one side and society on the other, or science and the state, but only the fundamental forms of knowledge/power.[358]

Also, discourse, for him, is a vital element to the operation of power:

> Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it . . . We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and

[353] Göhler, '"Power to" and "Power over"', 32.
[354] Göhler, 31; see also Peter Morriss, *Power: A Philosophical Analysis, Second Edition* (Manchester University Press, 2002); Walter Korpi, 'Power Resources Approach Vs. Action and Conflict: On Causal and Intentional Explanations in the Study of Power', *Sociological Theory* 3, no. 2 (1985): 31–45.
[355] Korpi, 'Power Resources Approach Vs. Action and Conflict', 33.
[356] Haugaard and Ryan, 'Social and Political Power', 27.
[357] Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1970), 44.
[358] Michel Foucault, 'Théories et institutions pénales', *Annuaire du College de France*, no. 1971–72 (1971), cited in Alan Sheridan, *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth* (Routledge, 2003), 129.

> produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.[359]

On the one hand, knowledge sets the parameters on what can be said and what actions can be done, therefore, the power to say or do is contingent upon the knowledge currently being held in a society.[360] In this sense, discourse as a social practice is informed by our shared knowledge of the world. On the other hand, discourse is "the vehicle through which knowledge and subjects are constituted".[361] In this sense, our knowledge of the world is regulated by discourses. Knowledge is understood as referring to "the particular construction or version of a phenomenon that has received the stamp of truth in our society".[362]

Another way of looking at the relationship between discourse, knowledge and power is to recognize that "discourses exercise power as they transport knowledge on which the collective and individual consciousness feeds". [363] In the same way, effective power is not oppressive but productive, constituting discourse, knowledge and the social world.[364] It is in power that objects are categorized and characterized in relation to one another. Power and knowledge therefore presuppose one another.

2.4.5. Discourse and Reality

As mentioned above (4.1), reality exists outside of discourse. Understanding of the relationship between discourse and reality therefore falls along a continuum where, on the left side, discourse constitutes reality, and on the right side, discourse is constituted by reality. Discourse as a social practice is in "a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions".[365] Discourse does not only influence the shaping and reshaping of reality but also reflects reality.

2.4.6. Discourse and the Dispositive

Jäger and Maier describe the dispositive as the interplay of discursive practices, non-discursive practices and manifestations/materialisation. They build on Foucault's understanding that discourse is not the only element that moves the world, but argue

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[359] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 100–101.
[360] Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 2004.
[361] Gaventa, 'Power after Lukes', 4.
[362] Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 2004.: 68
[363] Siegfried Jäger, 'Discourse and Knowledge: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of a Critical Discourse and Dispositive Analysis', in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: SAGE, 2001), 32–62.: 38
[364] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (Pantheon Books, 1980).
[365] Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*.: 61

that it co-exists with reality or other objects. In the attempt to explain the relationship of discourse with other objects, Foucault coined the term dispositive, which he describes as:

> a decisively heterogeneous ensemble which covers discourses, institutions, architectural institutions, reglemented decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral or philanthropic teachings, in brief, what is said and what is not said. . . is the net that can be woven between these elements.[366]

Foucault, as Jäger and Maier explain, views the dispositive as "a whole [that] comprises the net that is spun between these elements and connects them".[367] While Foucault did not explicitly identify what these objects are, Jäger and Maier identify them as non-discursive practices and manifestations/materialisations. The link between these elements can be understood as "intertextuality and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, text, genres and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization or institution, and situational frames".[368] Von Stuckrad understands the dispositive as "the totality of the material, practical, social, cognitive, or normative 'infrastructure' in which a discourse develops".[369] For him, the dispositive is where discourse develops.

2.5. INSTITUTIONS

Institutions, as mentioned above, are identified as a dimension of both religion and development. Like discourse, institution is a concept that may be used to analyse and understand the work of FBOs in this study. Similar to discourse, the concept of institutions has been used also in the study of both religion and development. This section presents a review of studies on institutions. The aim is to provide a more in-depth understanding of the concept, how it is defined and studied. Discussion begins with presenting the three perspectives of new institutionalism, namely the rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism, and organisational institutionalism (also known as sociological institutionalism) (Section 2.5.1.), then followed by a discussion on Scandinavian Institutionalism (Section 2.6.2.), Discursive institutionalism (Section 2.6.3), and Religion and Institutionalism (Section 2.6.3.4.).

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[366] Michel Foucault, '"Wahrheit Und Macht'', Interview Mit Michel Foucault von Alessandro Fontana Und Pasquale Pasquino', in *Dispositive Der Macht. Über SexualitaÈt, Wissen Und Wahrheit*, ed. Michel Foucault (Berlin: Merve, 1978), 21–54; cited in Jäger, 'Discourse and Knowledge: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of a Critical Discourse and Dispositive Analysis'.: 39-40

[367] Jäger and Maier, 'Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis'.: 41

[368] Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', in *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE, 2009), 87–121.: 90

[369] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', January 2013.: 15

2.5.1. New Institutionalism

Renewed interest on institutions emerged in the 1970s when prevailing perspectives at that time, behaviourism and rational choice, with their emphasis on actors' self-interest and behaviour,were recognised to be inadequate in explaining the changing social context.[370] March and Olsen characterise behaviourism and rational choice approaches as: contextual, in which political phenomena are perceived to be influenced by contextual phenomena and politics is understood to have no effect on context; reductionist, where political phenomena, including collective behaviour, are understood to be the products of the individual behaviour and choice rather than influenced by any organisational and institutional structures; utilitarian, where the individual's action is believed to be calculated and motivated by self-interest and not by external pressures; functionalist, where history is viewed to be an efficient process, moving towards a distinctively appropriate equilibrium, and conditioned by the current environmental circumstances and not by historical path; instrumental, where actions are viewed as calculated efforts by sentient actors to achieve a desired outcome rather than an integral aspect of the process of governance.[371] Based on this characterisation, March and Olsen proposed the creation of new institutionalism (NI). Peters identifies four important features of an institution within the NI perspective: the first and most important characteristic for Peters is that institutions are to some extent "a structural feature of the society and/or polity" and may be formal or informal (further discussed below).[372] North identifies three relevant structures: one is the "political structure that specifies the way we develop and aggregate political choices"; next is "the property rights structure that defines the formal economic incentives", and lastly, "the social structure – norms and conventions – that defines the informal incentives in the economy".[373] The second feature of institutions according to Peters is "the existence of some stability over time"; the third is that "it must affect individual behaviour"; and fourth, "there should be some sense of shared values and meaning among the members of the institution".[374]Three new institutionalism NI approaches that were developed in the 80s and have dominated the discussion are rational choice institutionalism (RI), historical institutionalism (HI)

[370] B. Guy Peters, *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The New Institutionalism* (London: Continuum, 2012).
[371] James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, 'The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life', *The American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 734–49, https://doi.org/10.2307/1961840.
[372] Peters, *Institutional Theory in Political Science*.
[373] Douglass C. North, *Understanding the Process of Economic Change* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 49.
[374] Peters, *Institutional Theory in Political Science*, 18.

and organisational institutionalism (OI).[375] Different approaches to the study of institutions vary ith respect to how institutions are defined, what they are, what they do, and how are they created, maintained and changed.

2.5.1.1 Rational Choice Institutionalism

RI follows the assumptions of rational choice approaches which emphasise on the self-interested choices of the individual.[376] In addition, however, RI acknowledges the importance of institutions as a means for directing and constraining individual behaviour.[377] For RI, while maximising benefits remains the main motivation of individuals, individuals also recognise that institutions provide ways for goals to be achieved in a more effective and efficient way, and therefore individual behaviour is shaped by the institutions.[378] North defines institutions to be "the rules of the game in a society . . . the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction".[379] In effect, institutions provide structures of incentives and constraints in social, political and economic human exchanges.[380] For Williamson, institutions provide systems of operation and governance and social arrangements that minimise transaction costs.[381] Building from North, Leftwich defines institutions as "agreed understandings, norms, conventions, procedures and rules which shape and constrain behaviour and which make such interaction both predictable and comprehensible to people engaged in them".[382] Leftwich and Sen further explain that institutions are durable, and may be formal or informal; they "structure – but do not determine – the social, economic and political relations and interactions of those affected by them"[383] RI maintains that the central actors in social, economic or political processes are rational individuals; and that, while institutions are aggregations of rules that shape the behaviour of individuals,

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375 John L. Campbell, 'The Rise and Transformation of Institutional Analysis', *International Center for Business and Politics* 10 (2007).
376 Peters, *Institutional Theory in Political Science*.
377 Peters.
378 Peters.
379 Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3.
380 North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*.
381 Oliver E. Williamson, 'The New Institutional Economics: Taking Stock, Looking Ahead', *Journal of Economic Literature* 38, no. 3 (September 2000): 595, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bah&AN=3584220&site=ehost-live.
382 Adrian Leftwich, 'The Political Approach to Institutional Formation, Maintenance and Change: A Literature Review Essay', in *Research Consortium on Improving Institutions for Pro-Poor Growth*, IPPG Discussion Paper 14 (Manchester, 2007).
383 Adrian Leftwich and Kunal Sen, '"Don't Mourn; Organize" Institutions and Organizations in the Politics and Economics of Growth and Poverty-Reduction', *Journal of International Development* 23, no. 3 (April 2011): 319–37, https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1773.

individuals are expected to react rationally to the incentives and constraints provided by the rules, following the 'logic of calculation' or 'logic of instrumentality'.[384]

2.5.1.2 Historical Institutionalism

HI assumes that choices and decisions made when an institution is being established will continue to persist and have influence and even determine future policies, following a path.[385] For HI, institutions are defined as "the formal and informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy".[386] HI focuses on the "construction, maintenance and adaptation of institutions" and views individual motivation in terms of goals – that is as collective and public.[387] For HI, institutions that guide individuals in their decision making reflect historical experience – meaning that institutions that have been established have a continuous effect on future decision making and establishment of institutions.[388] Institutional change, therefore, for HI is 'path-dependent', as responses to reforms are influenced by the contextual landscape of a particular situation, often inherited from the past.[389] Path-dependent, Campbell further explains:

> Because institutions constrain the choices available to decision makers; because decision makers incrementally adjust their policies and institutions in response to feedback they receive from their constituents; and because decision makers learn gradually which policies and institutions best suit their purposes.[390]

2.5.1.3 Organisational Institutionalism

OI considers norms and values to be integral parts of institutional life and individuals and organisations to seek to act appropriately in relation to their institutional environment.[391] OI claims that individuals and organisations do what they perceive to be appropriate or legitimate within their institutional environment, regardless of whether their action gives them an advantage in terms of efficiency.[392] Central to the understanding of OI is the concept of an organisational field. OI views that organisations with a similar nature of practice or service share a common institutional

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[384] Peters, *Institutional Theory in Political Science*.
[385] Peters.
[386] Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C. R. Taylor, 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms', *Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (December 1996): 936–57, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hlh&AN=9705162186&site=ehost-live.: 938
[387] Elizabeth Sanders, 'Historical Institutionalism', in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, ed. R. A. W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2008), 39–55.: 42
[388] Campbell, 'The Rise and Transformation of Institutional Analysis'.
[389] Hall and Taylor, 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms'.
[390] Campbell, 'The Rise and Transformation of Institutional Analysis'.: 6
[391] Campbell.
[392] Campbell.

environment and become part of a structured field also called an organisational field.[393] DiMaggio and Powell define organizational field as "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products".[394] For them, the formation of an organisational field results from four processes: an intensified degree of interaction among organisations in the field; a crafting of sharply defined inter-organisation structures that govern the relationships between organisations in the field; an increased proliferation of information with which organisations must grapple; and a growing mutual awareness among organisations involved together in a common endeavour.[395] DiMaggio and Powell observe:

> Once disparate organizations in the same line of business are structured into an actual field (as we shall argue, by competition, the state, or the professions), powerful forces emerge that lead them to become more similar to one another. Organizations may change their goals or develop new practices, and new organizations enter the field. But, in the long run, organizational actors making rational decisions construct around themselves an environment that constrains their ability to change further in later years.

They further explain that while improved performance is the motivation for early adopters in adopting innovative practices, the value of these new practices go beyond the technical aspect. As the number of adopters increases, these new practices become what Meyer and Rowan identify as rationalised myths, turning legitimacy into the primary consideration for adopting rather than efficiency.[396] To achieve efficiency while maintaining legitimacy, Meyer and Rowan explain that organisations resort to decoupling – they ceremonially adopt institutionalised rational myths, while in practice, they do things differently to address efficiency.[397] As rationalised myths diffuse, DiMaggio and Powell explain that these pressure organisations to adopt, leading to further structuration of the organisational field to the extent that when individual organisations within an organisational field initiate changes, they are mostly geared to lessening the diversity within the organisational field.[398]

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[393] Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, 'The Iron Cage Revisited Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields', in *Economics Meets Sociology in Strategic Management*, vol. 17, 0 vols, Advances in Strategic Management 17 (Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2000), 143–66, http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1016/S0742-3322%2800%2917011-1.
[394] DiMaggio and Powell, 145.
[395] DiMaggio and Powell, 'The Iron Cage Revisited Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields'.
[396] John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, 'Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony', *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 2 (1977): 340–63, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778293.
[397] Meyer and Rowan.
[398] DiMaggio and Powell, 'The Iron Cage Revisited Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields'; Meyer and Rowan, 'Institutionalized Organizations'.

For OI, this homogenisation process within organisational fields is explained by the concept of isomorphism, defined as “a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions”.[399] Isomorphism implies that the characteristics of organisations are altered in ways that make them more similar to the characteristics of their institutional environment within the organisational field.[400] For OI, isomorphism is the result of the diffusion of ideas, practices or innovations.[401] DiMaggio and Powell identify three diffusion mechanisms by which institutional isomorphic change occurs: the first is coercive, when organisations are obliged to conform to institutionalised standards imposed by other organisations either from within the same organisational field or from outside; the second is mimetic, when organisations are uncertain on how to address unfamiliar situations that they are facing and resort to imitating the practices of other organisations which they perceive to have successfully navigated situations similar to theirs; and the third is normative, when an organisational field has become professionalised and leader organisations define what is the appropriate organisational practice, while conformity is required to be able continue to practice in the field.[402]

For OI, as mentioned above, organizations adopt to their institutional environment, not for the purpose of efficiency, but to gain legitimacy and ensure survival.[403] Suchman defines legitimacy as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions”.[404] Scott explains, “Legitimacy is not a commodity to be possessed or exchanged but a condition reflecting cultural alignment, normative support, or consonance with relevant rules or laws”.[405] Deephouse defines legitimacy as “a status conferred by social actors” which can be in terms of desirability

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[399] DiMaggio and Powell, ‘The Iron Cage Revisited Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields’, 146.
[400] DiMaggio and Powell, ‘The Iron Cage Revisited Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields’.
[401] Campbell, ‘The Rise and Transformation of Institutional Analysis’; Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, ‘The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality’, in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell (University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[402] DiMaggio and Powell, ‘The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality’.
[403] W. Richard Scott, ‘Institutions and Organizations: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis’, in *Institutional Environments and Organizations: Structural Complexity and Individualism*, ed. W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer (London: SAGE, 1994), 55–80.
[404] Mark C. Suchman, ‘Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches’, *Academy of Management Review* 20, no. 3 (July 1995): 571–610, https://doi.org/10.5465/AMR.1995.9508080331.: 574
[405] W. Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*, 4th Revised edition edition (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2014).: 45

or normativity, or understandability, or taken-for-grantedness.[406] He further explains that an organization becomes legitimate when social actors, such as government regulators and the general public, approve the actions of the organization, considering its actions to be valid, reasonable and rational.[407] When the values and actions of an organization are in harmony with the values and expectations for action of social actors, such an organization is considered legitimate.[408]

For OI, an institution is characterised by its taken-for-grantedness, directing behaviour or action. Meyer et al. define institutions as "collectively shared scripts, frames, and taken-for-granted assumptions, and actors (individuals, organizations, or states) attain their agency substantially as a result of their embeddedness in culture".[409] Greenwood et al. define institutions as "the term to refer to more-or-less taken-for-granted repetitive social behaviour that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order".[410] Jepperson points out that institutions also consist of routines and processes that sustain these rules, procedures, frameworks, symbols, schema, resulting in their reproduction over time.[411] Scott views institutions as enduring social structures comprised of three elements, namely normative – "meaning systems and related behaviour patterns", cultural-cognitive – "symbolic elements, including representational, constitutive and normative components"; and regulative – regulatory processes that are enforced, and which, combined with related activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life.[412] OI views institutions as not limited to formal rules and procedures but also to include "informal and common cultural

[406] David L. Deephouse, 'Does Isomorphism Legitimate?', *Academy of Management Journal* 39, no. 4 (August 1996): 1024–39, https://doi.org/10.2307/256722.: 1025
[407] Deephouse.
[408] Deephouse.
[409] John W. Meyer et al., 'Organizations and Their Institutional Environments--Bringing Meaning, Values, and Culture Back in: Introduction to the Special Research Forum', *Academy of Management Journal* 53, no. 6 (December 2010): 1234–40, https://doi.org/10.5465/AMJ.2010.57317486.: 1234
[410] Royston Greenwood et al., 'Introduction', in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, ed. Royston Greenwood et al. (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2010), 1–46, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849200387.n1.
[411] Ronald L. Jepperson, 'Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism', in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 143–63.
[412] W. Richard Scott, 'Institutions and Organizations: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis', in *Institutional Environments and Organizations: Structural Complexity and Individualism*, ed. W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer (London: SAGE, 1994), 55–80, 56.; W. Richard Scott, 'Reflections: The Past and Future of Research on Institutions and Institutional Change', *Journal of Change Management* 10, no. 1 (1 March 2010): 5–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/14697010903549408.

frameworks, symbolism, and taken-for-granted cognitive schema".[413] OI also builds on March and Olsen's definition of institutions as:

> relatively enduring collection of rules and organized practices, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover of individuals and relatively resilient to the idiosyncratic preferences and expectations of individuals and changing external circumstances.[414]

In their definition, March and Olsen point out that institutions: are "constitutive rules and practices" that govern what behaviours by specific actors in specific situations are deemed acceptable; they are "structures of meaning" that take root in "identities and belongings", such as shared desires and stories, that provide guidance to behaviour and give meaning to it, as well as explaining, justifying, and legitimising behavioural codes; thus also are "structures of resources that create capabilities for acting".[415] March and Olsen assert that actors (individuals, organizations, or states) choose to act 'appropriately' in relation to their cultural environments – following the 'logic of appropriateness', rather than 'instrumentally' in relation to their goals – following the 'logic of instrumentality', as in RI.[416]

2.5.2. Scandinavian Institutionalism

Scandinavian institutionalism (SI) was the term coined by Czarniawska and Sevón to refer to research from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, written under the influence of Richard W. Scott, James G. March, and John W. Meyer.[417] Scandinavian institutionalists are organisation scholars interested in the practice of organising.[418] They incorporate OI theories into qualitative case studies, as well as studies of decision-making and processes of organisational change and reform.[419] They recognise the importance of the embeddedness of the practices they study and maintain connectedness by interacting with existing conceptualisations prevalent in North America and Europe and also by looking into emerging conceptualisations in Asia and Australia.[420]

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[413] Campbell, 'The Rise and Transformation of Institutional Analysis'.
[414] James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, 'Elaborating the "New Institutionalism"', in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, ed. R. A. W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2008), 3–20.: 3
[415] March and Olsen.: 3
[416] James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions* (Simon and Schuster, 2010).
[417] Barbara Czarniawska, 'How to Misuse Institutions and Get Away with It: Some Reflections on Institutional Theory(Ies)', in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008), 769–82, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849200387.
[418] Czarniawska.
[419] Kerstin Sahlin and Linda Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing', in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, ed. Royston Greenwood et al. (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849200387.n9.
[420] Czarniawska, 'How to Misuse Institutions and Get Away with It'.

Openness to other academic disciplines is considered to be necessary, resulting SI theory having a transdisciplinary character.[421]

Scandinavian organisation scholars recognise that rational choice theory as applied to decision-making is inadequate in explaining their findings when looking at organisational practices.[422] They observe that what is central to organising is action rather than decisions. They find that "actions are decided on the basis of actors' classifications of the situation in which they find themselves, as well as their own identity", and that organisational action follows the logic of appropriateness and not the logic of consequentiality, as explained by rational choice theory.[423] The logic of consequentiality, as observed by Scandinavian institutionalists, is utilised by organisations to legitimize their actions, especially when questioned.[424] For SI, the logic of appropriateness is complemented by the logic of consequentiality.[425]

For Scandinavian institutionalists, the constructivist aspect of OI allows inquiry into the process of construction of meaning, institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation – to ask how institutions emerge, change and even vanish.[426] However, because of the focus on stability in OI, existing conceptualisations of change did not help Scandinavian scholars explain their findings in the field.[427] SI, in its interest in change, drew on other conceptualisations, such as social construction and institutionalisation as advanced by Berger and Luckmann, translation theories developed by Latour and Callon, and other related European traditions, to better explain change in organisations.[428] SI is characterised by this focus on change and the understanding that change and stability occur together as the organisational norm.[429]

Scandinavian researchers studied the concepts of diffusion, isomorphism and institutionalisation, as applied by OI. They observe that diffused ideas or practices, even when decoupled by organisations, may result to organisational and institutional change.[430] They are also aware of the consequences when ideas and practices diffuse, and find not only homogeneity, as OI claims, but also heterogeneity. Sahlin and Wedlin point out that "the framework that had been developed around the concept of diffusion

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[421] Czarniawska.
[422] Czarniawska.
[423] Czarniawska.
[424] Czarniawska.
[425] Czarniawska.
[426] Czarniawska.
[427] Czarniawska.
[428] Czarniawska; Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[429] Czarniawska, 'How to Misuse Institutions and Get Away with It'.
[430] Kerstin Sahlin-Andersson, 'Imitating by Editing Success: The Construction of Organizational Fields', in *Translating Organizational Change*, ed. Barbara Czarniawska and Guje Sevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 69–92.

appeared too static and mechanical in relation to the observations made".[431] SI critiques the application of the physicalist metaphor of diffusion in explaining society.[432] Djelic identifies this physicalist understanding of diffusion as epidemiology tracing "the spread of norms and ideas across large population".[433] Here, diffusion is understood as the spread and adaptation of ideas, innovations, or models, at its face value by passive recipients or those following a trend.[434] This approach to diffusion takes for granted the changes that take place when ideas or innovations are implemented, and assumes that the actors involved are passive unthinking recipients.[435] Within SI, Czarniawska and Sevón believe that the concept of translation, as theorised by Serres and Latour, is helpful in explaining the variety created when ideas and practices circulate or travel. Czarniawska and Sevón explain that for Serres, translation is not only understood in linguistic terms but as "a generalized operation" that involves movement and continues transformation.[436] Latour who build on Serres, define translation as "the spread in time and space of anything – claims, orders, artefacts, goods – is in the hands of people; each of these people may act in many different ways, letting the token drop, or modifying it, or deflecting it, or betraying it, or adding to it, or appropriating it".[437] Czarniawska and Sevón, together with other contributors in the edited volume entitled Translating Organisational Change, present how translated ideas and practices circulate or travel to other places where they are again translated into another object, and into practice, and if they are repeated, may be established as an institution, and then could again become an idea or practice that can be translated to be circulated, and the process continues.[438] Czarniawska and Sevón explain:

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[431] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[432] Sahlin and Wedlin; Adriana Mica, 'From Diffusion to Translation and Back. Disembedding-Re-Embedding and Re-Invention in Sociological Studies of Diffusion', *Polish Sociological Review*, no. 181 (1 January 2013): 3, https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1P3-3003113031/from-diffusion-to-translation-and-back-disembedding-re-embedding.
[433] Marie-Laure Djelic, 'Sociological Studies of Diffusion: Is History Relevant?', *Socio-Economic Review* 6, no. 3 (2008): 546.
[434] Barbara Czaniawska and Bernward Joerges, 'Travels of Ideas', in *Translating Organizational Change*, ed. Barbara Czarniawska and Guje Sevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 13–48; Barbara Czaniawska, *Social Dimensions of Enterprise* (Warsaw School of Economics, 2011), http://doctoralprogramme.sgh.waw.pl/web/images/textbooks/social_dimensions_zm_B_Czarniawska.pdf.
[435] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'; Mica, 'From Diffusion to Translation and Back. Disembedding-Re-Embedding and Re-Invention in Sociological Studies of Diffusion'.
[436] Barbara Czarniawska-Joerges and Guje Sevón, 'Translation Is a Vehicle, Imitation Its Motor, and Fashion Sits at the Wheel', in *Global Ideas: How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in a Global Economy*, ed. Barbara Czarniawska-Joerges and Guje Sevón (Copenhagen: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press, 2005), 8.
[437] Bruno Latour, 'Power of Association', in *Power, Action, and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. John Law, Sociological Review Monograph ; 32 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 267.
[438] Barbara Czarniawska and Guje Sevón, 'Introduction', in *Translating Organizational Change*, ed. Barbara Czamiawska and Guje Sevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 1–12.

> A practice or an institution cannot travel; they must be simplified and abstracted into an idea, or at least approximated in a narrative permitting a vicarious experience, and therefore converted into words or images. Neither can words nor images travel until they have materialized, until they are embodied, inscribed or objectified, as only bodies or things can move in time and space.[439]

According to Djelic, this understanding of the concept of translation presents an understanding of diffusion "as encounter with embeddedness" which acknowledges that the richness, peculiarities and complexities of the context of reception affect not only the route of diffusion but also the forms of appropriation.[440] Djelic points out that this view of diffusion "as encounter with embeddedness" was also taken up by diffusion of innovation theorists in adopting the concept of re-invention defined as "the degree to which an innovation is changed or modified by a user in the process of adoption and implementation."[441] Their studies, as Djelic observes, point to the transformation that takes place when innovations are adopted and implemented, and at the same time show "the pace of diffusion" and that "the support for adoption were heightened by the perceived potential of re-invention enjoyed by the adopters".[442] The emphasis is on the adoption, contextualisation and transformation of innovation rather than on how innovations spread at a given population.

Sahlin-Andersson sharpens the notion of translation by conceptualising it as an editing process to understand how the translation process takes place. She observes that ideas and practices acquire new meanings when they are translated; and that continues editing occurs as circulating ideas and practices are reformulated by a number of editors to become appropriate to new contexts. For Djelic, the concept of editing is an understanding of diffusion "as mediation and construction".[443] He explains that here, diffusion is not only in the sense of adaptation and transformation but also in the sense of mediation and construction.[444]

The editing process, as Sahlin-Andersson explains, follows rules that restrict and direct the translation/editing process as ideas and practices circulate. This is because of the social control, conformism and traditionalism embedded in translation. The idea of having rules does not imply that there are "written or explicit instructions for the telling and retelling of stories and ideas"; neither that it imply that "these translations followed

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[439] Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 'Translation Is a Vehicle, Imitation Its Motor, and Fashion Sits at the Wheel', 9.
[440] Djelic, 'Sociological Studies of Diffusion', 548.
[441] Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations, 5th Edition* (Simon and Schuster, 2003), 17.
[442] Mica, 'From Diffusion to Translation and Back. Disembedding-Re-Embedding and Re-Invention in Sociological Studies of Diffusion', 12.
[443] Djelic, 'Sociological Studies of Diffusion', 549.
[444] Djelic, 'Sociological Studies of Diffusion'; Mica, 'From Diffusion to Translation and Back. Disembedding-Re-Embedding and Re-Invention in Sociological Studies of Diffusion'.

clear intentions and established techniques among the editors".[445] While there are no explicit rules, Sahlin-Andersson argues that the following of rules is evident in edited stories in which the institutional context (or rule) directs the translation process. Sahlin and Wedlin explain:

> As reforms and experiences are accounted for and narrated, they tend to be framed and presented in familiar and commonly accepted terms so that they will make sense to a reader or listener. Thus, experiences and reforms tend to be presented to others in terms of existing templates, examples, categories, scientific concepts, theoretical frameworks and widespread classifications that are familiar. These concepts, references and frameworks form the infrastructure of editing and they restrict and direct how the accounts are given. In such a way widespread and well-known classification may sort out what is being told as accounts are delivered and transferred.[446]

Sahlin-Andersson, while understanding that different editing rules apply to different context, identifies three kinds of rules. The first set of rules is related to context. Sahlin-Andersson observes that features pertaining to time and space tend to be left out when models are utilised in settings different from that of the original; that less emphasis is given to certain local conditions to the extent that anything about it is omitted to highlight the more general aspects for broader applications. The second set of rules is related to formulation and labelling of the prototype. Sahlin-Andersson notes that circulating models are attractive ones, and that the way they are framed in their presentation makes them attractive.[447] Models that are perceived latest, cutting edge, and extraordinary, but at the same time not so different from what is generally accepted practices attract imitation.[448] Models are combined with other models and/or local practices and new ones with familiar ones. Dramatised presentations also make models more attractive to imitation. Sahlin and Wedlin explain:

> Concepts, categories, prototypical examples, counter-examples, references and ideological frameworks are used to structure, narrate and make sense of a certain procedure or to draw others' attention to a certain development. In order to attract attention, imitated prototypes are reformulated in more dramatic terms, and they are labelled in ways that make them easy to talk about and to remember, etc.[449]

The third set of rules is related to logic. Sahlin-Andersson explains that circulating initiatives and their effects are presented following a logical story plot, where effects are results of particular initiatives and processes.[450] In constructing this logic, as Sahlin-Andersson expounds, some aspects like feasibility and effectiveness, while other

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[445] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[446] Sahlin and Wedlin.
[447] Sahlin-Andersson, 'Imitating by Editing Success: The Construction of Organizational Fields'.
[448] Sahlin-Andersson.
[449] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[450] Sahlin-Andersson, 'Imitating by Editing Success: The Construction of Organizational Fields'.

aspects like unintentional results and unexplainable situations are omitted.[451] This is often seen on circulating models and on plans presented as effects.

Acknowledging that translation/editing processes occur necessitates recognition of translators/editors. Examples of translators/editors are researchers, professionals, leaders, consultants, and planners. Sahlin and Wedlin explain, “these editors not only report on and transmit ideas and experiences, but also formulate and reformulate and thus frame and reshape them in the process”.[452] Their role requires them to be familiar with and must take into thoughtful consideration the text they are translating/editing, the context in which the translation/editing is done, and the receptors of the edited text.[453] Translators/editors play a critical role of in the shaping and circulating of ideas and practices. This concept of translators/editors sharpens the earlier understanding of the role of those who circulate ideas and practices as mediators and active in the shaping and reshaping what is circulated. Jepperson uses the concept ‘carrier’, understood as both passive and active in supporting, transforming and transporting ideas and practices.[454] This is in recognition of the constraining effects of institutions where actors adopting, transforming and transporting ideas and practices act within limitations of the institutions where they operate. Jepperson observes that in highly institutionalised contexts, inaction is action, in the sense that inaction is making a statement.[455] Meyer uses the term ‘others’ intending to distinguish the actors from those who circulate ideas and practices. The others, for Meyer, are not neutral mediators, but similar to the idea of carriers, are mediators and translators who influence and shape ideas and practices as they circulate and are applied to different settings. The others are actively involved as they “discuss, interpret, advise, suggest, codify, and sometimes pronounce and legislate [and] develop, promulgate, and certify some ideas as proper reforms, and ignore or stigmatize other ideas”.[456]

Czarniawska and Sevón depict translation as the vehicle in which ideas travel and the motor is imitation. Drawing from Trade and Callon, Czarniawska and Sevón identify imitation as the driving force that puts the vehicle of translation into motion. The concept of imitation espoused here moves away from, what Sevón calls, an ostensive definition of imitation. In this definition, as she explains, imitation is the

[451] Sahlin and Wedlin, ‘Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing’.
[452] Sahlin and Wedlin.
[453] Sahlin-Andersson, ‘Imitating by Editing Success: The Construction of Organizational Fields’.
[454] Jepperson, ‘Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism’.
[455] Jepperson.
[456] John W. Meyer, ‘Otherhood: The Promulgation and Transmission of Ideas in the Modern Organizational Environment’, in *Translating Organizational Change*, ed. Barbara Czarniawska and Guje Sevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 244.

reproduction of the original, to imitate is to copy or duplicate, and what is imitated is seen "as a *given* phenomenon, as something that is objectified . . . as something immutable born with some impetus that propels it across a social area or space with various degrees of resistance", that what is imitated has in itself the power to oblige organisations to adopt.[457] She points out that this understanding of imitation does not explain the existing variation between the original and the reproduction. She proposes a performative definition of imitation that views imitation as:

> A process in which something is created and transformed by chains of translators . . . a process of translation with a specific focus on conceptualizing . . . a process of identity transformation that is neither solely a copy nor a totally new invention, but something between these ideal types.[458]

With this performative definition, Sevón explains, it is assumed that organisations translate and transform ideas to fit their context and then materialising it by putting it into action, and that the result of this action may be similar or different from the idea initially conceptualised by imitating organisations.[459] This idea of imitation resonates Latour as he differentiates the translation model from the diffusion model as quoted above. Latour points out that the people (and organisations) involved are not passive patients; rather, they are actors who are active in shaping ideas as they are adopted and circulated.[460] Sevón explains that actors choose what to imitate and are inclined to imitate those they want to be like.[461] Sahlin and Wedlin point out that perceived "identity shapes imitation" and at same time "imitation shapes identity"; that "one imitates those one relates to and those with whom one identifies" and at the same time "imitation constructs new relationships, references, and identifications and opens new avenues for comparison and for creating new identities".[462] Sevón elaborates that when imitation is believed to be a result of identity matching, this is usually assumed to take place in an organisational field.[463] Within an organisational field (see above Section 2.5.3.1.), shared frames of meaning among organisations allow them to have shared ideas, and these ideas diffuse among organisations within the field.[464]

Czarniawska and Sevón explain that models and practices that are imitated are those that are deemed superior "on the grounds of its qualities" or "on the grounds of

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[457] Guje Sevón, 'Organizational Imitation in Identity Transformation', in *Translating Organizational Change*, ed. Barbara Czarniawska and Guje Sevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 50 (Italics original).
[458] Sevón, 51–52.
[459] Sevón, 'Organizational Imitation in Identity Transformation'.
[460] Latour, 'Power of Association'.
[461] Sevón, 'Organizational Imitation in Identity Transformation'.
[462] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[463] Sevón, 'Organizational Imitation in Identity Transformation'.
[464] Sevón.

their provenance in time and place", and "ideas that have many allies in other ideas – that is, ideas that are well anchored in an institutional thought structure".[465]

Czarniawska and Sevón identify fashion as the steering wheel of the vehicle of translation motored by imitation. Fashion here is understood as "a collective choice among tastes, things and ideas; it is oriented toward finding but also toward creating what is typical of a given time".[466] Adopting fashion trends is motivated by the desire to become both similar and different, the need to both conform to others and be distinct expressing ones own identity.[467] Fashion also embraces both change and tradition.[468] Czarniawska and Sevón explain, "guided by fashion, people imitate desires or beliefs that appear as attractive at a given time and place. This leads them to translating ideas, objects, and practices, for their own use. This translation changes what is translated and those who translate."[469]

2.5.3. Discursive Institutionalism

Building from the three NI perspectives and aiming to complement them in understanding institutions, discursive institutionalism (DI) developed as the most recent addition to NI approaches. Proponents of DI raise concerns on how earlier NI define institutions. Phillips and Malhotra find defining institutions in terms of its effects, such like isomorphism or the constraining effect, problematic. They identify two concerns:

> First, in failing to clearly focus on cognitive institutions, institutional theory has conflated what have traditionally been considered institutional processes with resource dependency and the coercive application of power . . . Second, this lack of clarity about the nature of institutions leads to a lack of attention to explaining the actual process of institutional production.[470]

Phillips and Malhotra observe that this focus on the effects of institutions have resulted to the lack of attention in explaining the processes of how institution are created, maintained and changed.[471]

Schmidt explains that the definitions of institutions provided by earlier NI "have had a tendency to be overly 'sticky,' and the agents (where they exist) have been largely

[465] Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 'Translation Is a Vehicle, Imitation Its Motor, and Fashion Sits at the Wheel', 9.
[466] Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 9.
[467] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[468] Sahlin and Wedlin.
[469] Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 'Translation Is a Vehicle, Imitation Its Motor, and Fashion Sits at the Wheel'.
[470] Nelson Phillips and Namrata Malhotra, 'Taking Social Construction Seriously: Extending the Discursive Approach in Institutional Theory', in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, ed. Royston Greenwood et al. (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2010), http://sk.sagepub.com/reference/hdbk_orginstitution/n30.xml.: 2-3
[471] Phillips and Malhotra.

fixed in terms of preferences or fixated in terms of norms".[472] She points out that in understanding institutions as rules governing action mainly functioning as constrains, whether in the form of incentives structuring action of RI, paths shaping action of HI, or norms framing action of OI, and in viewing that actions to conform to the "rule-following logic", whether "an interest-based logic of calculation, a norm-based logic of appropriateness, or a history-based logic of path dependence", explaining change becomes a challenge since all actors follow the rules.[473] Also, she adds that in understanding institutions as enduring structures or the environment within which agents act, earlier NI presents institutions as external to the actors.[474] How then is agency explained?

Tracing the understanding of NI on institutions from its inception, particularly OI, Phillips and Malhotra point out that NI takes its roots from social constructionism and it is fundamental to understand institutions as socially constructed through meaningful interactions.[475] They also stress the importance of understanding institutions as cognitive in nature.[476] Phillips and Malhotra assert, "If we accept . . . that institutions take on a rule like status in thought, then no matter what the mechanism of their genesis, they are social facts and are fundamentally cognitive".[477] The function then of institutional theory is to develop and provide an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the creation, maintenance, change and effects of cognitive institutions.[478]

On defining institutions from the DI approach, Phillips et al. draw from the understanding of NI on institutions as "historical accretions of past practices and understandings that set conditions on action through the way in which they gradually acquire the moral and ontological status of taken-for-granted facts which, in turn, shape future interactions and negotiations".[479] They acknowledge that institutions influence behaviour, both constraining and enabling, and deviating from them "are counteracted in a regulated fashion, by repetitively activated, socially constructed, controls".[480] They recognise the existence of mechanisms that enforce conformity affecting actors in

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[472] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[473] Schmidt.: 314
[474] Schmidt.
[475] Phillips and Malhotra, 'Taking Social Construction Seriously: Extending the Discursive Approach in Institutional Theory'.
[476] Phillips and Malhotra.
[477] Phillips and Malhotra.: 4
[478] Phillips and Malhotra.
[479] Nelson Phillips, Thomas B. Lawrence, and Cynthia Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions', *Academy of Management Review* 29, no. 4 (October 2004): 637, https://doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2004.14497617.
[480] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 637.

various ways such as the risk reduction or increase (economically), minimising or amplifying required thought processes (cognitively), strengthening or weakening legitimacy (socially).[481]

Similarly, in defining DI, Schmidt also shares the perspective of NI that institutions are given in the sense that they are the context within which agents think, speak and act.[482] However, for Schmidt, institutions are simultaneously given and contingent in a sense that institutions are the results of agent's thought, speech and action.[483] The argument here is that institutions are functioning both as structures that constrain actors and as constructs created and changed by those actors and that they are internal to the actors.[484]

On institutionalisation, following NI, DI defines it as "the process by which institutions are produced and reproduced" and that it is a "social process by which individuals come to accept a shared definition of social reality that enacts an institution".[485] DI asserts that the creation and transmission of institutions, including their maintenance and resistance to change, must be the focus of investigation in the study of institutionalisation.[486] According to Schmidt, institutionalisation can be explained from the DI's view on action as "the process in which agents create and maintain institutions" by utilising their "background ideational abilities" rather than as "the product of agents' rationally calculated, path-dependent, or norm-appropriate rule-following".[487] Here, Schmidt points out that agents have the ability "to make sense of and in a given meaning context, that is, in terms of the ideational rules or 'rationality' of that setting".[488] The concept of 'background ideational abilities' according to Schmidt, assumes the existence of "institutional structures of constitutive rules" internal to agents, forming their capacities, dispositions and perspectives on how the world functions and how to deal with it, and that these institutional structures are accessed by agents "enabling them to speak and act without the conscious or unconscious following of external rules assumed by RI (rationalist calculation), HI (path dependence), or OI

[481] Nelson Phillips, Thomas B. Lawrence, and Cynthia Hardy, 'Inter-Organizational Collaboration and the Dynamics of Institutional Fields', *Journal of Management Studies* 37, no. 1 (1 January 2000): no-no, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6486.00171.
[482] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[483] Schmidt.
[484] Schmidt.
[485] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions', 638.
[486] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'; Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[487] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism', 314.
[488] Schmidt, 314.

(norm appropriateness)".[489] For Schmidt, this concept of 'background ideation abilities' explains the processes by which agents create and maintain institution.[490]

Also equally important for Schmidt, institutional action can also be a product of "foreground discursive abilities", a way that agents may change or maintain their institutions.[491] Schmidt elaborates:

> These discursive abilities represent the logic of communication, which enables agents to think, speak, and act outside their institutions even as they are inside them, to deliberate about institutional rules even as they use them, and to persuade one another to change those institutions or to maintain them.[492]

The concept of 'foreground discursive abilities', according to Schmidt, draws from the understanding that the interactive processes in discourse enable agents to change institutions.[493] Schmidt explains, "the deliberative nature of discourse allows them to conceive of and talk about institutions as objects at a distance, and to dissociate themselves from them even as they continue to use them".[494] The reason for this, according to Schmidt, there are two level from which discourse works: "at the everyday level of generating and communicating about institutions, and at a meta-level, as a second-order critical communication among agents about what goes on in institutions, enabling them to deliberate and persuade as a prelude to action".[495]

Emphasising that institutions are socially constructed through meaningful interactions, and that they are "social constructions constituted through discourse", Phillips at al. propose a "discursive model of institutionalisation" integrating discourse analysis to explain institutionalisation.[496] According to this model, "institutions are constituted by the structured collections of texts that exist in a particular field and that produce the social categories and norms that shape the understandings and behaviours of actors".[497] For Phillips et al., it is through the production of texts that institutions are constituted rather than action, explaining that texts allow ideas and actions "to transcend the essentially transitory character of social processes and to cross separate and diverse local settings".[498] Texts are more inclined than action to allow multiple interpretations by multiple actors, a process necessary for transmitting ideas.[499] They further explain:

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[489] Schmidt, 315.
[490] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[491] Schmidt, 314.
[492] Schmidt, 314.
[493] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[494] Schmidt, 316.: 316
[495] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.: 316
[496] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'.: 638
[497] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 638
[498] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 638
[499] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.

"actions may form the basis of institutionalized processes, but in being observed and interpreted, written or talked about, or depicted in some other way, actions generate texts, which mediate the relationship between action and discourse".[500] For Phillips et al., texts link actions to discourse, while discourse constitutes institutions that influence action, and the process goes on.[501]

Phillips et al. identify two types of actions that generate texts: first, "actions that are novel or surprising and therefore require significant organizational sensemaking" and second, "actions that affect an organization's legitimacy".[502] Phillips et al. define sensemaking as "the process by which meaning is produced" through "retrospective interpretation of actions and is triggered by surprises, puzzles, or problems".[503] Sensemaking, they explain, is a linguistic process – "sense is generated by words that are combined into the sentences of conversation to convey something about our ongoing experience and involves narratives, metaphors, and other symbolic forms that produce texts that leave traces".[504] For Phillips et al., "actions that require organizational sensemaking are more likely to result in the production of texts that are widely disseminated and consumed than actions that do not".[505] Establishing legitimacy is critical in the process of social construction. Actors' construction of explanations and justifications of their actions and existence is vital if they were to transmit their constructed reality to a new generation or to observers from within organisational fields or outside of it.[506] For Phillips et al., "actions that affect perceptions of the organization's legitimacy are more likely to result in the production of texts that are widely disseminated and consumed than actions that do not".[507]

Texts become embedded in discourse. Phillips et al. explain, "Embedding refers to the extent to which texts are adopted and incorporated by other organizations to become part of standardized, categorized, generalized meanings". A text has been embedded when it has transformed from an "artefact of a particular network of actors" to a "fact – just part of reality in that organizational world"; when it is utilised as an "organizing mechanism" on different context.[508] Phillips et al., identify three factors that influence the likelihood that a text will become embedded in discourse. First is "the

[500] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 638
[501] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.
[502] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 641
[503] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 641
[504] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 641
[505] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 642
[506] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.
[507] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.
[508] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 643

characteristics of the producer of the text".[509] Is the producer of the text in a legitimate position to speak? Does the producer of the text have the power and influence to make the text 'stick'? Is the producer of the text in the right location where the text can easily be disseminated? For Phillips et al., "texts that are produced by actors who are understood to have a legitimate right to speak, who have resource power or formal authority, or who are centrally located in a field, are more likely to become embedded in discourse than texts that are not".[510] The second factor is "the form or genre of the text".[511] Genres are established forms of communication following a particular configuration in a particular communicative situation.[512] Their contents share similar themes and are structured appropriately in a given situation. Gephart categorises genres into primary genres involving immediate speech communication and utterances and secondary genres, which absorb, transform and preserve primary genres, are more complex genres such like written works.[513] Phillips et al. explain that when primary speech and utterance genres are transformed into secondary textual forms, "those texts that enact a relevant and recognizable genre are more likely to provide other actors with a tool they can use for interpretation, motivating them to use these texts and incorporate them into their own actions and texts".[514] For Phillips et al., "texts that take the form of genres, which are recognizable, interpretable, and usable in other organizations, are more likely to become embedded in discourse than texts that do not".[515] The third factor is "the relationship of a text to other texts and to existing discourses has a significant effect on the likelihood the text will become embedded in discourse". Reference to other text, termed as intertextuality, and reference to other discourses, termed interdiscursivity, provide avenue for the reception of the text as they allow interpreters who are familiar with other texts and discourses to recognise where to associate the new text.[516] For Phillips et al., "texts that draw on other texts within the discourse and on

[509] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 643
[510] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 643
[511] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 643
[512] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy; Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*; Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, eds., *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE, 2009); Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*.
[513] Robert Gephart et al., 'Genres at Journal of Management Inquiry: Breaking Frames and Changing Fields', *Journal of Management Inquiry* 9, no. 3 (1 September 2000): 246–55, https://doi.org/10.1177/105649260093001.
[514] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'.: 643
[515] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 644
[516] Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*; Wodak and Meyer, *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*; Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*.

other well-established discourses are more likely to become embedded in discourse than texts that do not".[517]

As explained above, discourse affects action through the construction of institutions. Phillips et al. identify two characteristics of discourse that will more likely to construct institutions. First, "discourses that are more coherent and structured present a more unified view of some aspect of social reality, which becomes reified and taken for granted."[518] Phillips et al. explain that since the constitution of discourse is contingent upon the degree of interrelatedness of text, some discourses are more coherent and more structured than others in the sense that various text agree and complement one another in their descriptions and explanations of a certain feature of social reality.[519] Phillips et al. argue:

> The more reified and taken for granted the social construction, the more difficult or costly it is to enact behaviours not consistent with it, either because it is difficult to conceive of and enact alternatives or because proscribed/prescribed behaviour can be defined and connected more clearly to clear, strong sanctions/rewards.[520]

For Phillips et al., "discourses that are more coherent and structured are more likely to produce institutions than those that are not".[521] The second characteristic is that "discourses that are supported by broader discourses and are not highly contested by competing discourses are more likely to produce institutions than discourses that are not". Phillips et al. explain that discourses constructing institutions are dependent upon the degree of support they receive from other discourses that are highly legitimate and well-established cutting across diverse fields and domains. Strong institutions are formed when discourses are "consistent with and supported by other, broader discourses will produce more powerful institutions because their self-regulating mechanisms will reinforce each other". When there are competing discourses, "another structured set of interrelated texts offering alternative social constructions of the same aspect of social reality", the likelihood of a discourse constructing an institution is reduced. Phillips et al. argue that competing discourses "will tend to undermine the power of institutions stemming from the focal discourse, because they provide actors with alternative institutions and consequently lower the costs associated with nonadoption of any particular institution". From a communicative aspect of discourse, Schmidt adds that a discourse that "'gets it right' in terms of a given "meaning context" according to a given 'logic of communication'" are more like to construct institutions. Schmidt explains that:

[517] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'.: 644
[518] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 644
[519] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.
[520] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 645
[521] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy.: 645

> Discourses succeed when speakers address their remarks to the right audiences (specialized or general publics) at the right times in the right ways. Their messages must be both convincing in cognitive terms (justifiable) and persuasive in normative terms (appropriate and/or legitimate) . . . This suggests not only that the ideas in the discourse must 'make sense' within a particular ideational setting but also that the discourse itself will be patterned in certain ways, following rules and expressing ideas that are socially constructed and historically transmitted (but more on this below).

2.5.4. Formal and Informal Institutions

Formal institutions "are rules and procedures that are created, communicated, and enforced through channels widely accepted as official".[522] These include not only "state institutions (courts, legislatures, bureaucracies) and state-enforced rules (constitutions, laws, regulations), but also . . . organization rules, or the official rules that govern organizations such as corporations, political parties, and interest groups".[523] Informal institutions are "socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels".[524] These are unwritten and unofficial and a violation receive public or societal punishment but not from the state or government.[525] For Dobler, these include "values, morals, conventions, norms, habits, traditions, codes of conduct, attitudes, and beliefs".[526] Alesina and Guiliano[527] and Tabellini[528] use the term informal institutions interchangeable with culture as both are understood as beliefs and values. Helmke and Levitsky, however, maintain the distinction between the informal institution and culture viewing the later as a broader concept and may shape the former.[529] Formal institutions in which actors operate may influence informal institutions, however, formal institutions have no control on to what extent informal institutions will be affected.[530] Pejovich observes four instances on the relationship between formal and informal institutions: "formal institutions can suppress but cannot change informal institutions"; "formal rules are in direct conflict with

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[522] Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, 'Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda', *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 4 (December 2004): 725–40, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592704040472.: 227
[523] Helmke and Levitsky.: 227
[524] Helmke and Levitsky.: 227
[525] Constanze Dobler, 'The Impact of Formal and Informal Institutions on Per-Capita Income' (Working Paper, 2009).
[526] Dobler.: 3
[527] Alberto Alesina and Paola Giuliano, 'Culture and Institutions', *Journal of Economic Literature* 53, no. 4 (December 2015): 898–944, https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.53.4.898.
[528] Guido Tabellini, 'Culture and Institutions: Economic Development in the Regions of Europe', *Journal of the European Economic Association* 8, no. 4 (June 2010): 677–716, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bah&AN=50995486&site=ehost-live.
[529] Helmke and Levitsky, 'Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics'.
[530] Henry Farrell and Adrienne Héritier, 'Formal and Informal Institutions Under Codecision: Continuous Constitution-Building in Europe', *Governance* 16, no. 4 (October 2003): 577, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0491.00229.: 580

informal rules"; "formal rules are either ignored or rendered neutral"; and "formal rules and informal rules cooperate".[531]

2.5.5. Institutions and Organisations

Perspectives on the relationship between institutions and organisations can be grouped in three views. The first group does not distinguish institutions from organisations. This perspective focuses on "the strong connection between the processes occurring at the societal (and even transnational) levels and the structure and operations of individual organizations".[532] Zucker explains that organisations are institutionalised forms, that organisations embody institutions.[533] Dobbin argues, "rationalized organizational practices are essentially cultural, and are very much at the core of modern culture precisely because modern culture is organized around instrumental rationality".[534] Meyer and Rowan organisational practices reflect institutions.[535] Similarly, March, Friedberg and Arellano understand organisations as collection of rules and do not find a sharp distinction from institutions.[536] The second group view organisations as institutions.[537] Hodgson's definition reflects this view as he defines organisations as "a special type of institution involving criteria to involve boundaries and to distinguish its members its non-members, a principle of sovereignty concerning who is in charge, and a chain of command delineating responsibilities within the organisation."[538] Zucker identifies three defining principles of this view:

> (a) Institutional elements arise primarily from small group or organization-level processes; (b) formalized organizational structure and process tend to be both highly institutionalized and a source of new institutionalization; and (c) institutionalization increases stability, creating routines that enhance organizational performance except when more efficient alternatives are ignored.

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531 Svetozar Pejovich, 'The Effects of the Interaction of Formal and Informal Institutions on Social Stability and Economic Development', *Journal of Markets & Morality* 2, no. 2 (4 June 2012), http://www.marketsandmorality.com/index.php/mandm/article/view/624.: 170-71

532 Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*.: 183

533 Lynne G. Zucker, 'Organizations as Institution', in *Advances in Organizational Theory and Research*, ed. Samuel B. Bacharach, vol. 2 (Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press, 1983), 1–43.

534 Frank R. Dobbin, 'Cultural Models of Organization: The Social Construction of Rational Organizing Principles', in *SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE: Emerging Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Diana Crane (Oxford, UK ; Cambridge, Mass: John Wiley & Sons, 1994).: 183

535 Meyer and Rowan, 'Institutionalized Organizations'.

536 James March, Erhard Friedberg, and David Arellano, 'Institutions and Organizations: Differences and Linkages from Organization Theory', *Gestión y Política Pública* 20, no. 2 (July 2011): 235–46, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=75132873&site=ehost-live.

537 Oliver E. Williamson, *The Economic Intstitutions of Capitalism* (Simon and Schuster, 1985).

538 Geoffrey M. Hodgson, *How Economics Forgot History: The Problem of Historical Specificity in Social Science* (London: Routledge, 2001).: 317 also in G. M. Hodgson, 'Institutions and Individuals : Interaction and Evolution', *Organization Studies* 28, no. 1 (2007): 95–116, http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0170840607067832.: 96

The third group distinguishes institutions from organisations. North views institutions as being the rules of the game and organisations the players. He explains, "The purpose of the rules is to define the way the game is played; [b]ut the objective of the team within that set of rules is to win the game."[539] Leftwich and Sen add that organizations are "the formally or informally coordinated vehicles for the promotion or protection of a mix of individual and shared interests and ideas".[540] Greenwood, Hinings and Whetten observe that the emphasis on the influence of institution on organisation led to the neglect in "understanding the organizations as a social mechanism for achieving collective ends".[541] Similarly for Khalil, organisations are defined by their ends, while institutions provide the means to achieve the ends, and this distinction must be maintained.[542] He argues that the "distinction should clarify many theoretical controversies".[543] For example, he asserts that the theory of institution cannot fully explain intra-organisational relations without the theory of organisation.[544] He also cites that in division of labour, the interests of the theory of organisation are different from the concerns of the theory of institution.[545] He finds problematic when the concept 'institution' is used without reference to 'organisation', or when 'organisation' is identified as a type of 'institution', because it depicts the behaviour of organisation as determined by institution.[546] Leftwich and Sen observe:

> Failure to differentiate these concepts [institutions and organizations] clearly and to deploy them rigorously and consistently has meant that policy-makers have not been able to take proper account of the central political role played by organized human agency, especially in the form of formal and informal organizations — whether economic, political or social — in the shaping, maintaining, undermining, avoiding and changing institutional arrangements.[547]

Organisations may be formal or informal like institutions. Examples of formal organisations are companies, trades unions, political movements or parties, churches, news media, banks and businesses, public bureaucracies and ministries, security services, professional and business associations. Informal organizations "tend to have

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[539] North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*.: 4-5
[540] Leftwich and Sen, '"Don't Mourn; Organize" Institutions and Organizations in the Politics and Economics of Growth and Poverty-Reduction'.: 323
[541] Royston Greenwood, C. R. Hinings, and Dave Whetten, 'Rethinking Institutions and Organizations', *Journal of Management Studies* 51, no. 7 (1 November 2014): 1206–20, https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12070.
[542] Elias L. Khalil, 'Organizations Versus Institutions', *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE) / Zeitschrift Für Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 151, no. 3 (1995): 445–66, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40751821.
[543] Khalil.: 450
[544] Khalil.
[545] Khalil.
[546] Khalil.
[547] Leftwich and Sen, '"Don't Mourn, Organize': Institutions and Organizations in the Politics and Economics of Growth and Poverty-Reduction".: 324

less or no public profile, no formal constitution and operate behind the public space".[548] Examples of informal organisations are mafia, secret societies, criminal gangs, cabals, political factions or cliques within parties and organizations and some forms of both social movements and cartels.

2.5.6. Institutions in Religion and Development

Studies on religion and institutions focus on the effects of religion on institutions.[549] In religion and economics, studies explain the relationship of the role of religion on the economic life as a social institution and the effects of religious beliefs on economic behaviour.[550] However, Iannaccone observe that rational choice perspective remains to be the only concept providing plausible unified explanation on the influences of religion in economics.[551] He shares the concern on the need for better unified constructs due to the lack of theory building from both religious and economic studies.[552] In religion and social services, studies centre on assessing the degree of religious influence on social services particularity on the work of faith-based social service organisation.[553] Religious influences are observed in the areas of organisational structure, resource, practices and values within social service organisations.[554] Studies show the wide range of social services provided by religious organisations, and identify advantages of the social services they provide together and also shortcomings.[555]

The interest on institutions within development studies literature focuses on the questions 'why institutions matter' and 'what institutions matter'.[556] Influenced by NIE, investigations on the impact of institutions on economic growth find that adequate and

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[548] Leftwich and Sen.: 324
[549] Helen Rose Ebaugh, ed., *Handbook of Religion and Social Institutions* (New York, USA: Springer Science & Business Media, 2006); Mohammad Niaz Asadullah and Nazmul Chaudhury, 'Religious Schools, Social Values, and Economic Attitudes: Evidence from Bangladesh', *World Development*, Formal and Informal Institutions and Development, 38, no. 2 (February 2010): 205–17, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.10.014; Luigi Guiso, Paola Sapienza, and Luigi Zingales, 'People's Opium? Religion and Economic Attitudes', *Journal of Monetary Economics* 50, no. 1 (January 2003): 225–82, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-3932(02)00202-7.
[550] Larry Iannaccone, 'Economy', in *Handbook of Religion and Social Institutions*, ed. Helen Rose Ebaugh (New York, USA: Springer Science & Business Media, 2006), 21–39.
[551] Iannaccone.
[552] Iannaccone.
[553] Cnaan and McGrew, 'Social Welfare'.
[554] Cnaan and McGrew.
[555] Cnaan and McGrew.
[556] Dani Rodrik, 'Growth Strategies' (August 2004), http://drodrik.scholar.harvard.edu/files/dani-rodrik/files/growth-strategies.pdf?m=1435073927; Cosmin Marinescu, 'Why Institutions Matter: From Economic Development to Development Economics', *European Review* 22, no. 3 (July 2014): 469–90, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.mdx.ac.uk/10.1017/S1062798714000283; Mark C. Casson, Marina Della Giusta, and Uma S. Kambhampati, 'Formal and Informal Institutions and Development', *World Development*, Formal and Informal Institutions and Development, 38, no. 2 (February 2010): 137–41, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.10.008.

appropriate institutions, such like growth-igniting institutions, growth-sustaining institutions and conflict management institution, facilitate economic growth – institutions do matter.[557]

The focus of the effects of institutions on religion and development or vice versa has contributed significantly in understanding the world. However, with regards to the interest of SI and DI on the process of creating, maintaining, translating/editing, circulating and changing institutions within the interaction of institutions, including institutions within religious and development fields, the literature fall short.

2.6. SUMMARY

This literature review chapter explained the evolution of the understanding of religion and development and has identified concepts that may be used to understand the two together, particularly as having intertwined dimensions of discourse, practice, community and institution. Post-development, given the interest on local initiatives and perspectives on alternative to 'development', has left out local religious organisation into the discussion. In an in-depth look on the concepts of discourse and institution, a way to better explain the relationship of the dimensions can be identified and will be elaborated in the next chapter.

[557] Dani Rodrik, 'Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What They Are and How to Acquire Them', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 3, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bah&AN=4423165&site=ehost-live; Dani Rodrik, 'Rethinking Growth Strategies' (2004), https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/AL08-2004.pdf; Antonio Savoia, Joshy Easaw, and Andrew McKay, 'Inequality, Democracy, and Institutions: A Critical Review of Recent Research', *World Development*, Formal and Informal Institutions and Development, 38, no. 2 (February 2010): 142–54, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.10.009; Andrés Rodríguez-Pose, 'Do Institutions Matter for Regional Development?', *Regional Studies* 47, no. 7 (July 2013): 1034–47, https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2012.748978.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Analytical Framework

The overarching research question in this study is how and why do faith-based organisations (FBO) appropriate, contest, or transform development discourses and practices, with what implications for their own religious identity, discourses and practices? In chapter one, two central concerns were raised: the limited understanding of religion and religious institutions within development policy and practice organisations and the lack of a suitable and generally accepted analytical framework to understand and analyse the link between religion and development. To aid developing an understanding of the phenomena being investigated, this study has assembled a theoretical and analytical toolkit. In this chapter the theoretical and analytical framework that is used in this study is presented.

3.1. Conceptualising Religion and Development

As noted in Chapter 2, Sections 1 and 2, Religion and development are two distinct concepts. However, in the case of development work in which religion is involved, the distinction becomes blurred, as "religion and development are intertwined and each influences the other".[1] This intertwined relationship between religion and development requires an analytical framework that incorporates both concepts. Ufford and Schofeleersas have already applied this kind of strategy when they analysed development as a religion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.[2] Also, as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 1.2 and 2, both religion and development can be understood as discourses. Deneulin and Bano used MacIntyre's concept of a tradition in conceptualising both religion and development. As tradition, both are dynamic, meaning that they are "constantly evolving and changing according to their understanding of what it means to live well according to their core teachings, and what social practices best express this."[3] It is the interest of this study to identify the changes that occur and to explain how and why these occur when religion and development intersect with one another. As individual and/or joint tradition, religion and development are also multidimensional, involving discourses, practice, community and institutions.[4] (see also below).

[1] Rakodi, 'A Guide to Analyzing the Relationship between Religion and Development', 19.
[2] Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers, 'Introduction', in *Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach*, ed. Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers, 01 edition (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988), 1–30.
[3] Deneulin and Bano, 'Religion in Development: Education and Dialogue', 3.
[4] Deneulin and Bano, 3.

The post-development perspective emphasises the importance of social movements, as they seek to create culturally and locally informed alternatives to development (See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.). Religious organisations doing development work is intended to be rooted in the local culture can be viewed as social movements involved in the creation of alternatives to mainstream development. However, they are not completely isolated from currents in international and national development thinking. Thus, religious development organisations working in a local area are likely to be appropriating, contesting and re-embedding wider development discourses and practices.

Faith-based organisations (FBOs), adopting Clarke and Jennings definition, are "any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith" (See Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.).[5] FBOs have two sets characteristics, organizational characteristics which include their mission statement, origins, affiliation, the constitution of their board, characteristics of senior management, characteristics of donors, other staff, the religious practices of personnel; and program religious characteristics pertaining to program content, integration of religious components, and expected connections between religious content and desired outcomes.[6] These may be influenced by their religious environment. FBOs can potentially be classified as faith-permeated/faith-saturated, faith-centred, faith-affiliated/faith-related, faith-background, faith-secular partnership, or secular organisations.[7]

3.2. DIMENSIONS OF RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT

Like MacIntyre on a tradition, Lincoln views religion as having four main dimensions namely discourses, practices, community and institutions. As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, Lincoln defines these dimensions and explains the relationships between them. In linking the four dimensions of religion (discourse, practice, community, and institution), Lincoln explains that practice is the embodiment of religious discourse; a community adheres to religious discourse and practices; and institutions regulate religious discourses, practices and communities, and also reproduces, maintains, or

[5] Clarke and Jennings, 'Introduction', 6.
[6] Sider and Unruh, 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs'.
[7] Hefferan, Adkins, and Occhipinti, 'Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development: An Introduction'; Sider and Unruh, 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs'.

changes them.[8] These links identified by Lincoln imply that practice and community are passive in their submission to the influence of discourse, and that institutions govern all three dimensions. Informed by theories on discourses and institutions (see Chapter 2, Sections 4 and 5), the definition of each dimension and the relationships between them described by Lincoln can be further elaborated.

The discursive institutionalism (DI) view is that there is a mutually constitutive relationship between these dimensions. DI combines discourse analysis and institutional theory, claiming that institutions are socially constructed and are constituted through discourse. The institutionalisation process in DI, particularly the model proposed by Phillips et al., centres on the relationships between action (practice), text, discourse, and institutions. As Phillips et al. assert, "there is a mutually constitutive relationship among discourse, text, and action: the meanings of discourses are shared and social, emanating out of actors' actions in producing texts; at the same time, discourse gives meaning to these actions, thereby constituting the social world".[9]

3.2.1. Community as Actors

Community, for Lincoln, pertains to the people or members whose identity is built on a religious discourse and practices.[10] However, from the perspective of Scandinavian institutionalism (SI) and discursive institutionalism (DI) (See Chapter 2, Sections 2.5.2. and 2.5.3.), a set of social actors who constitute a community are not unthinking patients who are passively formed/controlled by social forces as implied by Lincoln's definition. Rather they are active sentient actors who influence various social dimensions.[11] SI, in conceptualising actors as translators and editors, emphasises this characteristic of social actors. As translators/editors, Sahlin-Andersson argue that actors are involved when ideas and discourses are translated into models, contextualised, transformed, mediated, constructed, and reconstructed as they circulate and get adopted.[12] Sevón explains that actors translate what they want to imitate; that they choose what to imitate and are inclined to imitate those they identify with; and that imitation usually occurs within an organisational field in which actors can share ideas, models, discourses, because they share frames of meaning and institutional environment.[13] In DI, Schmidt suggests that actors possess both background ideation

[8] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition*.
[9] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions', 637.
[10] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition*, 6.
[11] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism', 314.
[12] Sahlin-Andersson, 'Imitating by Editing Success: The Construction of Organizational Fields'.
[13] Sevón, 'Organizational Imitation in Identity Transformation'.

abilities – the abilities to reflect, evaluate, and act within the established rationality of the time (or institutional environment), and foreground discursive abilities – the abilities that enable them to think, speak and act beyond given rules or institutions, to communicate, argue and negotiate with a view to maintaining or changing institutions.[14]

A community is viewed in this study as a set of active sentient social actors who choose to imitate those they identify with, and using their background ideation abilities and foreground discursive abilities, translate or edit ideas or discourses that circulate within an organisational field. A community is also considered as an organisational field in which actors within this field identify with one another, share frames of meaning and an institutional environment, which inform their background ideation abilities and foreground discursive abilities. They include both individuals and organisations. In this study, a community may refer to a network, an FBO, FBO leaders and staff, church pastors, leaders and members, volunteers and clients/beneficiaries.

3.2.2. Practice as Action

Practice, for Lincoln, pertains to the rituals and ways of life that embody religious discourse.[15] For Collier, practice is where one encounters reality.[16] Understood as action, it refers to actors' materialisation of ideas, models or discourses circulating within an organisational field. In materialising discourses, actors need to fit to their context, therefore, discourses are translated/edited as they materialised. This idea complements Schmidt's understanding of action as processes through which actors create, maintain and change institutions using both their background ideation abilities and their foreground discursive abilities.[17] Action in this study refers to the development work and social service programs of FBOs and the materialisation of discourses circulating within an organisational field. Action may be constrained by institutions, but it also implies an institutionalised process as it generates text.[18] Actions requiring significant sensemaking, which affect the legitimacy of organisations, produce texts.

Texts, for Phillips et al. "refer not just to written transcriptions but to any kind of symbolic expression requiring a physical medium and permitting of permanent storage".[19] They explain that text needs to be inscribed, whether spoken, written, or expressed in a particular way, for it to be generated and take a material form that others

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[14] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism', 314.
[15] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition*.
[16] Andrew Collier, 'Language, Practice and Realism', in *Social Constructionism, Discourse and Realism* (SAGE, 1998), 47–58.
[17] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[18] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'.
[19] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 636.

can access.[20] Text is a product of editing processes governed by editing rules that concern context, logic and formulation.[21] Phillips et al. argue that "texts that make up discourses may take a variety of forms" which include spoken words – verbal reports and even talk, written documents, artwork, pictures, music, symbols, buildings, and other artefacts.[22] For them, "the structured collections of texts that exist in a particular field and that produce the social categories and norms that shape the understandings and behaviours of actors" constitute institutions.[23] The texts that will be considered in this study include stories and reports about the development and social service programs implemented by FBOs in the Philippines. Texts produced by the relevant actors, in the appropriate forms or genres, which in return refer to other texts and established discourses, are embedded into discourse.

3.2.3. Discourse

The concept of discourse has already been used as an analytical framework in both religious and development studies. von Stuckrad and others propose a view of religion as discourse.[24] In the development and post-development literature, development is also considered to be a discourse. However, as discussed in chapter two, both religion and development are multidimensional. As noted above, Lincoln suggests at least four dimensions in religion, namely, discourse, practice, community, and institution.[25] Development may also be understood as having these four dimensions.[26]

Lincoln distinguishes religious discourse as pertaining to the transcendent and asserting truth claims.[27] However, if the term transcendent implies "the existence of two separate worlds, the one we actually live in and another beyond that", this characteristic is not exclusive to religious discourse. As pointed out by van Ufford and Schofeleers, this may also be a characteristic of development discourse.[28] From the perspective of discourse analysis, discourse is understood as a social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by it. It may also be understood as representation – a

[20] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'.
[21] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.
[22] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions', 636.
[23] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 638.
[24] von Stuckrad, 'Discursive Study of Religion', January 2013; Hjelm, 'Religion, Discourse and Power'; Taira, 'Making Space for Discursive Study in Religious Studies'; Robert J. Wuthnow, 'Taking Talk Seriously: Religious Discourse as Social Practice', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50, no. 1 (March 2011): 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5906.2010.01549.x.
[25] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition*.
[26] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, 1st edition (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).
[27] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition*.
[28] Ufford and Schoffeleers, 'Introduction', 18.

system or frame of meaning governing what and how ideas are represented, and communication – determining who says to what, whom, how, why, and where (Chapter 2, Section 4.2.). Discourse is affected by action, especially the production of text, and at the same time provides a mechanism that enacts institutions which affect action.[29] Discourses that are coherent and structured, receive more support and less contestation from broader discourses, and follow the logic of communication, are more likely to create institutions.

3.2.4. Institution

Institutions, for Lincoln, regulate, reproduce, maintain, and change religious discourse, practice and community.[30] He does not distinguish institution from organization because for him, institutions are operated by people who are authorized to speak and act on behalf of both the community and analysed the tradition or religion they represent.[31] However, this study distinguishes institutions from organisations following North who distinguishes the players from the rules of the game, SI in conceptualising organisations as imitators, translators, or editors, guided by their institutional environment, and DI which views organisations as actors who use their ideation and discursive abilities within an institutional environment. Lincoln, depicts institutions as organizations unaffected by discourse, practice and community. SI and DI critique new institutionalism rule following perspectives (rational choice institutionalism – rules of the game, historical institutionalism – path dependent, and organisational institutionalism – appropriateness) for implying the same idea as Lincolns. For SI and DI, institutions as both given – the context that influences the actions of sentient actors and contingent – products of the actions of actors; and as potentially both constraining and enabling.[32] Institutions shape what actors perceive as appropriate or legitimate and how they define their identity, and in the same way, actors shape institutions as they translate institutionalised discourses into action, in which, as discussed above (Section 3.2.2.), shape institutions.[33]

3.3. Application to the Study

The understanding of the dimension of religion and development and their relationship presented above is used in this study as an analytical framework guiding the analysis of

[29] Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 'Discourse and Institutions'.
[30] Lincoln, *Holy Terrors, Second Edition*.
[31] Lincoln, 7.
[32] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[33] Sahlin and Wedlin, 'Circulating Ideas: Imitation, Translation and Editing'.

the faith-based development work of the FBOs under study. Also, this framework is used as a theoretical framework to explain how and why actors adopt and appropriate development discourses in their practice/action of faith-based development work.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter aims to present the methodological paradigm and approach to the whole study. It begins with a review of methodological paradigms and approaches used in the study of religions and development, then discusses the research approach adopted in this study and explains why this approach was adopted. It also explains what will be considered as relevant data. Section 3 provides an explanation of how the case(s) were selected and gives a brief description of each and the final section plots the methods used for collecting and analysing data.

4.1. Research Approaches in the Study of Religions and Development

This section sketches how the between religions and development have been researched, to provide an overview that will inform the selection of the research approach in this study.

4.1.1. Research Philosophy: Positivist vs. Interpretivist

One way to categorise studies done in the area of religions and development is in terms of their research philosophy. This identifies the ontological and epistemological assumptions on which the methodological approach adopted in a study rest. Ontology in the social sciences refers to the view of "the existence of, and the relationship between, the different aspects of society, such as social actors, cultural norms and social structures".[1] It answers questions referring to the kinds of things existing in a society and is therefore "concerned with the nature of social bodies or entities".[2] Epistemology refers to the way of knowing reality and is concerned with the "sources, limits, rationality and justification of knowledge".[3] Epistemology deals with questions like who is the knower[4] and what is his/her relationship with what is known, how do we

[1] Lee Barron, 'Ontology', ed. Victor Jupp, *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods* (London: SAGE, 18 April 2006).: 202

[2] Barron.

[3] Lynda Stone, 'Epistemology', ed. Lisa M. Given, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (SAGE Publications, 19 August 2008).: 264

[4] Barron, 'Ontology'.

know what we know,[5] what specific aspects and relationships of the known can be described,[6] and what is considered to be knowledge in a particular discipline.[7]

In most social science research and including studies of the relationships between religions and development, the research philosophy adopted is either positivist or interpretivist. Research anchored in positivism views the social sciences as similar to the natural sciences, based on a perspective that there is “a single concrete reality”[8] ‘out there’, which is “an objective entity, outside of the mind of the observer, and in principle … knowable in its entirety”, and that “the task of the researcher is to describe and analyse this reality”.[9] Positivism emphasises objectivity and assumes that the researcher can completely distance him or herself from the object of the study, so that it can be observed in “a neutral way and without affecting the observed object”.[10] Positivism aims to draw universal and timeless generalisations from social patterns or social laws traced and identified through direct observations and measurements of the phenomena under study.[11] Positivist approaches also aim to be logical and systematic, by following particular research rules and guidelines.[12] In the study of religions and development, positivism is often associated with “statistical recording of the relations between data and variables”,.[13] for example, the research done by the Pew Research Center on ‘Religion and Public Life’, which describes relationships between religion and other aspects of society using statistical data.[14] Also, Barro and McCleary used survey information for 68 countries in the past 20 years to assess theories on the relationship between religion and economic growth.[15] Similarly, Wuthnow analysed

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[5] Steve Eric Krauss, ‘Research Paradigms and Meaning Making: A Primer’, *The Qualitative Report* 10, no. 4 (2005): 758–70.
[6] Mohammad Nashir Uddin and Mohammad Hamiduzzaman, ‘The Philosophy of Science in Social Research’, *The Journal of International Research* 2, no. 6 (2009): 654–64.
[7] Nicholas Walliman, *Social Research Methods* (SAGE, 2006).
[8] Krauss, ‘Research Paradigms and Meaning Making: A Primer’.
[9] Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating, ‘How Many Approaches in the Social Sciences? An Epistemological Introduction’, in *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, ed. Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating (Cambridge University Press, 2008).: 23
[10] della Porta and Keating.
[11] Tara Hefferan, ‘Researching Religions and Development’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, ed. Emma Tomalin (London: Routledge, 2015).
[12] della Porta and Keating, ‘How Many Approaches in the Social Sciences? An Epistemological Introduction’.
[13] Luigi Berzano and Ole Riis, ‘New Methods in Sociology of Religion’, in *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion: Volume 3: New Methods in the Sociology of Religion*, ed. Luigi Berzano and Ole Riis (BRILL, 2012), vii–xvii.: vii
[14] Pew Research Center, ‘Religion and Public Life’, Pew Research Center, n.d., http://www.pewforum.org.
[15] Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary, ‘Religion and Economic Growth across Countries’, *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 5 (2003): 760–81, https://doi.org/10.2307/1519761; Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary, ‘Religion and Economic Growth across Countries’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 45, no. 2 (2006): 149–75, https://doi.org/10.2307/1519761.

statistical data to explain and describe the social service work of faith-based organisations in the US.[16]

In contrast to positivism, influenced by social constructionism discussed above (Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1.), interpretivism views the world as having “multiple realities” and contends that objectivity, as understood by positivists, is “an illusion”[17], for “knowledge is established through the meanings attached to the phenomena studied; researchers interact with the subjects of the study to obtain data; inquiry changes both researcher and subject; and knowledge is context and time dependent”.[18] Interpretivists find the positivists’ claim of a reality ‘out there’ that can be known in its entirety and that is untainted by the researchers’ interests and purposes incoherent.[19] While interpretivists agree that there is reality ‘out there’, their acknowledgement of human limitations leads them to conclude that knowing reality, as it really is, is impossible.[20] Also, interpretivists argue that, while reality is ‘out there’, “descriptions/interpretations of that reality are not ‘out there’” for social reality “is always something we make or construct, not something we find or discover”.[21] For Berzano and Riis, interpretivism “has attributed importance to the comprehension of the subjective and symbolic structures on the basis of which individuals organize and interpret their relationships with others”.[22] In the study of religions and development, interpretivism is associated with “the quest for meaning”, with research questions such as “how do religiously motivated development professionals conceptualize their work, its purpose, and its goal? What are the competing understandings of development that might exist among the staff of a particular faith-based organization?”[23]

4.1.2. Research Approaches: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods

Another way to group social science research on religions and development is by research approaches, namely quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods research approaches. From a positivist perspective, quantitative research approaches “rely on mathematical measurement, whereby relevant variables are identified, with dependent variables measured by categories, ranks, or scores and independent variables measured,

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[16] Robert Wuthnow, *Saving America?: Faith-Based Services and the Future of Civil Society* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009).
[17] Hefferan, ‘Researching Religions and Development’.: 37
[18] Krauss, ‘Research Paradigms and Meaning Making: A Primer’.: 759
[19] John K. Smith, ‘Interpretative Inquiry’, ed. Lisa M. Given, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (SAGE Publications, 19 August 2008).
[20] Smith.
[21] Smith.: 460
[22] Berzano and Riis, ‘New Methods in Sociology of Religion’.: viii
[23] Hefferan, ‘Researching Religions and Development’.: 37

controlled, or randomized".[24] Aiming to identify "stable patterns of co-variation between the characteristics in order to identify causal relations"[25] and to explain the relationship between variables in mathematical terms, quantitative data is analysed through "descriptive and inferential statistical methods"[26] For example, descriptive statistics are useful in illustrating and summarising findings, while the relationships between variables can be expressed in terms of their "correlation coefficient values, or inferential statistical analysis can be undertaken to establish the effects of different interventions, as in analysis of variance, analysis of covariance and multivariate analysis of variance".[27] Research using quantitative approaches, as in the studies mentioned above, "enable [a] large number of respondents to be included and permit generalizations to be made about the wider population on the basis of a sample".[28] However, concerns have been raised in relation to the use of closed questions in census and sample surveys, because "not all respondents interpret a question in the same way; closed questions simplify complex realities; [or] respondents may be asked for an opinion on a subject they have not previously considered".[29] Other criticisms include:

> selection of a sample may be biased, especially if a complete list of intended respondents is not available; a census avoids sample bias but is costly, as are the large samples and complex questionnaires necessary to produce reliable data on non-uniform populations and complex social phenomena, such as livelihood strategies; [and] the designer's supposed objectivity may conceal preconceptions that bias the design of the research and interpretation of the results.[30]

The last criticism critiques the epistemology of the positivist research paradigm, in which in quantitative approach is usually used. However, quantitative approaches are not limited to the positivist research paradigm, as interpretivist research may also use quantitative methods to complement qualitative data analysis. In the same way, a positivist research paradigm may also use qualitative methods to complement quantitative data and attempt to avoid the criticisms mentioned above.[31] This approach

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[24] Hefferan.: 38

[25] Ole Riis, 'Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Sociology of Religion', in *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion: Volume 3: New Methods in the Sociology of Religion*, ed. Luigi Berzano and Ole Riis (BRILL, 2012), 91–115.: 92

[26] Hefferan, 'Researching Religions and Development'.

[27] Jeanette Garwood, 'Quantitative Research', ed. Victor Jupp, *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods* (London: SAGE, 18 April 2006).: 250

[28] Rakodi, 'A Guide to Analyzing the Relationship between Religion and Development'. 111

[29] Rakodi.:113

[30] Rakodi.

[31] della Porta and Keating, 'How Many Approaches in the Social Sciences? An Epistemological Introduction'; Hefferan, 'Researching Religions and Development'.

of utilizing both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms in one research project is categorised as a mixed methods research paradigm.[32]

Qualitative research approaches based on an interpretivist paradigm "are word based, open ended, and typically in depth" forms of inquiry that aim "to understand phenomena and behaviour from the perspective of research subjects, through interpretation of words, texts, art, context, and the like".[33] Qualitative research approaches allow the researcher to identify variables by interpreting the meaning of the phenomena under study from the perspective of those who are involved in and are experiencing the phenomena.[34] The data in this approach are obtained through ethnographic methods such as those used in anthropology, which include informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions or group interviews, participant or non-participant observation and documentary review.[35] These methods "provide thick descriptions" and seek to identify insiders' perspectives, as data are "based on respondents expressing their personal views and interpretations of phenomena in their own words, … enable[ing] both respondents and researchers to direct the enquiry to follow up unforeseen topics".[36] Data are inductively analysed, starting from particulars to general themes from which the researcher interprets the meaning of the phenomena under study.[37] Those using qualitative approaches acknowledge their own subjectivity as they collect and interpret the data and are aware of "the ways the outsider status and identity of a researcher can influence the responses of the study subjects".[38] However, critics observe that, in spite of much effort to reflect the perspectives of the subjects of study, data collection and analysis or interpretation may still be biased towards the researcher's preconceptions and position.[39] Also, while the findings have considerable depth, as qualitative studies generally focussed on a particular context, applications may be narrow, the scope for generalisation limited.[40]

The merits of a choice between quantitative and qualitative approaches can be summarised in terms of a comparison between breadth and depth, objectivity and

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[32] R. Burke Johnson, Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, and Lisa A. Turner, 'Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1, no. 2 (1 April 2007): 112–33, https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689806298224.
[33] Hefferan, 'Researching Religions and Development'.: 38
[34] Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (London: SAGE, 2008).
[35] Rakodi, 'A Guide to Analyzing the Relationship between Religion and Development'.
[36] Rakodi.: 114
[37] John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014).
[38] Rakodi, 'A Guide to Analyzing the Relationship between Religion and Development'.
[39] Rakodi.
[40] Rakodi.

subjectivity, accuracy (mathematical) and creativity. Brink views these competing methodologies as two emphases: on the one hand, the emphasis is precision and on the other richness.[41] He concludes that, "since the accuracy of descriptions requires precision and their adequacy requires richness, both poles are essential", since "both are imperfect alone . . . [therefore in his view] both are essential for a complete description of human experience, including the human experience of religion".[42]

4.2. RESEARCH PARADIGM AND APPROACH IN THIS STUDY

The choice of a research paradigm and approach in a study is dictated by the research question that the study aims to answer and by the theoretical assumption(s) adopted in the research.[43] This study is asking how and why do faith-based organisations (FBOs) appropriate, contest, translate and transform development discourses and practices, with what implications for their own religious identity, discourses and practices? The aims of this study are: to identify and explain how religious and development discourses are reflected in the practices of FBOs doing development work; to examine whether and how the religious organisations have redefined their religious identity, discourse and practice in the light of their encounter with development discourses and practices; to provide a thick description of how religion and development are intertwined in the 'development' discourses of FBOs; and to explain how these 'development' discourses have come to exist, focusing primarily on the processes by which religious and development discourses intersect, produce, actualise, ignore or institutionalise particular development discourses and practices. The research question and the aims of this study rest on the theoretical assumptions discussed in Chapter 3.

To answer the research questions, detailed descriptions of the meanings that people give to their social practices, religious observance and development work have been gathered and analysed. The data necessary in this study is basically social in nature, drawing from "human activities, their concepts and ways of being social".[44] Such data is a product of the minds and emotions of the people involved in development work, for example, FBO leaders and staff, volunteers and the beneficiaries of their development work. Much of the data is in text expressing the discourses that are communicated,

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[41] T L Brink, 'Quantitative and/or Qualitative Methods in the Scientific Study or Religion', *Zygon* 30, no. 3 (September 1995): 461–75, http://0-search.ebscohost.com.library.acaweb.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rfh&AN=ATLA0000900002&site=eds-live.: 463

[42] Brink.: 463

[43] Corbin and Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research*.

[44] Steve Eric Krauss, "Research Paradigms and Meaning Making: A Primer", *The Qualitative Report* 10, no. 4 (2005): 758–770.: 764

appropriated in practice, and/or are the subject of contestation or transformation. The information needed to answer the research question posed in this study is mostly subjective, and is both descriptive and explanatory in nature. The study therefore followed the principles of the interpretivist paradigm, which addresses one of the problems identified in Chapter 1, namely that the use of the positivist paradigm in researching religions in development does not capture the perspectives which religious actors have as they become involved in development work.[45] Also, to address the research question, aims and assumptions mentioned above, this study adopts a qualitative research approach.

4.3. CASE STUDIES

This research was designed initially to explain how and why religious and development discourses, practices, community, and institutions are intertwined in the development work done by FBOs and congregations who are working together. With this aim, I utilised a case study method in order to address 'how' and 'why' questions and do a broad and in-depth investigation of a contemporary social phenomenon within its real-life context, where the researcher has no control and "boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident".[46] The cases were selected using a purposive or criterion based sampling strategy. In this strategy, cases are chosen based on certain features or characteristics that will allow in-depth investigation and understanding of the phenomena being studied.[47] Ritchie et. al. identify five approaches to purposive sampling, namely: homogeneous sampling, heterogeneous or maximum variation or diverse case sampling, extreme case or deviant sampling, stratified purposive sampling, and critical or typical case sampling.[48] A stratified approach to purposive sampling was used in which the goal is to include cases that demonstrate both homogeneity and heterogeneity.[49] Initially, the following criteria were used in the selections of cases. The first criterion is that organisations must have been actively doing development work for at least five years. This was aimed to ensure that sufficient data could be gathered given that the organisations selected have relatively sufficient experience in doing development work. Second, organisations that are faith-permeated or faith-centred, as described by Hefferan et al. and Sider and Unruh (discussed in Chapter 2, Section

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[45] Deneulin and Rakodi, "Revisiting Religion".
[46] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed., vol. 5, Applies Social Research Methods (London: SAGE, 2009).: 13
[47] Jane Ritchie et al., 'Designing and Selecting Samples', in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, ed. Jane Ritchie et al. (London: SAGE, 2013), 111–45.
[48] Ritchie et al.
[49] Ritchie et al.

2.3.1.). In both of these types, the connection with religious faith is explicit in their organizational characteristics and the religious aspect is intentionally integrated in their programs and is believed by them to be vital in the achievement of their goals. It is clear that in faith-permeated or faith-centred organisation, the interaction between religion and development in the development work of FBOs do exist. Third, because of the interest of this study on the development work done jointly by a congregation and an FBO, both congregations and FBOs are involved in the development work of the cases selected. Fourth, the organisations selected belong to the Evangelical Christian group doing development work in Metro Manila. Evangelical because first of all, the concept of integral/holistic mission (discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.5.3.6) where evangelism and social action are integrated in the Christian ministry work or development work, is part of the Evangelical discourse. Secondly, this study investigates whether or not integral/holistic mission is reflected in the practice of the Evangelical FBOs selected in this study. Thirdly, since I am part of an Evangelical congregation and that my previous work with an FBO allowed me to meet different Evangelical development practitioners, this group is accessible to me. Also, organisations located in Metro Manila are within 90-120 minutes of traveling distance from where I live and work. The variation that was considered was related to the nature of the organisation.

At the beginning of this research, my interest was to look into the dynamics of the relationship between FBOs and congregations who are doing development work together. To identify organisations for this study, I reconnected with organisations that I was in contact with when I was still working as a staff member of an FBO. This previous work allowed me to meet different development practitioners in the field. In November 2011, I contacted Mrs. Fe Foronda, the head of the Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN), a national network of FBOs, NGOs and congregations, and was able to set up an appointment with her. During my phone conversation with Mrs. Foronda, I shared with her my interest in FBO - congregation relationships in development work. Learning about this, she asked me to meet her on the date that she was also meeting with the officers of two coalition groups that the network had created, the Bearer's of Hope Metro Manila Working Group and the Rhoda Ministries Network. Both of these coalition groups are doing advocacy work for the protection of children. On the 29th of November 2011, I met with Mrs. Foronda and she introduced me to the people she was meeting. In that meeting, I met a representative of an international FBO; six officers of Bearer's of Hope, of which three are representatives of a local FBO and three are pastors of three different local churches/congregations; and one officer from

Rhoda Ministries Network (hereafter Rhoda) who is also a pastor of a congregation. Mrs. Foronda invited me to be an observer during their meeting. After the meeting, I was given time to talk to the group and learn about the work they were doing. I learned that one of the leaders, Pastor Cesar Lubrico is the pastor of Tondo Blessed Hope Bible Baptist Church (hereafter Tondo Blessed Hope) and that their congregation is also implementing a feeding program with another Christian FBO, the Care Channels International (hereafter Care Channels). I requested Pastor Lubrico to introduce me to the leader of the Care Channels that they were working with and he agreed. I was able to communicate with the leader of the Care Channels and was able to get information about their organisation and what they do. I also requested the officer of Rhoda to introduce me to the other officers of their group and he agreed. I eventually met with the officers of Rhoda during their scheduled monthly coordinators meeting in which four are pastors of a congregation and one is a staff of a FBO. In March 2012, I attended a forum in which more than a hundred representatives of different FBOs participated. At that forum, I was able to talk to the leaders of two alliance networks, the Alliance of Christian Development Agencies and Micah Challenge Philippines. In these initial inquiries with FBO leaders, I learned that the three FBOs fit the criteria to be part of the case study, the Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN) – a Christian network organisation; the 'Christian NGO' – a development NGO; and the Tondo Blessed Hope – a congregation.

In 2014, I had to change my first supervisor because there was a change on the nature of his work and he could not help me anymore. My current first supervisor took over in helping and guiding me in this research. I was advised to broaden my literature review to include literature on post development studies. This led me to shift to the current objective of the study – to explain how and why FBOs appropriate, translate, and transform development discourses.

In May 2016 during my dean's review, I was advised to include two more FBOs in the case study. My second supervisor who is based in the Philippines suggested the Center for Community Transformation (CCT), a microfinance development organisation. However, since the first three organisations that are already included in the study are working with children, I was advised to select FBOs who are also working with children, though it was not originally part of the criteria. CCT is also a parent organisation, and one of the organisations they created was the Visions of Hope to cater to the needs of children in need. I contacted the head of Visions of Hope and she responded positively so I included Visions of Hope in the study. I also included Reach

Youth, an FBO who is also working with children. I have known about the work of Reach Youth since 1999. In 2014, the congregation established by Reach Youth, the Reach Youth Pag-ibig Community Church (hearafter, Reach Youth Pap-ibig), started holding their worship services in the same building where the congregation I am part of is also holding worship services. Since that time, I have interacted with the leadership and volunteers of Reach Youth.

4.4. DATA GATHERING METHODS

To generate rich, detailed and in-depth data, and ensure construct validity, multiple sources of data were accessed. In line with the theoretical analytical framework presented in Chapter 3, the texts studied include verbal and written accounts and also artefacts. Data collection was made from March to May 2013 for the first three cases, PCMN, Tondo Blessed Hope and the Care Channels, and for the second two cases, Reach Youth and Visions of Hope from August to September 2016. In this study, the following methods of data collection were employed:

The first two methods aimed to get informants/respondents' perspectives in relation to my research questions.

1. Semi-structured in-depth interviews with top and middle level management respondents from FBOs.

With PCMN, I was able to interview the founder and member of the board, the national director, two leaders of network members, two leaders of another commissioned organisation like PCMN, and two local network leaders, a total of eight respondents. With Tondo Blessed Hope, interview respondents were four leaders. With Care Channels, I was only able to interview the national director. I was told that I would get the same answer from other leaders and staff member. However, the director gave me the presentation material she uses in introducing Care Channels to prospective local church partners, some of their brochures, and a tour at their office. Also, the only Care Channels local church partner that I was able to get access to was Tondo Blessed Hope. With Reach Youth, the managing director and one of the leaders were interviewed. With Visions of Hope, the executive director and two centre managers were interviewed.

The questions asked were the following:

- How did the work start?
- What are you trying to address? What are the causes? How can it be addressed?
- What do you want to achieve? How do you know that you have achieved?

- What are your programs? How did it start? How are these contributing to what you want to achieve?
- What are the challenges? How do you overcome the challenges?

2. Group semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) with field workers/church volunteers.

I interviewed officers of two local networks of PCMN, with six people on both groups. I facilitated an FGD with a group of five volunteers from Tondo Blessed Hope, and five volunteers from Reach Youth.

Interview appointments were set both through sending email messages and calling via mobile phone. The interview was conducted in Filipino and every one was recorded using a digital recorder and notes on observation and reflection were written down during the interview. After the interview, I listened to recordings and transcribed parts that I considered relevant, also additional notes on observation and reflection were written.

This next data gathering method focuses on relevant printed materials to acquire knowledge and understanding about the particularity or commonality of the case under study – the nature of the work – its activities and functions; its historical background; and its context.

3. Collection of relevant printed materials such as websites, published newsletters, and annual reports.

4.5. DATA ANALYSIS APPROACH

Using NVivo 10, data (interview recordings and transcripts, observation notes, website articles/blogs, reports) were catalogued, coded and analysed. Text on data was analysed based on the assumptions presented in Chapter 3, Section 3.2. It is assumed that actions of actors constitute discourse through text; that texts are the product of actions requiring significant sensemaking and can affect the legitimacy of the organisation; and that text generated by the pertinent actors, in the appropriate forms or genres, which in return refer to other texts and established discourses, are embedded into discourse. Using the framework in Chapter 3, the analysis describes and explains the relationship between the dimensions of discourse, practice, community, and institutions of the faith-based development work of the case study organisations in the study. Permission was asked from the respondents whether they would allow me to mention their names or they would want to remain anonymous.

4.6. CONCLUSION

This section first identified and described various research paradigms and research approaches used in the study of religions and development. Then secondly, awareness of previous research helped in the selection of the interpretivist/constructionist approach adopted in this study. This study utilises a case study design. Towards the end states the ways data were collected and analysed were described.

Chapter 5: The Context of the Development Work of FBOs in the Philippines

This section provides an overview of the context of the development work of the FBOs in this study. It begins with a general information about the Philippines, followed by discussions on the religious and economic development context of the country.

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago consists of some 7,107 islands and islets, of which 730 are inhabited.[1] Its northernmost island is approximately 330 miles off the south east coast of Asian mainland facing the island of Taiwan and the Bashi Channel; to its south lie the Celebes Sea and the archipelago of Indonesia; to its east lie the Philippine Sea and the Pacific Ocean, to its west lie the West Philippine Sea, the South China Sea; and the east coast of Vietnam, and to its southwest lie the Sulu Sea and island of Borneo.[2] The archipelago stretches about 1,132 miles from north to south and 688 miles from east to west, with a land area of 115,831 square miles.[3] It is comprised of three major sub-groups: the Luzon group which includes Luzon – the largest island (41,765 sq. miles), Mindoro, Marinduque, Romblon islands, Palawan, Masbate, Catanduanes, Batanes, and Polilio; the Visayas group which includes Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, Samar, Biliran, Siquijor, and Guimaras; and the Mindanao group which include Mindanao – the largest island in the south (36,537 sq. miles), Dinagat, Siargao, Camiquin, Samal, and the island of Sulu Archipelago – composed primarily of Basilan, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi. The Philippines has an irregular coastline of 10,850 miles.[4] The inland is characterised by alluvial plains, plateaus, and valleys mostly used for agriculture with rice, corn, sugarcane, bananas, pineapple, coffee, mangoes, tobacco, and abaca (a banana-like plant) as main crops. Also, rolling hills, and mountains ranges span from north to south serving as natural defense from typhoons. At the beginning of the 1900's, 70% of these lands used to be covered with forest.[5] However, due to deforestation caused mainly by land clearance for agriculture and

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[1] Artemio R. Guillermo and May Kyi Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, Second Edition edition (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

[2] Kathleen Nadeau, *The History of the Philippines* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub Group, 2009).

[3] Nadeau.

[4] Maria Christine N. Halili, *Philippine History* (Manila, Philippines: Rex Bookstore, Inc., 2004).

[5] Ian Coxhead and Sisira Jayasuriya, 'Environment and Natural Resources', in *The Philippine Economy: Development, Policies, and Challenges*, ed. Arsenio M. Balisacan and Hal Hill (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), 381–417.

commercial exploitation of the forest for timber, fuel and timber, the forest cover declined to 19% by end of the century.[6] This deforestation resulted to damaging effects on the ecosystem and on thousands of flora and fauna species exist in the forest and most are endemic in the Philippines. Another adverse effect of the deforestation of the forest covering the mountain ranges is the degradation of the watersheds. Consequently, the Philippines became prone to drought, flooding, and deadly flash floods and landslides. The Philippines rich-resource coastal and oceanic waters, habitat to various aquatic species most endemic to the country, also suffered degradation. One-third of the country's coral reefs are in poor condition mostly caused by sediment deposits due to deforestation. Close to three-fourths of the 450,000 hectares of mangroves that existed 1918 was destroyed by 1994, due to the conversion of mangrove lands to fishponds and other forms of aquaculture, to real estate and tourism developments, and exploitation of wood and charcoal.[7]

Located just north of the equator, at 5 and 20 degrees, the Philippines has a tropical maritime climate, having two seasons: the rainy season, from June to November, and the dry season from December to May (cool dry December-February; hot dry March-May). The northeast monsoon months are December to February while the southwest monsoon season is from May to October. Being in the typhoon belt, an average of 20 typhoons hit the Philippines every year during the monsoon seasons, and five of those are destructive, including Typhoon Ondoy (Ketsana) and Typhoon Pepeng (Pharma) in 2009, Typhoon Pablo (Bopha) in 2012, and Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) in 2013 .[8] The Philippines is also located in the ring of fire having over 50 volcanos and experiencing very strong earthquakes with far-reaching consequences. The cataclysmic eruption of Mt. Pinatubo is considered the largest eruption that affected a densely populated area in the 20th century.[9] The strongest earthquake occurred in Mindanao in 1976 with a magnitude of over 8.0, and the 1990 earthquake that hit central and northern Luzon claimed 2,412 lives.[10] The Philippines faces these various kinds of natural disaster, typhoon and flood, earthquake and volcanic eruption, making it one of

[6] Ian Coxhead and Sisira Jayasuriya
[7] Ian Coxhead and Sisira Jayasuriya
[8] 'Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC)', accessed 20 February 2020, https://www.adrc.asia/nationinformation.php?NationCode=608&Lang=en.
[9] 'The Cataclysmic 1991 Eruption of Mount Pinatubo, Philippines, Fact Sheet 113-97', accessed 24 February 2020, https://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/1997/fs113-97/.
[10] 'Earthquakes in the Philippines', Worlddata.info, accessed 24 February 2020, https://www.worlddata.info/asia/philippines/earthquakes.php.

the most hazard prone countries in the world.[11] The destruction brought by these calamities have adverse effects not only on the Philippine economy but more severely on the lives of every Filipino Family.

The population in the Philippines as of 2015 census is about 101 million, of which 12.9 million are in the National Capital Region (NCR), 11.2 million in Region III (Central Luzon), and 14.4 million in Region IX-A (CALABARZON).[12] There are 33 highly urbanised cities in the Philippines of which four have reached to more than one million in population, namely, Quezon City (2.94 million, NCR), City of Manila (1.78 million, NCR), Davao City (1.63 million, Region XI), Caloocan City (1.58 million, NCR).[13] There are over 175 distinct languages in the Philippines of which eight languages with the most number of native speakers are considered major languages.[14] These are Cebuano (9.9%), Tagalog (24.4%), Ilokano (8.8%), Bikol (6.8%), Hiligaynon (7.6%), Waray (4.0%), Kapampangan (2.8%), and Pangasinense (1.4%).[15] Ilokano and Tagalog are the lingua franca in Luzon, while Cebuano in the Visayas and Mindanao. The Filipino language, which is based largely from Tagalog language, is the national language, while both Filipino (spoken by 46% of the population) and English (spoken by 40% of the population) are used as official languages of the country, particularly in government, business, mass media and academia.[16]

The Philippines is part of Southeast Asia which includes Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, and East Timor. The culture in the Philippines is a product of its eastern and western heritage, the Filipino pre-colonial cultures blended with the colonial influences.

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[11] Kanako Luchi et al., 'Natural Hazards Governance in the Philippines', ResearchGate, 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330842639_Natural_Hazards_Governance_in_the_Philippines.

[12] '2015 CPH REPORT NO. 2 PHILIPPINES', accessed 27 February 2020, https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/2015%20CPH_REPORT%20NO.%202_PHILIPPINES.pdf.

[13] 'Highlights of the Philippine Population 2015 Census of Population | Philippine Statistics Authority', accessed 27 February 2020, https://psa.gov.ph/content/highlights-philippine-population-2015-census-population.

[14] G. F. Simons and C. D. Fenning, eds., *Ethnology: Languages of the World* (Dalas: SIL International, 2017) cited in Lawrence A. Reid, 'Modeling the Linguistic Situation in the Philippines', in *Let's Talk about Trees: Genetic Relationships of Languages and Their Phylogenic Representation*, ed. Ritsuko Kikusawa and Lawrence A Reid, n.d.; Curtis D. McFarland, 'Linguistic Diversity and English in the Philippines', in *Philippine English: Linguistic and Literary Perspectives*, ed. MLS Bautista and K. Bolton (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 131–56 cited in Ruanni Tupas and Beatriz P. Lorente, 'A "New" Politics of Language in the Philippines: Bilingual Education and the New Challenge of the Mother Tongues', in *Language, Education and Nation-Building: Assimilation and Shift in Southeast Asia*, ed. P. Sercombe and R. Tupas (Springer, 2014).

[15] '2015 Philippine Statistical Yearbook', accessed 27 February 2020, https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/2015%20PSY%20PDF.pdf#56.

[16] Maya Khemlani David, Francisco Perlas Dumanig, and Syed Abdul Manan, 'National Languages-Medium of Instruction-Empowerment or Disempowerment?', ResearchGate, 2017, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322224245_National_Languages-Medium_of_Instruction-Empowerment_or_Disempowerment.

5.2. THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

5.2.1. The Roman Catholicism

Roman Catholicism was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish colonisers. Ferdinand de Magellan, a Portuguese navigator who led a fleet of five ships under the flagship of Spain, reached the shores of Samar on March 16, 1521, and claimed the archipelago for Spain.[17] On March 28, Magellan and his fleet reached Masao, Butuan and made an alliance with Rajah Kolambu. Alliances were made by means of blood compact. On Easter Sunday, March 31, the first mass was held on the shores of Masao officiated by Reverend Father Pedro de Valderrama. At sundown, Magellan planted a wooden cross on summit of the hill overlooking the sea, and named the whole archipelago the *Islas de San Lazaro*. On April 7, Magellan together with Rajah Kolambu arrive in *Sugbu* (Cebu) and made an alliance with Rajah Humabon. On Sunday, April 14, 1521, a mass was held on the shores of Cebu. Rajah Humabon and his wife Lisabeta, together with 800 of their people attended the mass and were all baptised.[18] This was the first mass conversion, and succeeding expedition leaders who followed Magellan also enforced mass conversions. Magellan gave Lisabeta a small image of Santo Niño (the child Christ). Also, he made Rajah Humabon the representative of the king of Spain and forced the chiefs in nearby villages to submit and recognise Rajah Humabon's supremacy and convert to Catholicism. Lapu Lapu, one of the chiefs in Mactan, resisted against the new system introduce by Magellan. On April 27, Magellan invaded Mactan and faced Lapu Lapu in battle. The Spaniards lost the battle resulting to the death of Magellan. The Spaniards retreated to Cebu, however, they were ambushed by Rajah Humabon and his men. The Spaniards who survived were able to go back to Spain with two of their remaining ships. On the next 50years, Spain sent four other expeditions to the Philippines and they all faced resistance from the native Filipinos. During the expedition led by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, the island of Leyte was named *Felipina* in honour of the future king Philip II of Spain. Eventually, *Felipinas* became the name of the archipelago. At the time of the expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, he was able to take possession of Cebu in 1565, and established the Spanish colonial rule. He conquered Muslim Filipino settlements except those in Mindanao.[19] While the purpose

[17] Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*.
[18] Halili, *Philippine History*.
[19] In the middle of the 14th century, Muslim merchants from Malaysia brought Islam to the Philippines. Through the centuries, records state that Muslim missionaries and Muslim migrants continued coming to the Philippines up to the 17th century. Through active propagation of the teaching of Islam by Muslim merchants and missionaries, and through migration and conquest of Muslims into the archipelago, Islam

of the colonial rule was primarily commercial and secondarily religious, it was the later that had a lasting impact in the Philippines as the country today is predominantly (79%) Roman Catholic.[20] There were no schools to teach Spanish so the priests had to learn the language of the people group they were trying to convert. The institution of *reduccion* – the resettlement of small scattered communities into one large towns, provided easy access for the priests to reach Filipino communities and teach them the tenets of the Catholic faith. Spanish soldiers also collected and burned idols, sacred texts and altars related to religious beliefs of the Filipinos. Missionary priests were committed to the task of converting Filipinos and building churches around the country. However, they were not able to "extirpate the indigenous beliefs by coercion and fear, Philippine Catholicism incorporates a deep sub stratus of native customs[21] and ritual", such as their devotion to the images brought by the Spanish, the way they celebrate their feasts, and the way the observe the holiday for the dead and lent.[22] During the first 150 years of Spanish colonial rule, most priests supported the plight of the people over the abuses of the Spanish soldiers and leaders, however, they became one of the primary oppressors of the people during the second half of the Spanish rule.[23] Another lasting impact by the Spanish colonisation was the creation of a landed elite – an exploitative and oppressive encomienda system, in which "a privileged landed-holding elite on whom most of the rural population was dependent as landless tenants introduced a class division in Philippine society that has been the perennial source of social discontent and political strife ever since."[24] Spain treated the Philippines as a feudal agrarian estate for 333 years, and the Spaniards were harsh to Filipinos. This resulted to more than 300 revolts leading to a brief war between the Filipinos and the Spaniards, until the Spanish rule ended when the Americans took over.

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spread from the Sulu Archipelago to Mindanao to central and southern Luzon. The lasting influence of Islam is evident on the 6% Muslim population in the Philippines in which majority of them live in Mindanao. With Islam, came the sultanate form of government, the Islam holiday, the Arabic alphabet, and the Arabic arts. (Halili; '2015 CPH REPORT NO. 2 PHILIPPINES').

[20] '2015 CPH REPORT NO. 2 PHILIPPINES'.

[21] Pre-Christian religious beliefs include the belief in a supreme daity the Tagalogs named, *Bathala*, which came from a Sanskrit word *Bhattara*, meaning 'Great Lord'. The belief in spirits and the need to appease them through sacrifices can also be traced to its Hindu roots. The honouring departed ancestors influenced by the Chinese. (Halili).

[22] Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, 5.Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, 5.Guillermo and Win, 5.

[23] 'CHRISTIANITY IN THE PHILIPPINES', accessed 4 March 2020, http://www.seasite.niu.edu/crossroads/russell/christianity.htm.

[24] Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, 6.Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, 6.

5.2.2. Protestant and Evangelical Christians

Protestant Christianity was brought to the Philippines by the American colonisers. In 1898, Spain relinquished its claim to the Philippines to the United States (US) through the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty. This paved the way for American Protestant Missionaries to come to the Philippines and spread throughout the country in 1901. The American colonisers were strongly influenced by their Protestant values that what they said to be their rationale for colonising the Philippines was to Christianise and democratise the people. They believed that their objective may be accomplished through education, so they sent American teachers to the Philippines, mostly protestants and many were even protestant ministers.[25] Having been influenced by the Protestant-Catholic cultural conflicts, many teachers have prejudice against Christianised Filipinos. Teachers viewed that one cannot be fully Christian unless they become Protestants. Having control of the education system, protestant teachers exerted much effort to influence their students. Missionaries learned the local language and began translating texts, they trained local converts to become lay leaders. They eventually established seminaries to train Filipino clergies. They formed alternative communities to what Protestants perceived as corrupt Christianity of the Catholics because of their drinking, smoking, gambling, and other similar activities.[26] In 1920s, Pentecostal missionaries began to arrive in the Philippines establishing Pentecostal movements.[27] In the 1970s, neo-Pentecostals and Charismatic groups began to form.[28] In 1963, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) was formed, and in 1965, the Philippine Council of Evangelical Church (PCEC) was formed. It is estimated that about 10-14% of the Philippine population are Protestant Christians.[29]

5.3. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

The Philippines, known for its diverse heritage, is sometimes described as having unique values and characteristics, which have played a significant role in moulding its

[25] 'Religion in the Philippines', Asia Society, accessed 4 March 2020, https://asiasociety.org/education/religion-philippines.

[26] 'Protestant Christianity in the Philippines', accessed 4 March 2020, https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/faq/protestant-christianity-philippines.

[27] 1615 L. St NW, Suite 800 Washington, and DC 20036 USA202-419-4300 | Main202-419-4349 | Fax202-419-4372 | Media Inquiries, 'Historical Overview of Pentecostalism in Philippines', *Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project* (blog), 5 October 2006, https://www.pewforum.org/2006/10/05/historical-overview-of-pentecostalism-in-philippines/.

[28] NW, Washington, and Inquiries.

[29] 'Philippines | Joshua Project', accessed 27 February 2020, https://joshuaproject.net/countries/RP; Pew Research Center, 'Religion and Public Life', Pew Research Center, n.d., http://www.pewforum.org.

political culture.[30] According to Timberman, the political system in the country has three key facets. First, family relationships are important, emphasizing bonds and loyalty between kin.[31] The more family members an individual politician has, the more allies he/she may have. This is termed the *kamag-anak* (kin) system. When an individual belongs to a circle or family of influential people, he or she is protected in many ways, while a large and influential family is able to stay in power with the support of kin, a practice similar to political dynasty. Montiel's study shows that Filipinos' conception of politics is about personal relationships and 'family'.[32] When clan members show unwavering support to their kin, the probability of a clan member winning a political contest is greater. Politicians believe that the more and stronger family ties they have, the better. The second characteristic of a political system based on kinship is reciprocity, camaraderie and loyalty, producing smooth interpersonal relationships.[33] Loyalty is expressed during elections. People cast their votes for a certain politician because they remember a particular favour or instance when they felt indebted to him/her.[34] This also demonstrates some common traditional values. *Utang na loob*, on one hand is understood as 'solidarity', characterising Filipino interpersonal relationships that binds a person to one's home community and country.[35] On the other hand, this value, literally translated as 'debt of gratitude', is understood as means repayment of every favour done to another. Thus when an individual receives a favour from a political party, this favour has to be repaid at any monetary cost, or returned in kind. *Pakikisama,* also known as getting along well with others, means being courteous, sometimes implying the avoidance of confrontation. With these traits, most Filipinos make many compromises, which may tend to mislead. A noticeable example is how politicians make compromises to maintain close relationships with or retain a position in a political party, giving the impression that politics in the Philippines is characterised by incoherence and uncertainty caused by the country's diverse heritage and leadership

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[30] Timberman, David G., *A Changeless Land: Continuity and Change in Philippine Politics, p. 15,* Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1991.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Montiel, Christina Jayme, *Philippine Political Culture and Governance, http://www.ombudsman.gov.ph/UNDP4/wp-content/uploads/2012/12Philippine-Political-Culture-and-Governance.pdf*

[33] Timberman, David G., *A Changeless Land:*

[34] Ibid.

[35] Rogelia Pe-Pua and Elizabeth A. Protacio-Marcelino, 'Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino Psychology): A Legacy of Virgilio G. Enriquez', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 3, no. 1 (1 April 2000): 49–71, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00054.Rogelia Pe-Pua and Elizabeth A. Protacio-Marcelino, 'Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino Psychology): A Legacy of Virgilio G. Enriquez', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 3, no. 1 (1 April 2000): 49–71, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00054.

principles.[36] While a democratic country, democratic practice is limited by various electoral strategies – including payments to voters, extortion and violence.[37] Furthermore, compromises are made to show an individual's commitment to his/her colleagues or political friends. For example, a local government politician may make arrangements or settlements, especially when seeking higher office. Particularism and personalism is closely related to family relationships, but extends to social, regional, or common interest groups.[38] For instance, if a politician has a relative or a comrade who has businesses related to government projects, like road development or telecommunications, it will be easy for the individual concerned to obtain permits or be awarded contracts.[39] Allegations of particularism spread from national government to local government.

The evolution of the Philippine economy can be divided into three historical periods: First the Pre-Spanish Period; second during the Spanish time; and third during the American period. Each era has left a lasting impression on the present economy of the Philippines. In the Pre-Spanish period, the economy was largely agricultural, producing food from farming, pastoralism, hunting and fishing.[40] Trading also contributed to the economy during the pre-Spanish period. Historians claim that Filipinos developed industries such as metalworking, pottery making, glassmaking, and tie-and-dye weaving.[41] Also, they developed boats called *balangay* and their maritime skills.[42] During the Age of Contact (A.D. 500 -1400), the period when Filipinos became engaged in trading with its Asian neighbours, their intensified trading relationships facilitated the common sharing of cultural orientation like literature, arts, and religion. At that time, Malay was the main language used for Southeast Asian commerce, and that is why there are a number of Malay loan words to Philippine language related to commerce. At around A.D. 1000, merchants from the Sumatra-based kingdom of Sri-Vijaya did extensive trade with China and India, and by the 12th century, the influence of the kingdom reached the Philippine archipelago. Centuries of direct interaction with Indianized traders left marks of Indian influences on the Filipino culture. There was Indian influence on clothing and jewellery; on some industries like boat building,

[36] Abueva, Jose V., *Centennial Lecture Series: Memories, Visions and Scholarship and Other Essays, p. 31,* University of the Philippines—Center for Integrative Studies and Development Studies, 2001.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Timberman, David G., *A Changeless Land*
[39] Anderson, Ian and Hipgrave, David, *Philippines Political Economy Assessment Report, p. 15,* UNICEF, February 2015.
[40] Castillo, Andres V., *Philippine Economics, p. 11,* Manila, Philippines 1949.
[41] Halili, *Philippine History*.
[42] Halili.

weaving of cotton clothes, and metal works; on manufacturing of some musical instruments like the kudyapi (guitar); and on planting of some species of flowers, fruits, and vegetables. The 10th century A.D. was the beginning of the centuries of Filipinos-Chinese trading and personal relationship that resulted to the enrichment of the Filipino culture. Chinese influence was evident on Filipino culinary arts like the roasting of pig, the cooking of *pansit* (stir fry noodles), the use of seasoning; on clothing like the use of jackets by male Filipinos and the use of loose trousers by Muslim women in Mindanao; on industries like manufacturing of gunpowder, the use of porcelain, and the art of metallurgy; In the 13th century, Japan traded with the Philippines and was able to introduce to Filipinos the how to make arms and tools and how to tan deerskins. In the middle of the 14th century, it was also through trading that Muslim merchants from Malaysia brought Islam to the Philippines. All these activities enabled the country to be self-reliant.

During the Spanish period, economic activities were controlled by colonial power, which included trading, and the production and distribution of goods.[43] In spite of the situation, the economy developed on the basis of household production because families were given opportunities to engage in agriculture and in livestock.[44] While foreign trading was limited to colonies of Spain, Filipinos were allowed to venture and to do businesses out of the country.[45] Also during this time, developed socially and its population grew quickly.[46] From agriculture, household manufacturing grew rapidly. Adding to economic development was the development of mining. Filipinos were exposed to the use of modern machinery that made trade more productive and resulted in economic improvement. However, a lasting social and economic impact by the Spanish colonisation was the creation of a landed elite – an exploitative and oppressive encomienda system, in which "a privileged landed-holding elite on whom most of the rural population was dependent as landless tenants introduced a class division in Philippine society that has been the perennial source of social discontent and political strife ever since."[47] This was one of the reasons why there were more than 300 revolts

[43] Josep M. Fradera, 'The Historical Origins of the Philippine Economy: A Survey of Recent Research of the Spanish Colonial Era', *Australian Economic History Review* 44, no. 3 (2004): 307–20, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8446.2004.00124.x.
[44] Fradera.
[45] Pranav Merchant, 'Economic Effects of the Spanish Conquest of the Philippines and Mercantile Theory', SURJ, 4 March 2019, https://web.stanford.edu/group/journal/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Merchant_SocSci_2009.pdf.
[46] Castillo, Andres V., *Philippine Economics, p. 12-13,* Manila, Philippines, 1949.
[47] Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, 6.Guillermo and Win, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, 6.

leading to a brief war between the Filipinos and the Spaniards, until the Spanish rule ended when the Americans took over.[48]

The American period was characterised by economic growth and increased trading opportunities.[49] Advanced methods of farming led to increased exports breaks, until it became an independent Republic in 1946.[50] However, the landed-elite structure did not change during the time of the American period. The elite continued to enjoy their privileges to access to opportunities for economic growth, while the landless continued to be deprived of such opportunities. In 1946, at the time of Philippine independence, and after the war, the country became more dependent upon the aid from the US for it to recover from the devastating results of World War II.[51] To avail of this aid, the Philippines had to agree to maintain the pre-war exchange rate with the US dollar and to put no restrictions on US imports. The Philippines was able to cope with this arrangement a while, the inflow of aid from the US compensated the loss incurred from the disadvantageous trade agreement. However, due to the economic crisis in 1949, the Philippines had to institute regulations on foreign exchange and imports, which lasted until 1960.

Between 1950s - 1960s, the Philippines attempted to simulate industrialisation by placing mechanism, such as import restrictions, that would help grow the manufacturing sector.[52] This however, was not able to affect substantial growth in the sector. Even the agriculture declined in this decade. The overall real GNP was considered mediocre. From 1970s to 2000, Balisican and Hill observe that the Philippines had not experienced sustained rapid growth compared to the experiences of its neighbouring countries.[53] While the economy can be considered at its height in the 1970s, the 2000 GDP remained 10% lower that the highest point reached in the 1970s.[54] The decline can be attributed to the political crisis in the Philippines, namely the 20 years of the Marcos regime.

After the EDSA uprising in 1986, a sudden change of national development policy was organized under Corazon Aquino administration. The country's development plan focused mainly on strengthening rural agriculture like

[48] Nadeau, *The History of the Philippines*.
[49] Ibid., 13
[50] Enriquez, M. J., *The New Philippine Economics, p.21,* Philippine Book Company, Manila, Philippines, 1979.
[51] Jeffrey Hays, 'ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES | Facts and Details', accessed 3 March 2020, http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Philippines/sub5_6g/entry-3916.html.
[52] Hays.
[53] Arsenio M. Balisacan and Hal Hill, eds., *The Philippine Economy: Development, Policies, and Challenges* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[54] Balisacan and Hill.

Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) that was meant to develop farming, equipment and marketing strategies. [55] Also, advancement of ecological and environment protection was established, and further the use of natural resources for strengthening the expansion of agro-industrial development. The administration established poverty reduction strategies by focusing on the welfare of less fortunate communities and providing free secondary schooling and financial support. Less fortunate or depressed communities have gained greater opportunities for employment and livelihood programs, and admissions to quality training programs. Added to the development was strengthening the participation of local government units to the programs of the government, and provided easier access on services provided by the national government.[56]

Then came the Millennium Development Goals of the Philippines, which aim to adhere and support the campaign of the United Nations for peace and eradicate poverty worldwide. One of the development plans presented was the industrialization, due to the high demand of exports in electronics, garments, oil and lumber. [57] Another withstanding expansion was the services sector, which underwrites the largest contribution in the gross national product (GNP).[58] The government was determined to progress within four years, between year 2000 to 2004. Hoping that at the end of the commitment, the country has improved in health care, efficient and trustworthy education system, social welfare and housing provisions. However, issues on governance have increased, which led to the decline of the country's development to its best. One study emphasized that development growth is mainly rooted on a yearly average of 10%, which the country never achieved since 1980.[59] Adding to the despair was the continuous adherence to the traditional political culture of the Philippines, which led the country to experience abuse of power, extensive corruption, and political dynasties. Endless misallocation of public funds and bribery in government offices, or abuse of authority for the benefit of political constituents or payment to debts, were just examples of how the Philippines has maintained its state as one of underdeveloped countries around the world.[60] As Cesar Polvorosa ended his study, he emphasized that

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[55] *Updates of the Philippine Development Plan 1990-1992, p. 5,* Printed in the Philippines, © 1990.
[56] *Updates of the Philippine Development Plan*, 7
[57] *Philippines: The Development Context*
[58] *Philippines: The Development Context*
[59] Polvorosa, Cesar, Jr., *Philippine Development, Good Governance, and The Pork Scandal in Context,* The Manila Review ISSN 2423-2971, 2015.
[60] Polvorosa, Cesar, Jr.

development starts from good governance and strong political agenda, withholding any form of economic or social status and differences to achieve progress.

Chapter 6: The Case of PCMN

This chapter presents an in-depth description of the organisational and program characteristics of the Philippine Children Ministries Network (PCMN) (Section 6.1.-6.4.). Then, using the framework in Chapter 3, Section 3.2., and analysis of the dimensions of community and practice of the development work of PCMN is presented in Sections 6.5. and 6.6.

6.1. BEGINNINGS

The Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN), according to Josefina 'Pine' Gutierrez, the founder, former national director, and current board member, is a national umbrella network of Christian faith-based organisations, local churches and mission organisations catering to children who are at risk and disadvantaged.[1] PCMN is the commission on children of the Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches – a network of more than 20,000 denominations, para-church organizations and local churches nationwide.[2] It aims to build a unified strategy for mission and ministry to children through connecting together key people in the ministry.[3] It was formed in November 1998, as a result of international consultations, conferences and trainings facilitated by Viva Network – the World Evangelical Alliance commission on children at risk, and the desire of the Evangelical Christian leaders in the Philippines who were already engaged in ministering to children to create a unified response to the needs of children at risk.[4] The leadership of PCMN is composed of directors of local children ministries and Philippine-based international children ministries and at time of the study, it has 51 member organizations all ministering to children, of which five are denominations, eight are Philippine based international Christian FBOs such as Compassion Philippines, World Vision Philippines, and the Norwegian Missionary Alliance Philippines, and 38 are local Evangelical Christian faith-based organisations.[5] PCMN is also in partnership with 19 other inter-religious faith-based organisations and it has organised 12 local networks of congregations, Christian FBOs, non-Christian FBOs, and NGOs all over

[1] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[2] Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches, 'Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN)', Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches, 2007, http://pceconline.org/commissions/pcmn.htm.
[3] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'Pcmn | WHO WE ARE', Safety For Children | PH | Philippine Children's Ministries Network, 2017, https://www.thepcmn.org/about-us.
[4] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member; Interview PCMN National Director; Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN).
[5] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'PCMN | OUR NETWORK', Safety For Children | PH | Philippine Children's Ministries Network, 2017, https://www.thepcmn.org/network.

the Philippines and is affiliated with Viva Network UK and Hongkong, UNICEF and other local and international agencies catering to disadvantaged and at risk children.[6] A national director appointed by a board of trustees leads PCMN. Pine Gutierrez, was succeeded by Fe Foronda as national director in August 2012, and at the time of the study, she ran the organisation together with six staff members.[7] While PCMN receives local funding from network members, most of their resources come international NGO/FBO funded projects that they manage in the Philippines.[8]

6.2. VISION AND MISSION

PCMN envisions seeing "Christians working in unity for transformed children and communities" and their mission is to facilitate and coordinate "the linking and enhancing of the response of organizations and churches to children at risk".[9] One of their core values is "empowering partnerships" and the "formation of local networks for child protection in strategic areas nationwide" is their primary program.[10] Fe reported that PCMN leaders strongly believe in the critical role of the church in responding to the needs of children at risk.[11] Fe and Pine agree that the church as a whole (including the Catholic church, Mainline Protestants, and Evangelical churches) should be leading initiatives for children at risk because it is the one mandated by God to do the work of the ministry, it is the salt and light, the one with gifts and compassion to help the children.[12] Both expressed disappointment as they pointed out that because of the emphasis on evangelism and discipleship, the church communities, particularly those they were in contact with, were not able to develop their competencies in responding to the needs in society.[13] Fe shared:

> I believe that NGOs are there [in the community] because the church failed [to obey] the mandate of God . . . Evangelical churches focused more on preaching . . . how to grow in number . . . how to increase [collections from] tithes and offerings, to construct church buildings, [their practice] lost the essence of faith and works.[14]

She added that they depended on the government and on NGOs to respond to the needs of the poor and needy.[15] Fe and Pine both believe that that local churches have the potential to help the people in need in their area because of their being grassroots

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[6] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN).
[7] Interview PCMN National Director
[8] Interview PCMN National Director
[9] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN), 2009, http://www.pcmn.org.
[10] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[11] Interview PCMN National Director
[12] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[13] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[14] Interview PCMN National Director
[15] Interview PCMN National Director

embedded in the community, that they can feel the heartbeat of the people, they are stable in a sense that they can be in the community for years to come, and that they can be sustainable if only they are able to draw resources from the community.

Through the years, they added, the network has dedicated much effort in building the capacities of churches and forming coalitions, resulting in the creation of different forms of collaborative alliances among the members.[16] PCMN takes the role of a convener of alliance formation and sometimes the role of a Christian FBO partner of an alliance of churches.[17] Some collaborative alliances have become permanent, as participants have decided to incorporate and become an entity distinct from their own members.[18]

6.3. COLLABORATIVE PARTNERSHIP AS KEY STRATEGY

Among the members of PCMN are FBOs that intentionally build alliances with churches and work together with them in doing development work. For example, Compassion Philippines (CP) states in their mission: "In Response to the Great Commission, Compassion International exists as an advocate for children, to release them from spiritual, economic, social and physical poverty and enable them to become responsible and fulfilled Christian adults". Furthermore, it adds, "our mission is to release children from poverty in Jesus' name and this we do in partnership with local Evangelical churches in the Philippines".[19] CP fulfils this mission through partnering with churches. CP believes that God formed the church to accomplish God's mission and that CP exist to support and accompany the Evangelical church in fulfilling the mission of God.[20] As CP partners with Churches, it claims that their relationship is built on mutual respect and the acknowledgement of their unique gifts and skills which allows them the work together on shared goals.[21]

Like CP, the World Vision Philippines (WVP) stresses the importance it places on partnership with Churches. The WVP mission is,

> to follow our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in working with the poor and oppressed to promote human transformation, seek justice, and bear witness to the good news of the Kingdom of God. We pursue this mission through integrated, holistic commitment to: Transformational development, emergency relief, promotion of justice, strategic initiatives, and witness to Jesus Christ.[22]

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[16] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[17] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[18] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[19] Compassion Philippines (CP), 2011, https://www.compassion.ph.
[20] Compassion Philippines (CP).
[21] Compassion Philippines (CP).
[22] World Vision Philippines (WV), 2012, http://worldvision.org.ph/.

It seeks to fulfil this mission through partnerships with churches. As stated in the Preamble of Church Partnership Policy: "Believing that spiritual transformation is integral to transformational development and that the Church is God's sustaining instrument in the world, World Vision's commitment is to work with churches as indispensable partners, while continuing to engage the total community".[23]

In addition to the Philippine branches of international FBOs above, PCMN also partners and collaborates with local FBOs like Lingap Pangkabataan (LP). LP is a faith-based social development NGO established in 1981. It uses a child-focussed community-based development program as its framework for addressing the needs of children at risk. LP focuses on education, child protection and micro enterprise while also being involved in child rights advocacy.[24] It takes pride in being the only social development organisation in the Philippines where children are represented in the highest policy making body of the organisation – the board of trustees.[25] Like PCMN, WVP and CP, partnership and collaboration with churches is a key strategy for LP.[26] Because it acknowledges the capacity of churches to help children in their communities it invests in building relationships and networking with, and building the capacity of churches.[27] LP is in partnership with 28 organisations in 26 provinces in the Philippines including Metro Manila.[28]

6.4. PROGRAMS

According to the PCMN website, its programs address the following issues: "Child Protection, Child in Disaster, Prevention of Child and Youth Sexual Abuse" particularly, "Mitigating and Preventing Children in Trafficking Situation and Child Hunger" through "1) building capacities of the networks and partners; 2) engages partners, develops, and links local networks; 3) empowers partnerships on programs, projects; 4) convenes network organization and; 5) mobilizing financial and technical resources".[29] It states that the work of PCMN includes:

> Protection of children in disaster [and providing] relief; advocacy against child sexual abuse and exploitation specifically protection of children from sexual exploitation in the Internet or in cyberspace; [building the capacity of] families to be able to protect their

[23] World Vision Philippines (WV).
[24] Lingap Pangkabataan (LP), 2008, http://www.lingappangkabataan.org.
[25] Lingap Pangkabataan (LP).
[26] Lingap Pangkabataan (LP).
[27] Interview Lingap Pangkabataan Leader 2.
[28] Lingap Pangkabataan (LP).
[29] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'PCMN | WHO WE ARE'.

children well; advocacies on Child Trafficking; and capacity building initiatives for the local networks and churches.[30]

6.4.1. Project Rhoda

In 2002, according to Pine, PCMN, with the help of its Quezon City[31] cluster, a network formed by PCMN composed of local churches and FBOs in Quezon City, conducted a research on the Incidence and Situation of Children Domestic Workers in Quezon City.[32] In 2003, she recounted that it gathered leaders of local churches and shared to them their research findings.[33] She recalled that these activities, the research and the sharing of the findings, increased the awareness of those who attended and participated, causing them realise the need, and urging them to do something to address that issue at hand.[34] In 2004, according to Roberto 'Obet' Awa-ao, the chairman of Project Rhoda at the time of the study, PCMN together with three local church partners, Alliance Fellowship Church, Diliman Bible Church and Kamuning Bible Christian Fellowship, launched the Project Rhoda.[35] This initiative, he explained, was aimed to raise the awareness among different stakeholders on the plight of children domestic workers so that they help and protect children domestic workers, and to nurture the wellbeing of the children and build their capacity to help themselves.[36] According to Fe in a newsletter, the project was scheduled to run for three years and was mainly funded by Tearfund the Netherlands, an international NGO, with a counterpart from PCMN and other local partners.[37] She stated that as part of the project, volunteers from local church partners became coordinators in their respective area – the area where their church building or office is located.[38] She added that they recruit and train other volunteers with the help of PCMN, and they also coordinate with local government and school authorities so that they identify children domestic workers in their area and provide assistance, including tutorials, counselling, medical and legal assistance, whenever the children were in need.[39] She stated that the project also include facilitating a training to children domestic workers using Life Skills Training Module for Children Domestic Workers developed by PCMN, which include the following topics:

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[30] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN).
[31] One of the cities of Metro Manila
[32] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[33] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[34] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[35] Interview RMNI Chairman
[36] Interview RMNI Chairman
[37] Fe Foronda, 'What Is Project Rhoda?', *Philippine Children's Ministry Network: Project Rhoda Updates*, May 2007, https://projectrhoda.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/project-rhoda-may-07.pdf.
[38] Foronda.
[39] Foronda.

> knowing oneself; child relations with family and employer; awareness on child sexual abuse and developing protective behaviour against it; orientation on child trafficking and the laws that protect the child; ways to access support from government institutions and community agencies; and building relationship with God, forgiveness and salvation.[40]

She pointed out that the goal of this training was to help children domestic workers understand their situation, be able to avoid abusive situations and seek help and support from institution and community groups if they need it, and develop and maintain a good relationship with their family, employer and God.[41] She elaborated that children identified as domestic workers were enlisted; then volunteers visited them where they live to get an impression on the child's working condition and to inform their employers about the project and the schedule of the training; and then the children attended the training facilitated by volunteers.[42] She noted that as children participate in the training, the coordinators and volunteers were also tasked to come up with a plan to meet the specific need of every child.[43] According to Obet, the project was able to help 50 children on the first year, and by 2008, the number of local church partners grew into 13 members and was able to help 470 children.[44] In 2009, he recounted, the partners who implemented the Project Rhoda was formally registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission as Rhoda Ministries Network Inc. (RMNI).[45] According to RMNI's organisational profile, RMNI envisions "[a] church and community where children live well, reach their potential, are free from harm and play a part".[46] The profile explicitly show the relationship of this vision statement and the rights of children: "Live well: survival rights; Reach their potential: development rights; Are free from harm: protection rights; Play a part: participation rights".[47] According to Obet, with small grants from Visayan Forum Foundation, a local NGO, RMNI was able to do other activities to help children domestic workers, which included: support services for children who are studying either though formal or informal education; microfinance and skill training for the parents of the children; building the capacity of churches and FBOs to be able to help the children; advocacy activities to inform or remind parents, employers, teachers, health workers, and other people involved with children, of their

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[40] Foronda, 2.
[41] Foronda, 'What Is Project Rhoda?'
[42] Foronda.
[43] Foronda.
[44] Interview RMNI Chairman
[45] Interview RMNI Chairman
[46] Rhoda Ministries Network Inc., 'Rhoda Profile', 2011, https://projectrhoda.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/rhoda-profile-2011.pdf.
[47] Rhoda Ministries Network Inc.

responsibility to protect the rights of the children; and Christmas party and summer camps.[48]

6.4.2. Holistic Multi-Sectorial Response to Child Trafficking Prevention in Samar

In 2004, according to Fe, International Justice Mission, a PCMN member focused in providing legal services for children victims of trafficking, together with several other PCMN members, opened their facilities and became temporary care centres for child trafficking victims.[49] She added that this group developed a teaching material, a flipchart on Trafficking Prevention, which they used for their advocacy activities.[50] She pointed out that the leaders of PCMN and the network members in this group learned that most of the children rescued from prostitution dens were from the island of Samar (part of Eastern Visayas Region composed of three provinces, Western Samar (or Samar), Northern Samar and Southern Samar).[51] So, she narrated, the group decided to address the trafficking issue by preventing it to happen in Samar.[52] She recounted that she headed a four-year PCMN program called Holistic Multi-Sectorial Response to Child Trafficking Prevention in Samar.[53] According to Pine (the national director at the time this project was implemented) and Fe, through the association of pastors in the island, the PCMN team was able to: first, gather around 100 pastors and church leaders, presented to them the biblical-theological framework of PCMN in their engagement in society by using three teaching modules, God's Heart for Children, God's Heart for Unity and Integral Mission, presented the issue at hand – the plight of children at risk of human trafficking, sexual abuse and exploitation and the like, and how they can help prevent it, or help the victims; second, form a local network for each of the three provinces, recruit volunteers and train them on how to facilitate advocacy activities using the Trafficking Prevention flipchart, mobilise them to do advocacy activities in every barangay in Samar; and third, build the capacities of church pastors, leaders and other volunteers to help children at risk, including: orientation on the rights of children, relevant laws and government policies and procedures, and counselling training to help victims of abuse.[54] Fe added that through the program, church members became aware

[48] Interview RMNI Chairman
[49] Interview PCMN National Director
[50] Interview PCMN National Director
[51] Interview PCMN National Director
[52] Interview PCMN National Director
[53] Interview PCMN National Director
[54] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member

of the rights of children and issue related sexual abuse of children.[55] She also noted that the child's rights advocacy reached 3,000 children and was able to recruit 150 youth advocates for pear mentoring.[56] She observed that the pastors who were involved in the program gained credibility and the respect of the community they were serving: they (pastors) were being invited to be resource persons on children's issues; they were being asked to participate in local child protection councils; when there were cases of abuse, the network members were the first people that the community (including government and school officials) called to help; they were even asked to hold bible studies.[57] She recalled that they felt that their ministry grew because they became relevant in their community.[58] According to a PCMN report, the program was able to reach around 50,000 people in the first three years.[59] The report also stated that the members of three networks formed were active in: advocacy programs, participation in local child protection councils, responding to child abuse cases, serving as foster families, and being resource persons on children's issues to other groups.[60]

6.4.3. Bearers of Hope

The Bearers of Hope (BoH) project is a collaborative program aimed at equipping churches and faith-based groups to protect children, reduce disaster risk, and build the capacity of vulnerable communities to prepare for, respond to and recover well in the event of disaster.[61] The first phase began as PCMN's collaborative response to the crisis brought about by the typhoons Ondoy that struck Central Luzon[62] on 26 September 2009 and Pepeng[63] that struck Northern Luzon on 3-10 October 2009 (international name Ketsana and Parma).[64] With funding from Food for the Hungry, UNICEF and three churches in Singapore, Australia and Germany, PCMN, together with 17 partner churches and organisations, implemented the project which provided relief to people directly affected by the typhoons Ondoy and Pepeng in Metro Manila and the surrounding provinces of Rizal, Laguna and those in Central and Northern Luzon,

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[55] Interview PCMN National Director
[56] Interview PCMN National Director
[57] Interview PCMN National Director
[58] Interview PCMN National Director
[59] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'Children in Various Context of Exploitation and Trafficking: The Asian Church Response The Philippine Experience Children in Various Context of Exploitation. - Ppt Download', 2015, https://slideplayer.com/slide/6377867/.
[60] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN).
[61] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[62] Luzon is the largest of three groups of islands in the Philippines.
[63] The typhoons' first landfall was on 3 October 2009, the second on 6 October 2009, and the third and final landfall on 8 October 2009. Pepeng exited on 10 October 2009.
[64] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).

between November 2009 and February 2010.[65] Fe Foronda reported that during these relief operations, the leadership of PCMN saw the great need to address issues of climate change and environmental sustainability, in particular because of its actual and potential effects to the well-being of children.[66]

The second phase of the BoH project entitled, "Equipping Faith-Based Groups in Vulnerable Communities on Disaster Risk Reduction and Protection of Children", was an 18 month project (April 2010 – September 2011) which aimed to build a network of pastors, ministry workers and lay persons in flood-prone areas in Rizal, Laguna and the National Capital Region who are trained to protect children, especially in the event of a disaster, and to reduce the devastating effects of disasters and emergency situations by disaster risk reduction and preparedness.[67] At the time of implementation, in April 2010, the project was managed by a coordination team from PCMN, and local coordination teams called working groups in each of the province – Rizal, Laguna and the National Capital Region (Metro Manila).[68] The work was funded by Tearfund (Holland and the UK), Bartley Christian Church (Singapore) and individuals giving cash and in-kind donations.[69] A memorandum of agreement was signed with PCMN by thirty churches and organisations who partnered with PCMN to implement the program.[70]

PCMN implemented the BoH project utilising collaboration as a strategy to achieve the project goals.[71] For PCMN, doing things in collaboration with others validates its identity as a network of different organisations, "PCMN is implementing Bearers of Hope in the context of collaboration affirming that we are a network composed of different organizations and local churches working among children at risk".[72] PCMN draws the rationale for using collaboration as a key strategy from their long experience in doing things collaboratively:

> The underlying reason for this is the belief validated by experience through the years that we can accomplish more together than we would on our own. The collaborative approach makes a huge task manageable, because there are more of us who can take on the different tasks.[73]

After this 18 month project, the BoH Metro Manila working group continued to work together to fulfil the aims and implement the programs of the BoH. In 2014, with

[65] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[66] Interview PCMN National Director
[67] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[68] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[69] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[70] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[71] Interview PCMN National Director
[72] Interview PCMN National Director
[73] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).

the guidance and assistance of PCMN, this group incorporated itself as a non-profit organisation and registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission as Disaster Risk Reduction Management Bearers of Hope with members consisting of leaders from Food for the Hungry and Kanlungan sa Lerma Ministry Inc. (Christian FBOs) and pastors from Tondo Blessed Hope Bible Baptist Church, Church of Praise Assembly of God, Forerunner Generation Community Fellowship, and Family of Believers Christ Our Banner Worldwide Ministries Inc. as members.[74] Ptr. Cesar Lubrico was the convenor/president from 2014-2015 and after him, Dr. Jocelyn Ilagan, both from Tondo Blessed Hope.[75]

6.5. COMMUNITY AS ACTORS

A community, as discussed in Chapter 3, is a group, the members of which both construct their identity by reference to institutionalised discourses and as actors, are active in constructing institutionalised discourses through their action.

PCMN and the other FBOs in this study claim membership to multiple communities. PCMN identifies itself as belonging to an international network of Christian FBOs and NGOs catering to children at risk, the Viva Network, who is a partner of the World Evangelical Alliance. As mentioned above (Section 6.1.), PCMN was formed after attending a forum facilitated by Viva Network UK. According to Fe, since its formation, PCMN continued to be in partnership with Viva Network - UK. As stated in its website, PCMN is also in partnership with other international NGOs such as Tearfund the Netherlands and the UK and UNICEF.[76] Pine recalled that at the Viva Network - UK forum in 1998, she was asked, “would you like to see a united Christian action towards the protection of children at risk in the Philippines?”, and she said that in her heart, her answer was yes.[77] For her, participating in an international community allowed her to meet people whom she could relate to and identify with.[78] Here, the international community can be considered as an organisational field (see chapter 2, Section 2.6.1.3.) in which PCMN belongs.[79] As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.6.1.3., organisations within an organisational field share common practices and institutional environment; they share an understanding of what is legitimate and appropriate action.[80]

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[74] Philippine Children Ministry Network (PCMN).
[75] Interview PCMN National Director
[76] Philippine Children’s Ministry Network (PCMN), ‘Pcmn | WHO WE ARE’.
[77] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[78] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[79] Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (University of Chicago Press, 2012).
[80] DiMaggio and Powell.

This means that organisations within the field are constrained and constituted. As part of an international community, PCMN implemented programs and projects funded by international Christian FBOs and NGOs, such as Project Rhoda and Bearers of Hope. In the implementation, it was appropriate for PCMN to follow the required protocols, to adhere to standards demanded and to fulfil the promised results written in the project proposal. Fe recounted that, as the national director, she had to make sure that all the deliverables stated in the proposal were fulfilled.[81] Also, she added, all funds must be fully accounted for.[82] Fe noted that for delivering what was required, PCMN as a network gained increased credibility among the international community, allowing them to have access to other projects.[83] In this sense, acting appropriately increased legitimacy and became a strategic advantage for PCMN.

While implementing internationally funded projects is PCMN's main source of funding, as shared by Pine and Fe, it is not the only reason why they do it.[84] They claimed that the projects they did, contributed to the fulfilment of the vision and mission of PCMN.[85] Citing Project Rhoda and Bearers of Hope, they added, these internationally funded projects were able to help the children that PCMN wanted to reach.[86] As showed above, local churches participated in the implementation of the projects. This is one of the core values of PCMN. Fe and Pine explain that the projects were demonstrations of Christian faith.[87] In this sense, the projects became expressions of PCMN's own identity, of institutionalised discourses that PCMN adheres to. Fe recounted that even when PCMN partnered with a secular international NGO, they made explicit that they are going to implement it in partnership with local churches, and the NGO agreed.[88] She added that in her experience, for NGOs, what is important is that partners deliver.[89] Here, as an actor, PCMN demonstrated background ideation abilities as it was able to navigate around what is appropriate within its organisational field, and was able implement its own translated or transformed action that fit their context.

Translating or transforming action may also be a form of contestation. Fe narrated that during the time when she was working at Lingap Pangkabataan (Lingap), before she came to PCMN, she developed a 'child focused community based' framework that

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[81] Interview PCMN National Director
[82] Interview PCMN National Director
[83] Interview PCMN National Director
[84] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[85] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[86] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[87] Interview PCMN National Director; Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[88] Interview PCMN National Director
[89] Interview PCMN National Director

Lingap could adopt for its development work, in place of the existing ones, which are child sponsorship and the micro finance self-help group project, funded by an international NGO.[90] Lingap adopted her framework, she continued, because it was more appropriate with the context, but the international NGO who was funding the micro finance did not agree with the changes and stopped giving support. Here, a local FBO modified its approach so it may produce better outcomes, in which maybe the same outcome that the funder wants to see. However, such translation or transformation may have appeared as a contestation.

Pine recounted that it was through the interaction with the international community, such as the VIVA Network, Tearfund, and UNICEF, that leaders of PCMN and network members became oriented with current issues and trends concerning children at risk.[91] As an organisational field, the international community is where objectified ideas or discourses are circulated in the form of models or frames of meaning or plans of action (projects), and are imitated/translated/edited.[92] Imitated discourses are translated and edited to become appropriate to the receiver's context (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6.2.). By implementing projects funded by international donors, international discourses such as 'rights of children' of UNICEF, 'integral/holistic mission' and 'Christian collaboration' of World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), were materialised or turned into action. These are discourses that framed the activities of PCMN. These discourses were translated and edited as they were presented in different context, therefore transforming these discoursed as they were circulated and adopted.

PCMN is itself is a national network of Christian FBOs (local FBOs and Philippine branches of international Christian FBOs), local churches. It is the commission on children of the Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches (PCEC). Also, according to Fe and Pine, the local network partners of PCMN and the children it serves are also part of the PCMN community. In the vision and mission statements of the members of the network stated in their websites, it can be observed that they share a common commitment to work for the wellbeing of children, and understanding of importance of working together.[93] This national network community forms an organisational field where members interact and share their experiences, particularly how they put into action models that they have translated or edited in a particular context. For example, Fe narrated how some members of the network shared how they

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[90] Interview PCMN National Director
[91] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[92] Sevón, 'Organizational Imitation in Identity Transformation'.
[93] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'Pcmn | OUR NETWORK'.

applied the rights-based approach into their own practice of working with children.[94] For Pine, this sharing of experiences was helpful especially for local churches that were not familiar with NGO work, and members of the network who were new in working with children.[95] As Czarniawska and Sevón observe, once shared, translated and edited models materialised to action become new models especially for new comers in the field, in which get to be translated again and the process continues (See Chapter 2, Section 2.6.2.).[96]

Post development directs us to focus on the processes of adaptation, subversion, and resistance. However, if one considers that actors are sentient, who constitute and are constituted by discourse, and who are translating or transforming discourses or models, it would mean that actors are always contesting. Another emphasis of post development is on producing alternatives to development – alternative discourses and representations that are not so influenced by prevailing frameworks and experiences of development. However, for actors who are in community, what is translated or transformed, may be a new model, but will still carry elements of the original model.

Within the national network community, members also share the workload and resources. The executive director of Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., a member organisation of PCMN, shared that they helped PCMN in their rehabilitation project in Samar among the victims of typhoon Haiyan by constructing a new school building in which they also run.[97] Fe, shared that she was not yet with PCMN when she coordinated Project Rhoda, she was still with Lingap Pangkabataan, also a member organisation of PCMN.[98] In a report mentioned above, some member of PCMN joined with International Justice Mission, also a member of PCMN in their fight against human (child) trafficking.[99] These examples are materialisation or translation into action of collaboration, one of the network's core values. In the context of the local network community, officers of Project Rhoda and Bearers of Hope shared that they joined because they want to be part of what PCMN is doing, protecting the children.[100] Pine shared that within a local network community, pastors, lay leaders and volunteers from

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[94] Interview PCMN National Director
[95] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[96] Czarniawska and Sevón, 'Introduction'.
[97] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[98] Interview PCMN National Director
[99] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'Children in Various Context of Exploitation and Trafficking'.
[100] Focus Group Discussion Rhoda Ministries Network Inc. Officers; Focus Group Discussion Bearers of Hope Officers

local churches receive training on how to protect children at risk.[101] She added that as they practiced what they had learned through participating in advocacy activities, they became more competent in addressing issues of children at risk.[102] In the case of the local networks formed to implement the projects mentioned above, some of the local network members became part of local child protection councils. The beneficiaries of the programs of PCMN also identify themselves as part of the PCMN community. As mentioned above, they receive training from volunteer facilitators trained by PCMN. In the case of the beneficiaries of Bearers of Hope, Ptr. Cesar recounted that some of the children became volunteer facilitators themselves when they became older.[103] In the case of the advocacy program in Samar, 150 young people became youth advocates, who were helping their peers become aware of their rights as children.

When experiences of members of a community are retold to a researcher or in annual meetings, or are written in newsletters, project reports, or annual reports, actors utilise their foreground ideation abilities to constitute discourses (Chapter 2 Section 2.6.3.).[104] In the case of the communities in which PCMN belongs, members are not only constrained by institutionalised discourse, but are also translating, editing, transforming it as actors put it into action, also, actors are constituting (changing/contesting or creating new ones) institutionalised discourses as their stories about their experiences may become new models or new institutionalised discourses that may get circulated and others may imitate.

6.5.1. Practice as action

Practice as action, according to the framework in Chapter 3.2., refer to the development practices of FBOs and materialisation of discourses circulating within an organisational field.

Development practices of PCMN can be categorised into three areas, coalition building and network development, social services, relief operations and advocacy programs. FBOs, as part of civil society, have long been providers of social services and relief distribution work.[105] The coalition building and network development work of PCMN is closely related to its advocacy work. Fe and Pine both acknowledged the

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[101] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[102] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[103] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[104] Schmidt, 'Discursive Institutionalism'.
[105] Jenny Lunn, 'The Role of Religion, Spirituality and Faith in Development: A Critical Theory Approach', *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 5 (1 July 2009): 937–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590902959180.

value of Christians working together towards protecting children at risk.[106] For them, the task is so great that no one organisation can accomplish.[107] In network development, PCMN actively forms local networks with as citywide scope in Metro Manila, and a province wide scope in provinces.[108] Similar to what they did in the three projects mentioned above, PCMN gathers local churches in an area and orient the participants using the three presentations on God's Heart for Children, God's Heart for Unity and Integral Mission.[109] After forming the local network, according to Pine, PCMN provides trainings on how pastors, leaders of a local church, and other volunteers can advocate for the protection of children at risk.[110] She added that they also receive orientation on the rights of children, how to uphold it and how to teach it to children and parents.[111] After the training, she pointed out that PCMN oversee the implementation of the avocation programs. Pastors and leaders of local churches and other volunteers puts into action what they have learned. Discourses on the rights of children circulated by UNICEF, holistic mission, Christian unity and collaboration espoused by WEA, were materialised into action. NGO/FBO work became integrated with the work of ministry of the participants from local churches.

[106] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member; Interview PCMN Founder Board National Director
[107] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member; Interview PCMN Founder Board National Director
[108] Philippine Children's Ministry Network (PCMN), 'Pcmn | WHO WE ARE'.
[109] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member; Interview PCMN Founder Board National Director
[110] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member
[111] Interview PCMN Founder Board Member

Chapter 7: The Case of Tondo Blessed Hope, Care Channels, Reach Youth, and Visions of Hope

This chapter presents an in-depth description of the organisational and program characteristics of the Tondo Blessed Hope Bible Baptist Church, Care Channels International, Reach Youth Ministries Inc., and Visions of Hope Foundation (Section 7.1.-7.4.). Then, using the framework in Chapter 3, Section 3.2., an analysis of the dimensions of community and practice of the development work is presented in Sections 7.5. and 7.6.

7.1. TONDO BLESSED HOPE BIBLE BAPTIST CHURCH

7.1.1. Beginnings

Tondo Blessed Hope Bible Baptist Church (Tondo Blessed Hope) began as a bible study group in 1999 in the slum community of Estero de Magdalena (*estero* is an open drainage canal and associated with bad smell), Manila.[1] Ptr. Cesar Lubrico, the founding and current pastor, and Dr. Jocelyn Ilagan, one of the current leaders, who is a medical doctor and in 2015 became a registered social worker, were invited to help in the bible study group in the slum by their friend, Ptr. Aldulos, who had just finished his Bible college training. Ptr. Cesar was living at the slum at that time and still lives there. He had started a ministry in Cavite (two hours travel South of Manila) and was also working as a taxi driver. During an interview, he recalled how he had agreed to help, thinking that he could still make time for the bible study group, since it would only take a few hours on Sunday mornings. Five families living in the slum initially attended the group and Dr. Jocelyn helped by providing free medical check-ups and medicines. The study group was held in a privately-owned day-care centre (children 4-6years old) near the slum. After two months of assisting in the group, Ptr. Adulos asked Ptr. Cesar if he could take over the bible study group because he was transferring to another assignment. Ptr. Cesar described how he had turned down the request because his ministry in Cavite was growing. However, he kept thinking about the children in the slum and he recalled

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[1] The Housing and Urban Development Co-ordinating Council (HUDCC) of the Philippine government officially define the term 'slum' as "buildings or areas that are deteriorated, hazardous, unsanitary or lacking in standard convenience". While according to slum dwellers, slum refers any place dwelling, regardless of its physical condition, that is "squalid, crowded or unsanitary". The term *estero* (an open drainage canal and associated with bad smell) is one of the descriptive words associated to slums. Junio M. Ragragio, "The Case of Metro Manila, Philippines" In *Understanding Slums: Case Studies for Global Report 2003*, May 28, 20013, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/home.htm (University College London): 6

how he was unable to sleep for a week for thinking about them. This, he remembered, was a struggle because at that time, he was working as a taxi driver for 24 hours a day three times a week. He recalled how he saw the faces of the children while he was driving and he imagined the situation in the slum, where fathers were drinking and mothers gambling while their small children were playing outside without clothes in a very filthy place. He described how he felt in his heart the burdens of a lack of hope borne by the children and their families in the slum. He acknowledges that the story of the Call of Moses in Exodus 3, God calling Moses to deliver the Israelites from slavery but Moses' reluctance because he did not think that he is capable for the task, resonated with him. He describes how he tried to ignore these things but realised that it was God who was speaking to him. After two weeks, he turned over to another pastor the ministry in Cavite and decided to accept the responsibility of leading and continuing the bible study group in Estero de Magdalena. After few months of leading the group, in December 1999, he remembered that he felt that those attending were not learning and were no longer interested anymore, while the children were naughty and noisy during the bible study. He thought it was time to end his ministry in the slum, deciding that he would continue until the end of that month.

Then, he reported how someone had told him to visit Care Channels International (or Care Channels), a Christian FBO that had had a medical mission (free medical service) in the slum few months previously. In a meeting, the director of Care Channels promised to give him fund to hold a Christmas celebration for the attenders of the bible study group. Ptr. Cesar remembered feeling both happy and sad: Happy because he knew that the families, especially the children would enjoy the party, but sad because it would be the first and last Christmas party with the families attending the bible study group. He told the good news to the families and they were excited. Then the children approached him and asked if they could make a drama presentation. Ptr. Cesar agreed and let them practice on their own without giving them a script or any instruction. On the day of the Christmas party, after the preaching, the children, aged 12 and below, presented a drama based on the story of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10:25-37. Ptr. Cesar recalled that he had been touched, especially by the children's rendition of the story in which a poor child from the slum had been beaten and left half dead on the street, where the rich people and government officials who were passing just ignored the child. Then another poor child from the slum came, held the beaten child in his arms

and prayed, “Lord Jesus, help me to help this child”.[2] Then, after the party, Ptr. Cesar described how he saw the children, the “naughty ones”, helping to clean up the area where they had had their party. Ptr. Cesar remembered thinking, “Is this a sign that I should continue the ministry?”.[3] That day, he reported that he knew that it was God’s will that he should continue the ministry.

A couple of years later, in 2002, Ptr. Cesar was invited to attend a summer community development course offered by a seminary. After he finished the course, Ptr. Cesar, together with Dr. Jocelyn, drafted a survey questionnaire to identify the personal, family and other needs of the community. Together with five other members of the bible study group, they conducted the survey, which had 350 respondents. They consolidated the results of the survey, and at their Sunday gathering, presented their findings to the church members. Poverty due to lack of a permanent job and the lack of education and life skills needed to get and keep a job was on the top of the list. The congregation prayed for the community. A month after their presentation, the group was able to link again with Care Channels and partner with them to provide education sponsorship, medical assistance and livelihood programs. Though, he reported, the group had not been able to sustain the livelihood program, they had continued to help the poor in the community with other programs including regular medical missions in partnership with other organisations.

In 2003, the church registered as the Blessed Hope Gospel Church with the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC), the government institution that regulates profit and non-profit organisations, and in 2004, they forged a loose affiliation with Sta. Mesa Bible Baptist Church and changed their name to their present name. The church also registered with the Department of Social Welfare Development (DSWD) of the National Capital Region (NCR). The church leaders, workers and members continued their commitment to help the poor in spite of the lack of resources. The church leaders saw opportunities to obtain funding from Christian FBOs and started writing proposals. Dr. Jocelyn was able to use some of her experience to write these proposals but she reported that she found the requirements of FBOs, particularly Compassion Philippines, very difficult.[4] She recalled that the church, through Ptr. Cesar, submitted a proposal to Compassion Philippines but the church did not pass the criteria because it lacked the required physical structure, like an office or church space, and the number of volunteers.

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[2] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)
[3] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[4] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)

[5] She said that the submitted documents were acceptable, but when asked about the venue where they can hold their proposed programs, the could not answer because they did not a facility.[6] This experience, according to Pt. Cesar, led the church to be more intentional in recruiting volunteers.[7] The concern about the lack of volunteers was presented to the members (mostly mothers) of the church and most of them committed themselves to be volunteers for community work activities.[8] Dr. Jocelyn reported that she encouraged them to retail medicines at very minimal profit to help people in the community and at the same time generate funds for the ministry of the church.[9] She conveyed that eventually, in 2006, after they had generated enough funds from the profits of the pharmacy and the tithes and offerings of the church, they rented a two-storey apartment, which became their office and church facility.[10] However, sustaining the facility was a challenge. She shared that it was always a struggle to find the money to pay for the rental since most of the members are poor, and that they had to move from one place to another whichever they can afford.[11] She recalled that they continued to pray and look for people and organisations that can help them in their programs.[12]

Ptr. Cesar reported that in 2006, when they had an office, Action International, a Philippine branch of an international FBO, awarded them a feeding program project to be implemented for six months.[13] In 2007, there was a rice shortage in the country and rice became so expensive that it became even more difficult for poor people to afford it.[14] He recalled that loan sharks (called 'five-six' by the community) took advantage of this by making high interest loans for buying rice.[15] During this crisis, according to him, the church was able to connect with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) of the government, which linked them with National Food Authority (NFA) so that they could avail affordable rice and also become a retailer of low cost NFA rice (P18/kg or £.30/kg).[16] Dr. Jocelyn recalled that this initial connection with the government led them to avail another government program.[17] She added that the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) of the government awarded P15,000

[5] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[6] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[7] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[8] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[9] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[10] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[11] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[12] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[13] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[14] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[15] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[16] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[17] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)

(about £250) as start-up capital to 23 families who are members of the church.[18] She commented that this grant was a great help for the members although not many were able to sustain the business that they started.[19] In the same year, Ptr. Cesar reported that the initial 16 pioneer members underwent discipleship training and eight of them became core leaders of the church.[20]

7.1.2. TBH's Participation in the Bearers of Hope Project of the PCMN

When the typhoon Ondoy struck Metro Manila on 26 September 2009, the Estero de Magdalena was one of the many communities affected. Ptr. Cesar reported that the members of the TBH received of relief goods from Campus Crusades for Christ, an international Christian mission organisation based in the Philippines.[21] He said that they decided to share them with others in need, so placed the goods on a tricycle and gave them to families along a main the road, until they reached Pasig City, around 17.5 kilometres east of the slum.[22]

When PCMN launched the BoH project, Ptr. Cesar shared that he was invited to participate.[23] In a meeting, he recalled that, he learned that BoH, as mentioned above (Chapter 6 Section 6.4.3.), is a collaborative program aimed at enhancing churches' and CFBNGOs' competencies in the areas of protection of children and disaster risk reduction; and that it also aimed to build the capacity of vulnerable communities to prepare for, respond to and recover well in the event of a disaster. He reported that during the first and second phase of the BoH project mentioned above (Chapter 6 Section 6.4.3), workers from the church actively participated in the programs and trainings given by the PCMN.[24] According to him, this training allowed the church members to respond to the needs of their own community, particularly children, especially because their dwelling place is always at high risk.[25] Describing conditions in the dwelling in the area, the Ptr. Cesar noted:

> At the *estero*, there is a concrete part . . . they constructed a wooden extension of that concrete and used it as their pathway stretching along the *estero* community. The wood has deteriorated and many, including adults, children and even babies, had already fallen through the dilapidated pathway and were hurt.[26]

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[18] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[19] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[20] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[21] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[22] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[23] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[24] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[25] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[26] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)

Also, according to him, the church members learned a lot in relation to the role of the church in child protection:

> It was only during the time when we partnered with PCMN that we gained a deeper understanding [of the church's role in the community], we also learned about the rights [of the children], about child sexual abuse . . . we [referring to the church] are raising awareness and advocating the law [with respect to the rights of children]. [27]

With the training the church members received, he added, they were able to facilitate the Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) training provided as part of the BoH project and also teach community members about the rights of children and how to protect them. [28] He shared that they also learned the importance of a child friendly space and were able to provide it for their community by designating play the area and placing some toys and books that children can use. [29] He added, that volunteers from the church participated in the distribution of BoH Disaster Response Kit (DRK) containing the most essential needs of victims of disasters such as a blanket, sleeping mat, first aid kit, mosquito net, flash light, pail, and rope.[30] For Ptr. Cesar, the trainings and the kits benefited not only members of their church but also people in the wider community where they live. [31]

7.1.3. TBH into the Promised Land – Resettlement Program

According to Ptr. Cesar, the church's participation in the BoH project and their involvement in helping prepare and protect children in the community in times of disaster led to a desire to find a safe dwelling place for the children and their families. [32] He reported that in 2010, the church found a piece of land in Pila, Laguna (a province South of Metro Manila) where their families in the slum could resettle. [33] He added that they were able to avail a government housing loan program to acquire the land. [34] They call the land Promised Land, alluding to the land promised to the Israelites in the book of Exodus. [35] Ptr. Cesar, together with other leaders of the church, taught the parents in the church to save by helping them identify ways they can lessen their spending in order to save. [36] Using their savings, each family awarded a government loan for the purchase

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[27] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)
[28] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[29] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[30] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[31] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[32] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[33] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[34] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[35] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[36] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.

of the land is repaying at P30/day (about £0.50/day).[37] The church continued to seek help from the government and other funding agencies to help them build their houses so that they could leave the *estero* and move into a safe and better place to live.[38] In 2012, they were able to secure another housing loan that enabled 15 families started building their houses and developing the land by planting vegetables and even constructing fishponds so it would become a sustainable source of their food.[39] The church members who are still living in the slum continued to save so that they could have enough money to start constructing their house in Pila, Laguna.[40]

7.1.4. TBH Feeding Program in Partnership with World Challenge

World Challenge, a US based ICFBO, was introduced to TBH by Care Channels International (Care Channels) in 2008.[41] Ptr. Cesar recalled that at that time, World Challenge was looking for church partners who were willing to do a daily feeding program for children in their area, as part of the program called Please Pass the Bread. World Challenge partnered with TBH to implement the feeding program for malnourished children, beginning in 2009. The church acknowledged this program as a great blessing from God because they knew that the community really needed it.[42] Dr. Jocelyn explained: "Many of the children are malnourished, they do not have anything to eat . . . in one of our outreach sites, they are much worse, they are living on the streets".[43] Also, as one of the volunteers acknowledged, the program has brought encouragement to the church:

> We thank the Lord for the opportunity to help in the feeding program. We used to feel helpless not being able to help the poor in our community. We wanted to give money but we could not because we are also poor and do not have money. The feeding program made a way for us to be able to help. We learned that we are not helpless.[44]

Ptr. Cesar explained that World Challenge gives the funds directly to the church, which selects children who are underweight and malnourished, through recommendations by the Barangay Health Workers (BHW, local government arm) or by school teachers since they already know who the malnourished children are.[45] He added that sometimes, the parents of the children brings a weighing scale and show the church

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[37] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[38] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[39] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[40] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[41] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[42] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.).
[43] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.) (Translation mine).
[44] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Volunteer 1 (Translation mine).
[45] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.

volunteers that their child needs to be in the program.[46] Memelyn, the point person for the feeding explained that she and the other volunteers, plan the menu, which include two dishes and rice, and sometimes milk, buy and cook the food and serve one full meal a day, in the evening.[47] A volunteer reported that they start the meal with a prayer, then followed by a short bible study with the children, before feeding them.[48] Initially, according to Ptr. Cesar, World Challenge gave funds directly to participating churches, visiting once a year and requiring the churches to provide copies of the receipts.[49] However, Ptr. Cesar said that eventually, they channelled the funds through Care Channels to deal with accountability concerns.[50] Ptr. Cesar explained that some churches thought that World Challenge was giving too much to the children, describing how:

> There came a time when there were churches . . . who considered that the funds were too much to be spent just for the children, so they saved some . . . and used the money to build a music room for the church and also bought other equipment. They even boasted about this to World Challenge and we almost lost the feeding program.[51]

According to Ptr. Cesar, since that incident, funds have been channelled through Care Channels for transparency and accountability.[52] He said that some changes were made and policies added. Today, he explained, participating churches have to submit a proposed menu to Care Channels (one dish and rice only), which buys supplies from a particular supermarket according to the approved menu, allowing the churches to pick-up the supplies, prepare the meals, and then report on other expenses.[53] In addition, he said that Care Channels monitors children's attendance and requires churches to report how many children are baptised.[54] Children with three consecutive absences are removed from the program.[55] Parents, especially those with more than one child in the program, are required to help with the food preparation and feeding.[56] Ptr. Cesar recalled some parents being offended when their children are taken out of the program due to being absent or because the parent did not help with the feeding.[57] Also, he noted that the children noticed that they are receiving less food. According to Memelyn, it was

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[46] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[47] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader.
[48] FGD Tondo Blessed Hope Volunteers
[49] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[50] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[51] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)
[52] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[53] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[54] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[55] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[56] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[57] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.

not easy for them (she and the volunteers) to adapt to these changes and new policies.[58] However, she said that they later understood the situation.[59] Ptr. Cesar said that the church leaders and volunteers knew that Care Channels had to reduce the budget for food because they need to meet the administrative costs of the program, while the church did not need to add administrative costs since all those who help are volunteers.[60] Also, requiring parents to help in the feeding program provided the needed hands for the daily feeding.[61] Ptr. Cesar added that while initially some parents felt obligated to help with the feeding, eventually, they saw some benefits from being a volunteer, with some learning how to cook, make reports, develop social skills and so on.[62] The church started a daily bible study group for the new workers who are not members of the church and held it during the food preparation time.[63] The church was thankful that World Challenge did not decide to stop the program because of the incidents with other church partners.[64] Ptr. Cesar said that as a church community, they have learned a very important lesson from that experience of almost loosing the program.[65] Since that time, TBH and Care Channels have worked together to provide nutritious food for malnourished children in slum communities.[66] TBH operate four feeding sites catering to 150-200 children, with 29 volunteers, as of 2015.[67] Volunteers are not just parents, but also teenagers and young adults who are previously beneficiaries of the feeding program.[68] The teenagers and young adults joined because of a sense of calling – they saw the need and responded, as an expression of gratitude and because they want to pass the good deed that they received on to other children.[69] Also, they believed that the reason that they had benefited from the program was so that they could inspire others also, thereby fulfilling God's purpose in their lives.[70] Ptr. Cesar believes that the testimony of the young volunteers who were formerly beneficiaries of the program and are now in college pursuing their dreams is very powerful, not only for children in the community but also for parents.[71]

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[58] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader.
[59] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader.
[60] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[61] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[62] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[63] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[64] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[65] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[66] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[67] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[68] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[69] FGD Tondo Blessed Hope Volunteers
[70] FGD Tondo Blessed Hope Volunteers
[71] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.

7.1.5. TBHBBC Bible Study Program and Poverty Alleviation

According to Ptr. Cesar, the members of the TBH church community is well aware of the material dimensions of poverty in terms of 'lack', such as the lack of income – people do not have jobs because they lack skills and competencies to get one and maintain it; the lack of food – children are hungry and malnourished; and the lack of adequate dwelling places – living in a high-risk area with dark alleys and the foul smell of the *estero*, or not having a place to live at all.[72] However, he and the leaders of the church believe that the real root cause of poverty is non-material.[73] While they recognise the flawed socio-economic structures e.g. loan sharks taking advantage of the community members, they also believe that poverty has become a culture with actions highly influenced by the understanding, beliefs and values of people living in the slums.[74] This view is reflected in Ptr. Cesar's description of the poor:

> They were not taught how to live life . . . or they learned the wrong way . . . they made many wrong decisions . . . Parents who have jobs, after getting their salary, they will not use the money to buy food or save it so that they can eventually find a better place to live, or save for the education of their children. They will use the money for their vices like drinking alcohol and gambling, or even to buy gadgets like mobile phones and appliances like television. Most of the time, while fathers are drinking or mothers are gambling, their children ask for money to buy food, but the parents just drive them away.[75]

This is where the church leaders see the importance of bible study for its members, for the children beneficiaries feeding program, and for the volunteer workers. Ptr. Cesar cited the case of the Smokey Mountain[76] community commenting that the people living there remained poor in spite of the housing provision because they lacked programs that emphasise spirituality.[77] One of the volunteer parents that were interviewed shared that believes that "children are learning smoking, drinking, drug abuse, gambling, and other vices from the people around them and nobody is telling them that these are wrong", it is better for them to attend the bible study because they learn how to distinguish right

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[72] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[73] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.); Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader
[74] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.); Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader
[75] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)
[76] The Smokey Mountain was a landfill in Tondo, Manila that operated from 1950 until it was closed in the 1990s. An estimated 2 million tons of garbage accumulated forming 30-50 meter high heap of garbage. About 25,000 people from slum communities surrounding the area scavenged on the landfill and had become dependent on it to survive. When the landfill was closed, these people lost their primary source of livelihood. The government later demolished the houses in the slum communities, to give way for a government housing project of 30 5-storey buildings with 120 flats each (32 square meters per flat). The people were accommodated in temporary houses while they wait for the housing project to finish. But the greater challenge at that time was how they could survive without the landfill.
[77] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.

from wrong and to do what is right.[78] The feeding program, medical program, and the other programs that the church implements help to meet the material and physical needs of the community members, but also gave the church access or a platform to help the community in a way that they believe will address the root cause of poverty – though bible study.

7.1.6. TBHBBC's Journey towards Holistic Ministry

Ptr. Cesar and Dr. Jocelyn describe the church's work as a holistic ministry because they are able to help people in both material/physical and non-material/spiritual needs.[79] Their mission, according to them is based on Galatians 2:10 "All they asked was that we should continue to remember the poor, the very thing I had been eager to do all along", and James 2:14-25 that teaches about "faith without deeds is dead".[80] According to Ptr. Cesar, they did not do holistic ministry before, focusing purely on soul winning or evangelism.[81] He attributes their journey as a church towards doing holistic ministry to a personal invitation to do a community development course in 2002.[82] In 2006, the church leaders were invited by Action International to attend a conference where different church groups and FBOs gathered.[83] Ptr. Cesar recalled that it was at that time that he began to realise that they are doing work similar to what FBOs are doing, e.g. feeding and poverty alleviation programs.[84] He reflected that even at that time, God is calling them as a church community to do holistic ministry.[85] In 2012, he and other leaders and volunteers of the church attended a seminar on Integral Mission organised by PCMN.[86] Ptr. Cesar recalled, "it was during that seminar that I learned that what we are doing is Integral Mission or holistic mission".[87] The Christian FBOs that they have partnered with like Care Channels and PCMN have helped them in his view to learn and understand holistic ministry.[88] Ptr. Cesar explains:

> They taught us how to write reports at first, and then eventually we learned about transparency, and then accountability. We were like a baby – they did not expect us to run when we were just starting to crawl, then we began to walk, and now we are making our own decisions . . . They were our mentors . . . Our experience was different from some

[78] FGD Tondo Blessed Hope Volunteers
[79] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[80] New International Version
[81] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[82] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[83] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[84] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[85] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[86] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[87] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)
[88] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.

> churches I know. An organisation helped them, but it was demanding as if it was the boss, which led to an unhealthy relationship.[89]

As a result, he believes that the healthy partnership between churches and Christian FBOs is essential to the development of a holistic ministry.[90]

7.2. CARE CHANNELS INTERNATIONAL

7.2.1. Beginnings

Care Channels International (or Care Channels), which became a collaborator of Tondo Blessed Hope (see Section 7.1.4.), was founded by a missionary couple Yeoh Seng Eng, a Malaysian, and his wife Chwen Hwe, a Singaporean.[91] According to Dr. Malyn Vilar-Genetia, the current National Director, the couple initially volunteered for a short-term mission trip to Smokey Mountain.[92] She reported that their experience "left a mark in their hearts" so that they could not sleep for thinking about the poor in the Philippines.[93] Yeoh Seng Eng, who then worked for a big corporation, left his job and brought his family to the Philippines.[94] In 2000, after praying and waiting for God's leading on how to reach out to the poor, they started Care Channels, together with five Filipino board members, two staff and five partner churches.[95] The couple worked in the Philippines for seven years and later moved to Singapore to establish other international offices. When they started, they sought to meet the needs of the poor, with one program leading to another. Dr. Malyn narrated:

> So initially they started with the very first things that [were] identified, education sponsorship [because] many [children] were out of school, but . . . that still [left] [the children] hungry . . . and sick . . . because they were sick, they [Care Channels] provided medical and dental missions . . . and those were still not enough, [children] need food on the table, so they [Care Channels] started lending . . . trial and error how to really help them [the poor] . . . they [Care Channels programs] started not as community development, just one family at a time.[96]

Care Channels aims to help the poor, "to uplift their lives towards transformation, empowerment and dignity, through holistic work meeting the physical, socio-economic and the spiritual needs of poor communities".[97] Their programs include: education – sponsorship and computer labs; health; livelihood support – they established a micro-enterprise project and FAITH [Food Always In The Home] gardens; community

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[89] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor. (Translation mine)
[90] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor.
[91] Interview Care Channels National Director
[92] Interview Care Channels National Director
[93] Interview Care Channels National Director
[94] Interview Care Channels National Director
[95] Interview Care Channels National Director
[96] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[97] Interview Care Channels National Director.

development; and values formation and discipleship.[98] According to Dr. Malyn, programs are implemented in partnership with local churches and other organisations that also believe in the cause of Care Channels. She added that the work of Care Channels is responding to the mandate of Jesus, who said in Matthew 25:40 "Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me".[99] Care Channels aims to help in a way that does not encourage dependency but increases "development thrust and self-reliance".[100]

7.2.2. Education Program

According to Dr. Malyn, the first need that the founders wanted to address was education.[101] They and the community in the slums where they were working believe that education can be a way for the poor people to have better lives and exit of poverty.[102] She stated that one component of the Education Program is Sponsorship, which funds part of the cost of school fees, supplies, shoes, and uniform; provides a vitamin C supply and dental care; while the children receive a minimal monthly allowance and Christmas gifts.[103] Sponsored children receive these benefits until they graduate from high school and in some cases the program supports university students.[104] Another component is a Summer Youth Camp in which sponsored children participate.[105] The aim of the camp is psychosocial development including leadership skills, character formation and spiritual maturity, to enable the children to grow in their faith in God and obedience to His word.[106] Children are required to attend the camp as long as they are in the program. Establishing facilities that complement children's learning experience is also part of the program.[107] Care Channels provides free Kindergarten and Pre-school education and establishes computer labs for elementary, high school and university students to use.[108]

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[98] Care Channels Organisational Profile PowerPoint Presentation 2013. This is a document that they present to their prospective church partners.
[99] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[100] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[101] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[102] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[103] Interview Care Channels National Director; Care Channels International, 'Care Channels » Education', accessed 2 December 2016, https://carechannels.org/education/.
[104] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[105] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[106] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[107] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[108] Interview Care Channels National Director; Care Channels International, 'Care Channels » Education'.

7.2.3. Health Program

The second issue that the founders addressed was health, because of the limited access of the slum communities to healthy food, especially for children, health facilities and medicine.[109] The Health Program includes regular medical-dental missions, free surgery procedures, relief in disaster stricken areas, and establishment of day clinics.[110] However, Care Channels noticed that most patients kept returning with the same ailment, many of which can be prevented.[111] In 2003, it launched the Community Health Education.[112] Dr. Malyn conveyed that in 2004, she was recruited to head this program.[113] She reported that the aim of the program is to help residents learn practical ways to prevent and manage particular sicknesses and diseases.[114] Care Channels implements this program in coordination and partnership with local churches and local government units such as Barangay Health Offices.[115] Facilitated by a medical professional, training is provided to individuals so that they can train others also.[116]

Care Channels identified malnutrition as one of the major health concerns in slum communities. In 2008, in partnership with World Challenge through their Please Pass the Bread feeding program and in partnership with local churches working in slum communities, Care Channels, World Challenge and their church partners implemented feeding programs in slum communities.[117] The work for them is the "passing [of] the Bread of life (referring to Jesus) and physical food to the poorest of the poor", with the mission of bringing "the Gospel to the world's darkest slum populations through the development of sustainable feeding programs".[118] The areas selected are:

> places no one else will go; where basic needs go unmet day after day; where mothers watch their children suffer from severe illnesses and often die; where preventable and curable diseases ravage families; where the simplest of provisions – clean water and basic nutrition – are scarce.[119]

World Challenge funds the program, Care Channels coordinates with local churches and, as described above (Section 7.1.4.), buys the ingredients from local supermarkets near the feeding sites; while the participating churches identify and gather children in need, recruit volunteers to help prepare cook and serve the food, facilitate

[109] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[110] Interview Care Channels National Director; Care Channels International, 'Care Channels » Health', accessed 2 December 2016, https://carechannels.org/health/.
[111] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[112] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[113] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[114] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[115] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[116] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[117] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[118] Care Channels Organisational Profile PowerPoint Presentation 2013.
[119] Care Channels Organisational Profile PowerPoint Presentation 2013.

bible study with the children and volunteers, and report back to Care Channels, which in turn reports to the funder.[120] The reports include the number of children fed, a record of the weight of children from the time they start the program and then monthly, the number of volunteers, and also the number of bible study, conversions and baptised.[121]

7.2.4. Livelihood Program

The founders of Care Channels observed that one of the reasons that there was no food on the table was that many families do not have a consistent and sufficient income.[122] Dr. Malyn reported that initially, most of their programs were dole out, such as the education sponsorship, medical treatment and feeding mentioned above.[123] However, she recalled observing beneficiaries develop dependency, they did not want to work, even after attending skill trainings provided by Care Channels.[124] During one of their meetings with partners from other parts of the country, she learned that some of them require sponsored students to do some work.[125] She said that she considered it as a solution for the dependency concern.[126] Dr. Malyn pointed out that for these reasons, a Livelihood Program was started.[127] She reported that the initial project was micro-finance, and then new programs were added as opportunities opened.[128] Someone introduced to Care Channels the designing of calendars and greeting cards using dried pressed flowers and embroidery cross-stitch, so they started the project.[129] Care Channels trained women in the slum communities: it provides the raw materials, women in the community design the calendars and greeting cards, Care Channels pays the women for their labour and sells the finished products.[130] Then one sponsor gave land and another gave goats, so they had to think about what to do with those.[131] Care Channels then came up with agriculture based livelihood programs in rural areas: it assists members of a community who own a piece of land to plant lemongrass, *moringa* (a long, green "drumstick" bean), and other herbs, it buys and processes the produce,

[120] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[121] Interview Care Channels National Director; Care Channels Organisational Profile PowerPoint Presentation 2013.
[122] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[123] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[124] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[125] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[126] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[127] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[128] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[129] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[130] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[131] Interview Care Channels National Director.

then packages and sells it.[132] Care Channels also introduces goat-raising projects for people who do not own land that can be cultivated.[133]

7.2.5. Holism, Local Church Partnership and Community Development

Care Channels believes that a spiritual component, presentation of the Gospel and discipleship, is critical for community transformation.[134] As presented above, they believe that the Gospel has a material dimension, which community development programs can address, but also view the work as holistic, in which the spiritual component is integrated with the community development programs, each being incomplete without the other.[135] For Care Channels, establishing partnerships with local churches who understand the importance of holistic work and are willing to do community development work, is key to providing holistic programs.[136] For Care Channels, the local churches are the main providers of the spiritual component of the holistic work, in the organisation's view, they are the ones called and anointed by God to do it.[137] Also, they are embedded in communities, are believed to know the needs of local people, and have people who can volunteer to help.[138] For Care Channels, community development programs can be an arm of the church presenting the Gospel in a tangible manner.[139] Dr. Malyn stated:

> We are like a resource for the local church. We want to partner with local churches with the heart to reach out to their community. When they reach out to their community, it is not enough to just have bible study, we become an arm for them . . . [so that] they are able to reach out, to help out in a very concrete way. So they visit homes, they offer whatever is needed, education sponsorship, livelihood, medical mission, in addition to the evangelism component.[140]

While Care Channels provides funding and technical inputs for the community development programs, the local churches are the ones implementing them together with the spiritual dimension.[141] Care Channels acknowledges the critical role of churches in community transformation.[142] However, Care Channels had partner churches who became satisfied and dependent on the funds benefits that they provide

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[132] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[133] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[134] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[135] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[136] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[137] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[138] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[139] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[140] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[141] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[142] Interview Care Channels National Director.

and which did not want to be involved with community development.[143] Care Channels did not continue its partnership with such churches.[144] Also, it took a while for churches to get used to the reporting system that Care Channels requires, particularly in the area of finance.[145] Care Channels understand that the culture of many churches is different from that of other organisations, "like sometimes the pastor's money gets mixed up with the budget for a particular program and [the church can] not account anymore where the pastor's money goes".[146] In response, Care Channels explains to partner churches that Care Channels is accountable to donors and provides training in accounting if churches need it.[147]

7.3. REACH YOUTH MINISTRIES INC.

7.3.1. Beginnings

The Reach Youth Ministries Inc. (Reach Youth) started as a drug rehabilitation service provider in 1985.[148] The late Sis. Lilia Reyes,[149] one of the founders, and the first workers, together with three churches in Metro Manila, wanted to respond to the growing need to address the problem of drug abuse by establishing a rehabilitation program that emphasises Christian faith and bible teachings.[150] The first workers trained with Asian Teen Challenge in Singapore and when they got back, they established the Reach Youth Training Center, a facility for drug addicts desiring to be rehabilitated.[151] Because the program was growing, they needed to move to a bigger place in 1987.[152] Sis. Josephine (Joy) Reyes, the current managing director, shared that she joined the team in the same year.[153] She was at that time a member of a performing arts group.[154] She recalled that when she and her team performed in the Smokey Mountain area, she saw first hand what poverty looks like, saying, "When you see people starving and living in the heaps of garbage, it will break your heart".[155] She conveyed that previously, she did not know how to help the poor, but joining the team was, in her eyes, an

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143 Interview Care Channels National Director.
144 Interview Care Channels National Director.
145 Interview Care Channels National Director.
146 Interview Care Channels National Director.
147 Interview Care Channels National Director.
148 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
149 Sis. Lilia Reyes was not a nun. 'Sister' or 'Sis.' is the title used by RY community members to address her. Sis. Joy and Sis. Veron are also addressed this way.
150 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
151 Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Vision and Mission', 2010, http://www.reachyouth.org/about_us/vision_mission/index.html.
152 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
153 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
154 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
155 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director

opportunity to respond to God's call to help people in poverty.[156] The rehab program was able to help twelve out of fifteen persons, nearly 90%, overcome their addiction, and Sis. Joy attributes this to the Christian component of the program, which government rehabilitation institutions could not provide.[157]

Towards the end of 1988, the program team felt the need to refocus their efforts towards prevention rather than rehabilitation.[158] They were also facing challenges, including a lack of workers and resources to sustain the rehabilitation program.[159] According to Sis. Joy, the lack of resources was due to two factors: first, they offered the program free of charge, and second, not many churches recognise the importance of a drug rehab ministry, meant that they receive little or no financial support from the churches.[160] So in January 1989, the centre was closed and the ministry for children launched.[161]

Sis. Lilia and Sis. Joy started by approaching a group of children who were begging and vending food or *sampaguita* (Philippine Jasmine, a white sweet scented flower) garlands on the street by approaching cars at red lights in Makati City, one of the business districts in Metro Manila.[162] They shared the story of Jesus, because they believe that only through Jesus can anyone escape poverty.[163] However, Sis. Joy recalled, while they were sharing these stories with the kids, they sensed that they were "listening but not hearing . . . for the sound of their hungry stomachs was louder than our voices".[164] So with the P15 (£0.25) they had, she said, they bought a loaf of bread and fed the children.[165] This, she explained, became the practice; they feed the children and then teach them about Jesus. After the children have come to know Jesus and have understood the value of spiritual things, they reverse the sequence, teaching first then feeding afterwards.[166] The first group of children grew in number so they started holding meetings near the places where they live, in the slum communities along the railroad tracks.[167] Other people learned about what they were doing and began to donate

[156] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[157] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[158] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[159] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[160] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[161] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[162] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Programs and Services: Hands to Street Kids', 2010, http://www.reachyouth.org/programs_services/hsk/index.html.
[163] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[164] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[165] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[166] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[167] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director

food, while some volunteered to help and teach.[168] Sis. Lilia, Sis. Joy, and the other volunteers' relationship with the children deepen and the work expanded to several sites in Makati City, other cities in Metro Manila, and other provinces in the Philippines.[169] In the written history of the Reach Youth, it states that the growing friendship between the workers and children was "motivated by the love of the Lord Jesus".[170] In the same year, Sis. Joy conveyed, this ministry of Reach Youth came to be known as Hands to Street Kid program. Other programs were launched as the need arose: Day Care Program, Educational Support, Medical/Dental Program, Adult Value Formation, Children's Home and Livelihood Development.[171] In 2001, Reach Youth birthed a church, the Reach Youth Pag-ibig Community Church.[172]

7.3.2. Hands to Street Kids Program

The Hands to Street Kids program caters for children 4-17 years old and adults 18-21 years old who are living in depressed areas and slums.[173] The program is held once a week in open spaces near depressed and slum areas.[174] Reach Youth staff and volunteers gather the children in a site, starting with prayer and singing praise and worship songs.[175] The children are then divided into age groups for Bible study lessons focused on value formation such as "studying, hard work, honesty, perseverance, patience, self-esteem, fairness, faithfulness, forgiveness, integrity, dealing with problems, relationships, choosing to do what is right, hygiene, health and even child abuse are taught to the children".[176] Then, food is served such like porridge, oatmeal or bread.[177] When available, they also give goods such as "rice, foodstuffs, school supplies, vitamins, clothes, toiletries, candies, toys, and shoes to the children and their families".[178] During summer holiday season, Reach Youth provides various activities for the children: it holds a Vacation Bible School in which children are taught using as specially designed curriculum; a sports fest which is called "*Palarong Pambatang Lansangan*" (Games for Street Children) where Reach Youth gather together children from different sites, form teams, and compete in sports, like basketball, volleyball, track

[168] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Programs and Services: Hands to Street Kids'.
[169] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
[170] Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
[171] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[172] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[173] Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Reach Youth', 2010.
[174] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
[175] Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Ministries Inc.
[176] Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Ministries Inc.
[177] Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Ministries Inc.
[178] Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Ministries Inc.

and field, and parlour games; when there is budget, Reach Youth organises a camp/retreat where all the children participating in the Hands to Street Kids program stay together in a camp or resort facility for two to three days, relax and have fun together, and get to know the Lord in a deeper way.[179] Other programs are integrated with the Home to Street Kids program. They include one or any combination of the following services: 1) Street Education/Value Formation Program – bible based teaching on physical hygiene, character formation and value clarification, with the objective of enabling children to take responsibility for their lives, which include personal counselling when requested; 2) Nutrition Program/ Project *GALAK* (joy) – the Medical/Dental Coordinator of Reach Youth directs the giving out of food and food supplements like special formulas and/or milk and vitamins to identified malnourished children; 3) Feeding Program – the giving of food to all the children participating in the Street Education program; 4) Physical Well-being Program – providing basic needs to the children and their families whenever available, such as food, clothing, toiletries, and other necessities; 5) English Enhancement Program – teachers help the children develop their reading comprehension by providing reading books through their small mobile library, and by helping the children enhance their vocabulary.[180]

In 2002, Reach Youth have established Hands to Street Kids sites in Mindanao, and in 2006 in Visayas and Northern Luzon.[181] The HSK program is being implemented by 60 volunteers in 15 sites catering to 1,800-2,500 children in Metro Manila and Laguna.

7.3.3. MAG-AMBISYON

In 2003, according to Sis. Veronica (Veron) Cruz, one of the leaders of Reach Youth, Rita Carpio, one of the volunteer workers of Reach Youth, conceptualised the MAG-AMBISYON (the Filipino word *mag-ambisyon* literally means 'to aspire'), a framework that was later adopted by Reach Youth and from which they have developed their bible based curriculum for the Street Education/Value Formation program and Vacation Bible School curriculum of Hands to Street Kids ministry.[182] Before, she narrated, Reach Youth used bible teaching materials and curriculum developed in the US given to them by Christian Broadcasting Network Asia (a Philippine branch of an international TV

[179] Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Ministries Inc.
[180] Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Ministries Inc.
[181] Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao are three groups of islands of the Philippines,
[182] Interview Reach Youth Leader

network) and by their other supporters.[183] She explained that the adoption of the MAG-AMBISYON framework aimed to lead participating children to discover that it is possible to exit poverty, and to provide the life skills to enable the children to do so.[184] Also, the framework serves as an assessment instrument for teachers to assess children's progress.[185] Sis. Veron shared that most of the volunteer teachers are young professionals who used to be children learning lessons based on the MAG-AMBISYON framework.[186] According to Sis. Veron, when teaching, these volunteer teachers testify how the lessons that they are teaching helped them escape poverty.[187] Sis. Veron commented that their life testimony created a strong impact on their students.[188] Other volunteers of Reach Youth who are already professionals attribute their accomplishment and escape from poverty to the things they learned when they were children participants of Hands to Street Kids.[189] They shared that word 'mag-ambisyon' (aspire) always resonated as they were growing. The MAG-AMBISYON framework is an acronym for the following:

- **M – *Magpakumbaba sa Diyos at sa tao, magsikap at magtrabaho* (Be humble to God and to fellow human being, persevere and work)**

Drawing from Ephesians 2:8-10, the emphasis of the framework is on the concept that God made us for a purpose and that one can enable God's purpose to be fulfilled in one's life by not being lazy – because one cannot be a Christian and lazy at the same time, and by persevering and working hard. The aim is for children to know and believe that poverty cannot hinder anyone from fulfilling God's purpose for his or her life.[190]

- **A – Asahan ang tulong ng Panginoong Diyos (Trust that God will help)**

This theme aims to develop the children's dependence on God.[191]

- **G – *Gawin ang tama ayon sa batas ng Diyos at tao* (Do what is right according to the laws of God and men)**

The emphasis of this theme is the study of the Ten Commandments and relevant laws in the Philippines, including the rights of children how children.[192] Sis. Veron explained

[183] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[184] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[185] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[186] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[187] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[188] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[189] FGD Reach Youth Volunteers
[190] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[191] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[192] Interview Reach Youth Leader

that the M-A-G centres on how children can have a good relationship with God.[193] She explained that for Reach Youth, it is important to teach the rights of children because it tells that from the perspective of the Philippine and international law, they are valuable.[194] She narrated that in the 1990s, they attended a teachers' training where they learned how to teach the rights of children.[195] She recounted that there were cases of abuse among the children participating in their programs and that Reach Youth, according to her, believes that teaching the rights of children may help prevent abuses and stop them from perpetuating.[196] She noted that they (the teachers) attend trainings with regards to violence against children and women for them to become well versed with the rights of children and women and be equipped to handle cases of abuse if they occur.[197] However, Sis. Veron recalled, they observed that some of the children who learned about their rights seemed developed negative behaviours like asserting their rights with disrespect.[198] Also, she noted, there was one instance when a mother asked for help because her son (not part of the Reach Youth program) was throwing stones at their house and shouting, "Go ahead, put me to prison! You cannot put me to prison for I am a minor".[199] In another instance, Sis. Veron recalled, a police officer told her that a mother of a minor who was apprehended for stealing brought her son's birth certificate and demanded the release of their son. She said that the officer explained to her that while minors cannot be arrested, their offenses are recorded and once they commit a crime after turning 18, even petty crimes, these records can be brought up and may put weight on their case.[200] She also shared that it is a common knowledge in their area (where the office of Reach Youth is located) that some parents or adults tell their children to steal for them.[201] For Sis. Veron, this situation proved that it was not enough to just teach children their rights.[202] So, together with other teachers, she recounted, they addressed this issue by teaching the rights of children in a "balanced" way, by also emphasising responsibility and by also educating the parents.[203] She gave examples such as teaching the right for education together with the value of studying hard, the right to be heard with respecting other's opinion, access to adequate standard of living

[193] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[194] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[195] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[196] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[197] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[198] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[199] Interview Reach Youth Leader (translation mine)
[200] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[201] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[202] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[203] Interview Reach Youth Leader

with the responsibility to maintain cleanliness both of their own bodies and their surroundings.[204]

- **A – Alamin ang mga katangiang ibinigay sa iyo ng Panginoong Diyos (Discover the gifts and talents God has given)**

Using the Multiple Intelligence test instrument by Walter McKenzie translated in Filipino, Reach Youth helps children to discover their gifts and talents and identify a possible career or profession they could pursue in the future.[205] Once the gifts and talents are identified, Reach Youth helps the children develop them through workshops and other strategies.[206]

- **M – *Mag-aral mabuti* (Study hard)**

Children are taught the value of education as their "way out of poverty".[207] The lessons also emphasise that God is the source of knowledge and that fear of God is the beginning of wisdom (Proverbs 9:10), with the aim to balance knowledge with character.[208] Teachers teach how to develop good study habits and also provide tutorials.[209]

- **B – *Baguhin ang mga masasamang pag-uugali* (Change bad attitudes and behaviours)**

The goal of this theme is to help children identify unhealthy and unhelpful attitudes, behaviours and habits, to understand the effects of these in people's lives, and enable them to overcome and change the attitudes, behaviours and habits that hinder their growth and achievement of their dreams.[210] It highlights that change is possible with the help of God.[211]

- **I – *Isakatuparan ang pangakong binitiwan* (Allow [God's] promises to be fulfilled [in ones life])**

Teachers tell children bible stories about heroes of faith, bible characters who demonstrated trust and dependence on God and how God fulfilled His promises to them.[212] According to Sis. Veron, in Reach Youth's view, these characters, to whom the

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[204] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[205] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[206] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[207] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[208] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[209] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[210] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[211] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[212] Interview Reach Youth Leader

children can relate to and identify with, may bring hope to them.[213] Children also learn about God's promises.[214] The aim is for children to believe in God's promises and have hope that their situation can be changed.[215]

- **S – *Sumangguni sa experto* (Seek the help of experts)**

Reach Youth invites professionals to share with the children about their work. The aim is to inform the children about particular professions or vocations and inspire them to pursue a profession or vocation. These professionals also provide coaching and apprenticeship to children so they can develop skills geared to their desired profession or vocation. For example, there are sessions on how to start a business or how to do basic computer programming.[216] Sis. Veron recounted, "One of our beneficiaries even became the top of his class in computer science because he trained early though this program".[217]

- **Y – *Yaman ay ibalik sa Panginoong Diyos* (literally – Return your riches to God, meaning – Give to God's work)**

This theme teaches children about stewardship of resources, for them to acknowledge that God owns everything that they have and that these resources are entrusted to them.[218] Children are taught how to give tithes (10% of income) to God's work and how to budget their money.[219]

- **O – *Oras ay mahalaga, huwag aaksayahin* (Value time, do not waste it)**

Children are taught to value their time, on the basis that time is a gift from God that they should not waste.[220]

- **N – Naisin na si Kristo ang maghari sa buhay (Let Christ rule one's life)**

Here, children are encouraged to serve God in their lives and are called to be a witness of Christ to others.

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[213] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[214] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[215] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[216] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[217] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[218] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[219] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[220] Interview Reach Youth Leader

7.3.4. Day Care Program

In 1990, Sis. Joy recalled, five children came to Reach Youth centre to play in the garage while their parents were away working, and that she and Sis. Lilia allowed them to stay and even gave them breakfast, because they would come very early in the morning every day.[221] She recounted that they later learned that these children were not studying and the oldest child, who is ten years old, did not know how to read, so they realised the need to teach the children.[222] Sis. Veron, a professional teacher, was new at the Reach Youth at that time, when Sis. Lilia and Sis. Joy asked her to teach the children.[223] Then, as Sis. Joy narrated, "All of a sudden it dawned on us, why don't we start a day care?".[224] So the Day Care program was established and formally registered with the Department of Social Welfare and Development National Capital Region in 1992.[225] The program provided free pre-school education to indigent children ages 4-7 years old using a church facility.[226]

7.3.5. Medical and Dental

In 1990, a free clinic was established at the Reach Youth office to provide free medical consultation, treatment and medicine for people from poor communities nearby.[227] Volunteer doctors and medical professionals manned the clinic.[228] Eventually, in partnership with various organisations and churches, Reach Youth was able to hold medical and dental missions to different poor communities in the country.[229] At present, the Medical and Heath program provides: Medical and Dental Missions offering a one day free medical & dental services in particular areas; Sponsorships – Reach Youth looks for sponsors for children who need surgery, special treatments or equipment, prostheses, eyeglasses, etc; Operation TULI (circumcision) – every summer, Reach Youth provides a free circumcision clinic in partnership with other churches or organizations; Referrals – in some cases, Reach Youth connects and refers people, specially children, to appropriate doctors, or institutions that can help meet their need in terms of finances, consultation, treatment or medicines; and Sex Education and

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221 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
222 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
223 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
224 Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
225 Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Programs and Services: Day Care Program', 2010, http://www.reachyouth.org/programs_services/daycare/index.html.
226 Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
227 Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Programs and Services: Medical and Dental Program', 2010, http://www.reachyouth.org/programs_services/medical_dental/index.html.
228 Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
229 Reach Youth Ministries Inc.

HIV/AIDS Awareness and Prevention Workshops – providing workshops in communities and churches.[230]

7.3.6. Educational Support Program

In 1998, according to Sis. Joy, Reach Youth leaders learned that some of the parents of children who were doing well in their studies were having difficulty supporting their children financially, with the money needed for transportation, food, books, school supplies, school bags, and projects.[231] She recalled that Reach Youth leaders prayed about the situation and then launched an Educational Support program.[232] They started looking for sponsors and were able to find sponsors for seven children who were at that time in elementary (primary) or high school.[233] Sponsorship is one support that RTMI provides through this program.[234] In 2015, they had 58 sponsored children, from elementary to university levels.[235] Reach Youth shoulders 70% of tuition fees for university students and parents are responsible for 30% and student projects.[236] Children who are indigent, doing well in school (at least 80% grade average), consistent in attending the Hands to Street Kids program, demonstrate maturity in their faith, with parents who are attending the adult bible study or church worship service and without any vice[237], they are selected to be beneficiaries of the program.[238] In addition, Reach Youth provides the following support: Referral in which Reach Youth refers or endorses children to schools or other organisations that offer scholarship; Project *Gabay* (guidandce) in which staff members or volunteers help children with their lessons, assignments, projects, and exams preparation; and library and internet services.[239] Sis. Joy shares, "I've lost count of the number of sponsored children who have already graduated, some of them are already working abroad . . . The important thing for me is knowing that their lives have improved . . . they are not anymore living in the slums".[240] Most of the graduates, especially those working locally, continue to volunteer as

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[230] Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
[231] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[232] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[233] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[234] Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Programs and Services: Educational Support Program', 2010, http://www.reachyouth.org/programs_services/educational_support/index.html.
[235] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[236] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[237] Sis. Joy shares a common understanding in the Philippines of what are considered vices, such as smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages, gambling, drug abuse, and the like. Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[238] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 'Programs and Services: Educational Support Program', 2010.
[239] Reach Youth Ministries Inc.
[240] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director

teachers in the Hands to Street Kids program as a way of repaying for the assistance they received and because they strongly believe that the program is effective because they have witnessed at first hand how it changed their lives.[241]

7.3.7. Reach Youth Pag-Ibig Community Church

A decade had passed, Sis. Joy recalled that the Reach Youth community was growing, not only in numbers, but also in their desire to grow spiritually.[242] Whenever members of the Reach Youth community express their desire to be baptised and become part of a local congregation, Reach Youth used to refer them to a local church.[243] In Makati City, the local church that they were in contact with was a church with people from the middle to upper economic classes.[244] Sis. Joy explained that the Reach Youth community living in the slums felt uncomfortable attending such church – the church, they felt, is very clean and attenders wear very nice clothes.[245] She recounted that because of this, Reach Youth helped organise the community to become a local church.[246] On 19 August 2001, Reach Youth birthed Reach Youth Pag-ibig Community Church, which became Reach Youth Pag-ibig Community Church Inc. (RYP) when it was registered with Securities and Exchange Commission in 2003.[247] The first pastor was Rev. Ellis Dean Carter, an American missionary who is married to a Filipina; and at present, Sis. Joy is the pastor leading the church.[248]

According to Sis. Joy and Sis. Veron, for Reach Youth, the establishment of the church opened another avenue for growth, including spiritual growth.[249] They added that Reach Youth and RYP share the same vision and mission and that most of the leaders and workers of the church are leaders and volunteers of Reach Youth while some people who came to know the Gospel through the ministry of Reach Youth became members and workers of the church.[250] The church also holds some activities of

[241] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Leader; FGD Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Volunteers
[242] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[243] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[244] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[245] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[246] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[247] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[248] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[249] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director; Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Leader
[250] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director; Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Leader

Reach Youth including orientations on the rights of children and Sex Education and HIV/AIDS Awareness and Prevention Workshops.[251]

7.3.8. Holistic Ministry

The mission of Reach Youth states:

> Reach Youth Ministries is a Gospel-Rescue Mission, which has for its purpose to share the love of God, in truth and with actions, by preaching the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and by extending physical help to people in the depressed areas, primarily children and people with vices[252], and make them disciples to the glory of God.[253]

According to Sis. Joy, when they conceptualised this mission statement, they know from their experience that when one presents the Gospel without any action, people would be disinclined to believe, but if there is action without teaching the truth, people will remain lost.[254] She reported that for Reach Youth, their work has always been two pronged: preaching the truth of the Gospel and demonstrating its teachings in action.[255]

7.4. VISIONS OF HOPE FOUNDATION INC.

7.4.1. Beginnings

Visions of Hope Foundation Inc. (VOH), according to Arlene Sy, the Executive Director, started in 1999 as a social arm of the Center for Community Transformation Group of Ministries (CCT, a Christian development organisation) providing financial, health and wellness assistance, and scholarship programs for children in urban and rural poor communities where CCT branches were operating.[256] The inspiration for this program to serve children came from the experience of CCT with the children of community partners (beneficiaries) of its micro finance ministry.[257] The community partners (all women) regularly hold weekly meetings called ‘fellowship’, which includes bible study and business meeting, and most of the time, the mothers bring their children with them.[258] However, children distract participants.[259] To address this concern, some CCT branch offices offered to take care of the children while the

[251] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director; Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Leader
[252] Referring to smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages, gambling, drug abuse, and the like. See footnote on ‘vice’ on Section 7.3.6.
[253] Reach Youth Ministries Inc., 2010, http://www.reachyouth.org/about_us/vision_mission/index.html
[254] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[255] Interview Reach Youth Ministries Inc. Managing Director
[256] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[257] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., ‘Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc. – Our Story’, accessed 15 February 2016, http://www.visionsofhopefoundation.org/our-story/.
[258] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.
[259] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.

fellowship was in progress, and it was then that CCT leadership thought of creating a ministry for children.[260] At present, the Foundation has streamlined its work and focuses only on running children and youth centres across all CCT Group of Ministries to reach underprivileged, neglected, abandoned, orphaned, abused, and at-risk children especially children of street dwellers and of poorest marginalized families; out-of-school and disadvantaged youth; and children of tribal people.[261] The Foundation caters to children and youth though "implementing holistic and transformational programs and services among poor communities all over the Philippines".[262] Arlene pointed out that the programs of the Foundation are "holistic, integrated, community-based, family-focused, transformational, sustainable and poverty group specific".[263] She added that it envisions the children and the youth living and embracing "their God-given purpose, reach their full potential and ignite their passion leading them to participate in decisions and actions that will affect their lives and become productive citizens of our country".[264] She shared that its dream for every child is for him of her: to have a personal and growing relationship with the Lord; to be well-rounded (engaged into arts, music, sports, and academics); to appreciate the Filipino culture and develop a deep love for country; to develop entrepreneurial skills – "that is why we have programs on social enterprises, children and youth participate in working on a project, they are also taught how to manage their finances, and are introduced to livelihood programs"; to developed employable skill; to become Christian leaders who can make a difference and impact the society – "this is why we have leadership training and scholarship".[265] This vision statement, according to Arlene, reflects that holistic framework of the Foundation.[266] In September 2011, CCT founded the CCT-Visions of Hope Christian School, with the goal of establishing preschools in open or rented spaces near the all CCT branches (Located in 49 cities and 42 towns spread in 23 provinces of the Philippines).[267] At present, the Foundation runs eight community-based pre-schools, two elementary schools, three home care centres, and eight *Kinabookasan* children and youth centres

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[260] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.
[261] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[262] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc. – Our Story'.
[263] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[264] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director; Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Our Dream – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.', accessed 4 December 2016, http://www.visionsofhopefoundation.org/our-dream/.
[265] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director; Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.
[266] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[267] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Education – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.', accessed 4 December 2016, http://www.visionsofhopefoundation.org/education/.

(see Section 7.4.4. below).[268] These programs are "geared towards nurturing the Filipino children and youth in Christ-centered faith families, empowering them as agents of change for community transformation and nation-building".[269]

7.4.2. Center for Community Transformation Group of Ministries

In 1991, Ruth Callanta founded the Center for Community Transformation Inc. (CCT), which provided micro-business training programs to a poor community in Tondo, Manila.[270] At that time, micro entrepreneurs could not get banks to finance them and had to rely on loan sharks for capital.[271] To meet this need, CCT launched the CCT Credit Cooperative to provide micro-finance.[272] However, the micro finance programs did not go as well as expected, with the repayment rate of only 50 percent of the repayment due.[273] Ruth Callanta's interpretation of the problem was that:

> [E]ven when you if you lend money to the poor without any real transformation in the hearts of these individuals, the money will only be used for their selfish interests . . . No real transformation can take place unless the heart is changed . . . and the only person who can change the hearts of men is none other than Christ.[274]

So, CCT started integrating values formation into its programme through bible studies.[275] It was observed that members became more faithful in repaying their loans and this was attribute to the bible studies.[276] As one of the area leaders recounted, "CCT had less than a 50 percent repayment rate before we added the Christian aspect to the program . . . Then the repayment rate spiked to an unheard-of 98 percent".[277] Ruth Callanta also observed, "In areas where a majority of members are practicing Christians, those communities have less corrupt business practices".[278] The positive results in the micro-finance program allowed CCT to provide other programs to help alleviate poverty.[279] As CCT states:

> Over the years, the Lord has enabled the organization to deliver wholistic, sustainable, and community-based programs and services that cater to the needs of the whole family. These

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[268] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[269] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc. – Our Story'.
[270] Center for Community Transformation Group of Ministries, 2010, http://cct.org.ph.
[271] Gilberto M. Llanto, Edgardo Garcia, and Ruth Callanta, 'An Assesment of the Capacity and Financial Performance of Microfinance Institutions: The Philipine Case', *Journal of Philippine Development* XXIV, no. 43–1 (1997): 1–66, http://dirp3.pids.gov.ph/ris/pjd/pidsjpd97-1microfinance.pdf.
[272] Llanto, Garcia, and Callanta.
[273] Center for Community Transformation, 'Microfinance for the Entrepreneurial Poor, Philippines', *Cross International*, 2014, http://www.youthvshunger.com/uploads/0218_2014_2.pdf.
[274] Ruth Callanta, cited in Vanessa Velasco, 'DR. RUTH CALLANTA: Her Journey to Eradicating Poverty', *Off the Beaten Path* (blog), 12 January 2008, https://nechie.wordpress.com/2008/01/12/dr-ruth-callanta-her-journey-to-eradicating-poverty/.
[275] Velasco.
[276] Velasco.
[277] Center for Community Transformation, 'Microfinance for the Entrepreneurial Poor, Philippines', 4.
[278] Center for Community Transformation, 4.
[279] Velasco, 'DR. RUTH CALLANTA'.

services have opened opportunities for the community partners to grow and reach their full potentials as individuals created in the image and likeness of God.[280]

CCT became the CCT Group of Ministries, describing itselves as:

an organized Christian response against poverty and social injustice. This is carried out through the fusion of social development initiatives and evangelical mission in a uniquely Filipino context. It serves urban and rural poor communities throughout the Philippines, in pursuit of its desire to see changed lives, strong families, and transformed communities centered on the Lordship of Jesus Christ.[281]

7.4.3. Visions of Hope Christian School

The Foundation used to run 28 pre-school centres.[282] However, due to changes on the regulation of pre-school services under the Department of Education, space requirements and a requirement that the operator must own the property where a facility is situated, twenty had to close, leaving eight community-based pre-schools there became Visions of Hope Christian School, located in urban and rural poor areas where indigenous communities live.[283] According to its website, the schools uses a "Transformational Curriculum" in which bible stories are integrated into the daily lesson structure.[284] It also runs two elementary schools catering to children in indigenous communities and uses a curriculum that integrates the indigenous framework of education (a government Department of Education policy) with the School of Tomorrow Curriculum, a curriculum which integrates Christian charter formation (values education) with academic subject, first introduced in the US.[285]

7.4.4. Kinabookasan

Kinabookasan, according to Arlene, is the community-based afterschool program of the Foundation that aims to provide healthy and fun learning environment beyond the four walls of the classroom accessible to young people through its student centre, situated in the heart of their community.[286] As stated in its website, the programs offered are community-driven, which members of the community, including the children, participate in the planning of programs and activities.[287] Each centre is open every day

[280] Center for Community Transformation Group of Ministries.
[281] Center for Community Transformation Group of Ministries.
[282] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[283] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[284] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Education – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.', accessed 4 December 2016, http://www.visionsofhopefoundation.org/education/.
[285] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.
[286] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[287] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Afterschool Program – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.', accessed 4 December 2016, http://www.visionsofhopefoundation.org/afterschool-program/.

to all children and youth, students or out of school, aged 6-18 years old.[288] According to Lanilyn Solis, a centre manager, the manager (usually a professional teacher) of the centre facilitates activities, such as arts, music, baking, story telling (including bible stories), tutorials, literacy programs, etc.[289] She shared that there is also a small library which anyone visiting the centre can use.[290] She added that some centres do outreach to where the street children gather and facilitate education activities, which would always include bible stories.[291] *Kinabookasan* "is a play on the Filipino word *kinabukasan*, which means future, and the English word, book, representing how infinite possibilities of a bright future can only be unleashed once it is opened and read like a book." [292] For the Foundation:

> Kinabookaan offers every child and youth in the community a space to explore these possibilities and build a 'library of life-long learners', recognizing that learning doesn't have to begin and end in the classroom. In this space, they are invited to engage, participate and take responsibility for their learning.[293]

7.4.5. Home Care

The Foundation, according to Arlene, runs three Home Care centres, in which two are in Laguna (Southern Luzon), catering to abandoned and neglected children, for orphans and for children rescued from the streets so they can be in a safe home; while the third is in Sarangani (Southern Mindanao), serving as a halfway house for the students of Visions of Hope Christian School serving the indigenous communities.[294] According to the website, the children are "led to the Lord" and are provided with "a caring, loving and secure home environment":[295]

> With God's provision, each home care [centre] has been blessed with facilities and services to meet the basic needs of every child. Children are able to eat a full meal three times a day, have access to medical assistance through our home clinic and have a deeper understanding and relationship with God through morning group devotions, fellowships and spiritual activities.[296]

Pertaining to the two Home Care centres in Laguna, Arlene narrated that in the past, the foundation provided basic education though the Alternative Learning System (ALS), a program of the Department of Education aimed at out of school children and

[288] Interview Visions of Hope *Kinabookasan* Staff
[289] Interview Visions of Hope *Kinabookasan* Staff
[290] Interview Visions of Hope *Kinabookasan* Staff
[291] Interview Visions of Hope *Kinabookasan* Staff
[292] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Afterschool Program – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.'
[293] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.
[294] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director: Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Homecare and Social Services – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.', accessed 4 December 2016, http://www.visionsofhopefoundation.org/homecare-and-social-services/.
[295] Visions of Hope
[296] Visions of Hope

youths.[297] At present, she continued, the children are enrolled in government schools and the centres strengthened its afterschool and extra curricular activities such as tutorials, arts, music, dance, and sports activities; provide entrepreneurial and vocational skills training, leadership programs, and spiritual development activities.[298] She added that keeping a family atmosphere is critical for children to know and feel that they are loved and valued.[299] On its website, the Foundation expresses its thankfulness for the men and women who serve in different capacities and channel God's love for the children. It states that house parents are with the children 24/7 and also teach them basic life skills; social workers help the children heal from emotional traumas through counselling and focus group discussion, help them become aware of their rights as children and how to respect these rights and the rights of others, and provide them with assistance in getting birth certificates when needed; and in-house professional teachers provide assistance in their studies and help them discover their gifts and develop their potential by providing opportunities for children to share their talents and sharpen their skills.[300] It is claimed in the Foundation's website that "[f]rom a life of brokenness and despair, the children admitted in our care experience healing, wholeness and transformation and a renewed hope of being reunited with their families in the near future".[301]

7.5. COMMUNITY AS ACTORS

A community, as discussed in Chapter 3, is a group, the members of which both construct their identity by reference to the institutionalised discourses and practices, and are active in constructing institutionalised discourses and practices through their action.

7.5.1. The People in the Development Work Area as Community.

The leaders of Tondo Blessed Hope and Reach Youth, both claim that their respective organisation is part of the communities in the areas where they serve. In the case of Tondo Blessed Hope, Ptr. Cesar stated that most of the members of the church, including the volunteers running the feeding program, are living in the slum (at the time of the study).[302] He shared that he also lived in the slum for 3 ½ years.[303] In the case of Reach Youth, Sis. Joy reported that some of their volunteers teaching in the Hands to

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[297] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[298] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[299] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[300] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc., 'Homecare and Social Services – Visions of Hope Foundation, Inc.'
[301] Visions of Hope Foundation Inc.
[302] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[303] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor

Street Kids program used to live in the slum where they are currently holding their programs.[304] In the case of Care Channels, Dr. Malyn, the national director, pointed out that they train the pastors and leader of their local church partners to become involved with their communities, with the people in their respective areas, to meet and consult with government officials in their area, to find out the needs of the people, and do community development.[305] For Visions of Hope, Arlene, the executive director, pointed out that the student centres they run, the Kinabookasan, exist to serve the community.[306] In this sense, Care Channels and Visions of Hope consider the people in the areas where they serve as part of their community. The leaders of the FBOs indicated that they are not limiting whom they consider as part of their community to current beneficiaries of their programs, nor is it limited to the members of a local church, in the case of the two local churches.[307] For them, their community includes every child and family they want to help in the places where they are doing ministry and implementing their programs.[308] This inclusiveness is reflected in the way the FBOs implement their programs, such as the distribution of relief goods and free medical services, which are open to as many people as they can serve. As mentioned above, volunteers of Tondo Blessed Hope gave relief to as many people they can serve after the typhoon Ondoy. This inclusiveness is also reflected in their vision and mission statements found in their websites. The statements indicate that their reason for being demands that they be inclusive, for they believe that they exist for the purpose of reaching out and helping communities in poverty-stricken areas, whether in slums alongside *estero, on* dumpsites or along the streets.[309] For Dr. Malyn, Ptr. Cesar and Sis. Joy, rather than inviting people and wait for them to come to church so that they can become part of the church community, they encourage the pastor (in the case of Care Channels) and the members of the local church to extend their community, to include everyone in living in their area, to go and reach out to the community and implement their programs and do community development.[310] The leaders of the FBOs believe that God has called them to be with the poor and to reach out to them. Matthew 25:31-46

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[304] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[305] Interview Care Channels National Director
[306] Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[307] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Interview Care Channels National Director; Interview Visions of Hope; Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[308] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Interview Care Channels National Director; Interview Visions of Hope; Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[309] Notes Vision Mission
[310] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Interview Care Channels National Director

and the story of The Good Samaritan in Luke 10:25-37 strongly resonates with them.[311] In Matthew 25, Jesus talks about the judgement day when God the King will judge all humankind; likening it to separating the sheep from the goats, with the sheep being welcomed into the kingdom of God and receiving then reward from the King, while the goats receive punishment. The criterion for being categorised as sheep is the kindness people have shown to those who are hungry, thirsty, without clothes, sick, and in prison. God, the King says, "Truly I say to you, to the extent that you did it to one of these brothers of mine, even the least of them, you did it to me."[312] In the story of The Good Samaritan, the true neighbour is the one who is fulfilling the greatest commandment, 'love you neighbour', not those who identify themselves as religious, but the one who helped a neighbour in need, the Samaritan. The word 'neighbour' is translated as *'kapwa'* in the Filipino Bible, which can be understood as "'shared self', 'shared identity', 'self-in-the-other', or 'together with the person'".[313] The Good Samaritan story, for the FBOs, is both a call to help and reach out their *'kapwa'* because they have a shared identity; and also a call to be a *'kapwa'*, together with the person. According their discoveries, the FBOs, are moved by compassion and are prompted by the Holy Spirit to reach out to people because "they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd".[314]

Who FBOs view as part of their community reflects more the people they want to reach than those who adhere to the FBOs' institutionalised discourses? However, in claiming that they identify with the community, it is expressing that FBOs (leaders, staff, volunteers) are sharing a common identity and institutional environment with the people that they want to reach, therefore claiming membership to the same organisational field with the people (see Chapter 3 Section 3.2.1.). In this sense, identifying with a community is being part of an organisational field (see Chapter 3 Section 3.2.1.). As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.6.1.3. and Chapter 3 Section 3.2.1., discourses circulate within an organisational field, therefore, FBO discourses are translated and circulated within a community they identified with. As part of a community, FBOs may be able to translate their discourses in a way that the community can better understand it. For example, as mentioned above (Section 7.1.1. and 7.3.1.), in the case of the founders of Care Channels and Reach Youth, they realised that they had to translate their message of God's love in more tangible ways in the context of the people in poverty

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[311] All the leaders interviewed cited these scripture references.
[312] Matthew 25:40 NASB
[313] Jeremiah Reyes, 'Loób and Kapwa: An Introduction to a Filipino Virtue Ethics', *Asian Philosophy* 25, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 149, https://doi.org/10.1080/09552367.2015.1043173.
[314] Matthew 9:35 NIV

that they were trying to reach. Volunteers from Tondo Blessed Hope shared that some people in their community used to disapprove of their religious expressions, including their evangelism efforts, but it changed when the people experienced love in a more concrete way through the feeding program and giving of relief.[315] Danilo and Memelyn, two of the leaders of Tondo Blessed Hope, recalled that the act of love and compassion by the FBOs has drawn some people into participating in the work: from being a distant observer of what the FBOs are doing, they have decided to join and became volunteers.[316] Increased interaction within an organisational field may increase possibility of matching identities leading to imitation, translation, and then transformation. Sis. Joy recounted that the MAG-AMBISYON values education program provides models, allowing the children in the slum to see what is possible if they choose to adhere to the values (discourses) being taught.[317] Reach Youth volunteer teacher respondents who used to live in the slum, attribute their 'success' to the MAG-AMBISYON program.[318]

FBO leaders narrated that as they reach out to the members of the communities where they do their ministry and development work, they claimed that they are able to build relationships with them, - leaders and government officials in the barangays, towns, and cities where they work. According to Sis. Joy, they can easily obtain permits for activities held in public areas, and government agencies even send officials to help FBOs in their activities, such as people to assist in preparing venues and with crowd control, and medical workers to assist in medical missions. Ptr. Cesar recalled that they were able to invite government officials for consultations and meetings to help identify needs in the areas where they work. He added that the leaders of Tondo Blessed Hope were also invited when government leaders need to consult with their constituents; and were also invited to apply when there are government funds for development programs. In this sense, FBOs' inclusive view of community resulted in the involvement of people and leaders in the areas where FBOs do their development work. In this sense, to some degree, the people in the areas where FBOs do their development work adhere to the discourses and practices they believe.

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[315] FGD Tondo Blessed Hope Volunteers
[316] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader 1 and Leader 2
[317] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[318] FGD Reach Youth Volunteers

7.5.2. Beneficiaries and their Family as Community

Beneficiaries become identified with the FBOs and adhere to its institutionalised discourses once they become part of a program. Information such as the complete name, age, gender, and weight of children, and the names of their family members are recorded and included in the reports of FBOs. The children become part of the roster of the beneficiaries, as Reach Youth sponsored children or children in the feeding program of Tondo Blessed Hope or Visions of Hope children. Such children call the young or single adult volunteers *ate* (older sister) and *kuya* (older brother) and the parent volunteers *nanay* (mother) and *tatay* (father). They have become part of the FBO family. The child beneficiaries and their parents are aware of what is expected of them. It is a requirement that children regularly attend FBO activities and trainings as these are integrated with the programs. Children participate in Bible studies and values education activities. They also attend tutorials provided by the FBOs to help them in their schooling: participate in other after school activities such as arts, music, theatre, and sports; and are encouraged to get involved in civic activities. According to the leaders of the FBOs in the study, they monitor children's participation in program activities, enabling them to assess the children's physical, mental, emotional, social, and spiritual development.[319] In the feeding programs of Tondo Blessed Hope and Care Channels, parents are required to help with food preparation. For Reach Youth, one of the parents of a sponsored child is required to accompany his or her child when the child attends church services. Sis. Joy explains that parents need to be aware what their children are learning and doing when engaged in Reach Youth activities.[320] Parent respondents expressed their willingness to adhere to the rules and regulations of the FBOs, explaining that they wholeheartedly accept the conditions because they see the many positive effects of the programs. For example, according to Ptr. Cesar and Sis. Joy, many parents see that the involvement of their children in FBO activities draws them away from the bad influences in slum communities where children are easily introduced to vices and into committing crimes.[321] While respondents acknowledged that some parents agree with the conditions just to be able to receive the material benefits, they claimed that parents' views about the activities changes over time as they go through a program. Beneficiaries and their families share often their own stories of change during meetings, in the form of success stories or testimonies.

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[319] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Reach Youth Managing Director; Interview Care Channels National Director; Interview Visions of Hope; Interview Visions of Hope Executive Director
[320] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[321] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Reach Youth Managing Director

7.5.3. The Volunteers as Community

FBOs rely on the help of volunteers in implementing programs. Volunteers help in various ways, such as food preparation and distribution in feeding programs, and teaching and facilitation in trainings. Children and the young people also volunteer as children and youth advocates, facilitators, or performers to sing, dance and act in FBO events or in local church meetings. Being a volunteer entails deeper commitment and involvement. Adult volunteers may devote significant time to helping out with FBO programs. For example, according to Memelyn,[322] the point person in the daily feeding program of Tondo Blessed Hope and Care Channels, work starts early in the morning. Volunteer cooks gather in a house. They begin their day with a Bible study and prayer and then proceed to prepare and pack the food. At lunchtime, youth volunteers arrive and join the cooks for lunch. After lunch, the cooks leave while the youth volunteers prepare their Bible story lessons and visual aids that they will use during the feeding activity in the evening. At this time also, some volunteer mothers go to the supermarket and get the supplies that will be used for the program on the following day. In the case of Reach Youth, according to Sis. Veron,[323] between 10pm-1am every Friday and Saturday, volunteers and a staff member go around different branches of a bakery in Metro Manila to pick up bread. The bakery does not keep unsold bread overnight, instead allows Reach Youth to collect it for distribution during their ministry activities at weekends. The cooks who prepare food for the weekend activities of Reach Youth are also volunteers.

Volunteer teachers and facilitators undergo continuous training and spend three to four hours a week preparing their lesson plans for the weekend Bible study and values education activity. For the foundation, volunteers help in the after-school activities of the children. Children and young people attend different types of training if they wish to become volunteers. For example, TBHBBC, together with PCMN, trains them in Disaster Risk Reduction and Management and Children Rights so they can become children and youth advocates. Youth volunteers teaching Bible lessons and values education in both Tondo Blessed Hope and Reach Youth also undergo training before they can teach. After the training, youth volunteer teachers commit to teaching at least once a week. Volunteers are comprised of beneficiaries, parents of beneficiaries, church members, and friends. They mostly come from the area where they work.

[322] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader 2
[323] Interview Reach Youth Leader

7.5.4. The Leaders and Staff/Workers as Community

Leaders include the pastors, directors, and board members of FBOs. In relation to the institutionalised discourses of FBOs, they have a higher degree of adherence to it. The leaders, particularly the pastors and the directors, have a strong influence on the actions of the organisation, e.g. what models are imitated, how are they translated. They may be considered as the face of the FBO in the places where they work because of their position – Filipinos place high respect to religious leaders and persons with leadership title. For the leaders of Tondo Blessed Hope, they identify with what Ptr. Cesar wants to accomplish for the people that they serve.[324] The same can be observed with the relationship of Reach Youth staff and leaders with Sis. Joy. The idea of being a role model that people around them can emmulate resonates in most of the interviews with respondents. Staff members provide support to FBOs in a full time capacity, related to administrative or logistics.

7.5.5. FBO Collaborative Community

Tondo Blessed Hope, as mentioned above (Section 7.1.4.) is running the Please Pass the Bread feeding program in collaboration/partnership with Care Channels (Section 7.2.3.). For Ptr. Cesar and Dr. Jocelyn, their partnership with other FBOs allowed them to be able to respond to the needs of the poor in the slum.[325] For Dr. Malyn, in partnership with local churches, their programs can be holistic in the sense that Care Channels help the local churches do community development work to address the physical needs of the people in their areas, while the churches can provides bible teaching and discipleship to address the spiritual needs. For the two FBOs, the idea of holistic ministry was one of their shared identities. According to Dr. Malyn, based on her experience, only partners who accept a holistic framework continue as part of partnerships. She added that though Care Channels do not discriminate against those who want to partner with them, even if they do not accept the holistic framework, "churches who do not accept the value of community development or the holistic framework do not really partner with us".[326] According to Ptr. Cesar, they do not partner with those who would prevent them from addressing the spiritual needs of the people: "when an FBO starts to interfere with our church structure and activities, we stop being in partnership with them".[327] The collaboration and partnership process became a form of membership or affiliation

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[324] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.); Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leaders 1 and 2
[325] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)
[326] Interview Care Channels National Director.
[327] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor

process for Tondo Blessed Hope and Care Channels. Historically speaking, FBOs and churches who adopt a holistic approach have been branded as being concerned with 'social gospel' by conservatives, who emphasise evangelism and are branded as using public funds to proselytise by many in the development and secular world.[328]

Once part of FBO collaborative community, a familial relationship is developed among the members. For example, Ptr. Cesar shared that as a partner of PCMN, he can come anytime and visit the PCMN office, and volunteer to do whatever needs to be done, whether cleaning the office, fixing broken equipment, or helping prepare for a project, he feels at home and in return PCMN appreciates his help.[329] The FBO collaborative community becomes a source of encouragement, support and accountability. It generates both spiritual and social capital. For example, as mentioned above (Section 7.1.2.), when there was a need after a disaster, the PCMN, through the Bearers' of Hope project, was able to mobilise volunteers from partner churches like the Tondo Blessed Hope for relief operations and Disaster Risk Reduction and Management in places affected by floods or fires. The response of the FBOs and local churches was coupled with prayer and encouragement from the word of God (quoting scripture to give encouragement).

The FBO collaborative community, as an organisational field, is also the venue where participants share ideas and experiences with one another. These ideas and experiences may reflect new global/international models and strategies that are thereby introduced to local development workers; or success stories and testimonies contributed by local development workers, which are documented and shared with international funders in a global/international context. Ptr. Cesar and Dr. Jocelyn recounted that through the partnerships they had with FBOs, they learned how to make reports, they receive training on the rights of children, disaster risk reduction and management, integral mission, and many more, that they could not have learned all these without the partnership.[330]

7.5.6. Community As Actors

The idea of a community as actors is based on the assertion that a community is not only formed/controlled by constituted by institutionalised discourse and practice, but also are active social actors involved in the construction of the institutional discourses

[328] Al Tizon, "Precursors and Tensions in Holistic Mission: An Historical Overview," in *Holistic Mission: God's Plan for God's People*, Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series, Woolnough, Brian E.; Ma, Wonsuk (eds.) (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2010); Unruh and Sider, *Saving Souls, Serving Society*
[329] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[330] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor; Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Leader (Dr.)

and practices. Many respondents reported that they had been struck by reality particularly the reality of poverty – hungry stomachs and high-risk dwelling places. As mentioned above in the stories of their beginnings (Sections 7.1., 7.2., 7.3., and 7.4.) FBO actors, felt that they could not help alleviate poverty with their current view of their identity and role as people of faith (religion). Instead, they sought alternatives and translated their (religious) discourses and made it more tangible for the recipients to understand. Community development or social services became part of their practice of communicating the Gospel. Because of the way they do their work, they became organisations that can identify with both local church and FBO (NGO). The FBOs in the study encountered development discourse through their interactions, in the case of Tondo Blessed Hope through their partnerships with other FBOs, for Care Channels and Reach Youth through their donors and the experiences of their staff, with Visions of Hope, through the influence of their parent organisation, the Center for Community Transformation. They then became part of an organisational field in which development discourses circulate. FBOs adopted or imitated development discourses and translated it into action appropriate in their context, as observed in the programs that they run. All the FBOs in the study do evangelism and values formation and discipleship through bible study, at the same time, Care Channels' partners also do community development; Tondo Blessed Hope and Reach Youth teach rights of the children and raise awareness against child abuse, do sex education and HIV prevention; Visions of Hope teaches life skills. The FBOs in the study changed the way they practice religion, and may also have changed the practice of development, because they translate/edit as they imitate. As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.6.2. and Chapter 3, Section 3.2., actions, as materialised discourses, are turned into text that may eventually constitute discourses as the actions of FBOs were written in reports. Beneficiaries, as actors, contribute to the constitution of discourses through the stories that they tell, particularly when they are considered as 'success' stories retold in annual meetings or written in reports and newsletters. The people FBOs serve, through consultations, are participating in and giving inputs into the design and implementation of FBO programs, influence action.

7.6. PRACTICE AS ACTION

7.6.1. Encountering the Reality of Poverty

Sis. Joy, narrated, "When you see people starving and living on heaps of garbage, it will break your heart."[331]

Dr. Malyn, shared the story of its founder:

> So they came to the Philippines and prayed and thought about how they could meet the need of the community . . . So initially they started with the very first things that [were] identified, education sponsorship [because] many were out of school, but . . . that still [left] pupils hungry . . . and they're sick . . . because they were sick, they provided medical and dental missions . . . and that still was not enough, people need food on the table, so they started lending for business activities.[332]

Ptr. Cesar, shared his experience:

> I lived in the community for 3 ½ years. I experienced living along the *estero*, there are a lot of cockroaches, rats, mosquitoes. You will need an electric fan, a strong fan, that you will have to stay directly in front so that you will at least minimise the awful smell of the *estero*. The awful smell comes from the human waste, human and animal urine, and the garbage that people throw into the *estero*. [333]

Reality strikes upon encountering poverty. The statements above describe poverty as experienced first-hand by the senses. However, FBOs know experiences that an in-depth look at poverty leads one to realise that poverty is more than the physical/material. For example, Ptr. Cesar stated:

> If we will describe poverty, you cannot just describe it in terms of material scarcity . . . the root of poverty is the wrong decisions that people make and their lack of education. I believe that the wrong decisions that they make are rooted in their lack of education, they did not learn about their rights and responsibilities. [334]

Pastor Cesar explained that in the slum community of Estero de Magdalena where they do their work, some residents used to own their own houses.[335] He said that in the 1950's, some Chinese businessmen offered to buy their properties and they agreed to sell and built nipa huts (houses made from light materials like wood, bamboo and nipa leaves) beside the establishments constructed on the land they used to own.[336] In the 1970s, the late dictator President Marcos relocated them to Cavite, south of Metro Manila. However, since there was no source of income, they left the relocation area and went back to the Estero de Magdalena where they built shanties.[337] Pastor Cesar comments, "When they sold their properties, they did not think of their value and how

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[331] Interview Reach Youth Managing Director
[332] Interview Care Channels National Director
[333] Interview Tondo Blessed Hope Pastor
[334] Interview TBHBBC Pastor.
[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid.

this decision would affect their future . . . their lack of knowledge and foresight led them to make this wrong decision to sell."[338]

7.6.2. Encountering Development: Striking back at Poverty

Why do FBOs adopt development discourses and practices?

7.6.2.1 Development as an alternative discourse and practice to respond to poverty

Sis. Joy narrates:

> We saw some children selling on the streets. We approached them to share about Jesus. While sharing with them, we noticed that they were listening but not hearing . . . for the sound of their hungry stomach was louder than our voices.[339]

Dr. Malyn narrates:

> Initially, the couple (from Singapore, Yeoh Seng Eng, a Malaysian, and his wife Chwen Hwe, a Singaporean) volunteered for a short-term mission trip to Smokey Mountain (a slum community on a garbage landfill in Manila) . . . Their experience left a mark in their hearts that they could not sleep thinking about the poor and multiple needs of the poor [in the Philippines] . . . trial and error on how to really help them . . . they started not as a community development, it's just one family at a time.[340]

The Care Channels founders went to the Smokey Mountain slum community to do mission work. Sis. Joy wanted to share the Gospel to children on the streets. Ptr. Cesar was starting a church in the Estero de Magdalena slum community. These efforts can be characterised as evangelism, as defined by Bosch:

> Evangelism means to tell the good news that Jesus saves. It means to invite men and women in the world to accept Christ as Savior. It means to inform them of the cost of following Jesus. Evangelism always aims at discipleship, which in turn requires commitment to the purposes of the Kingdom in history.[341]

Founders of the FBOs in this study were all convinced of the spiritual need of every individual in the community. They believe that the Gospel of salvation through faith in Jesus will allow each person to experience forgiveness of sins, salvation and transformation, beginning from within and then outwardly. However, because of the emphasis of evangelism on 'telling' and the focus of discipleship on 'teaching' (for example Bible studies), respondents felt that they needed to do more than evangelism and discipleship to respond to the needs of the poor. Here is where development work came in.

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[338] Ibid.
[339] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[340] Interview Care Channels Leader.
[341] David Bosch, Donald Posterski, "What on Earth Is Evangelism?," in *Part of the Problem, Part of the Solution: Religion Today and Tomorrow*, Sharma, Arvind (ed.) (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Publishing Group): 58

It was in the summer of 2002, three years after he had started a church in the Estero de Magdalena that Pastor Cesar was invited to attend a course on community development during which he learned how to identify the needs of a community using a research instrument. With the help of Dr. Jocelyn and some members of his congregation, they conducted research. They presented the results to the members of the church who were also living in the slums and discussed possible ways to respond to the needs. Through partnering with NGOs, including FBOs, and with the Government, they were able to respond to the needs of their community. Writing project proposals, reports and liquidations, running the daily feeding programs, providing sponsorship for students, and distributing relief goods to victims of disasters, became included in their church activities, although discipleship through Bible teaching remained a primary activity. The aim of this on the one hand is for participants in the study groups to grow in their faith in God and their obedience to His will, and on the other that through Biblical themes that help in understanding one's rights, that promote savings and entrepreneurship, and that teach how to take care of the environment, participants can learn values and skills that will help them get out of poverty. The feeding program of this church operates in four sites, because the church extended it to poor communities that they describe as "poorer than them" because people live on the streets, "they do not even have a house".[342] Here, their development work extended their community the 150-200 children for whom they cater and their families became part of their community. In their feeding program, the church invited even non church members to volunteer and help. These volunteers became part of their community too. Also, they have continued to be involved in establishing/strengthening the partnerships and collaborations with other members of their NGO/FBO community and with the Government.

When the missionary couple Yeoh Seng Eng and Chwen Hwe came to the Philippines in 2000, they provided financial aid to out of school youths who wanted to study again, medical services and medicine for the sick, and micro finance and livelihood programs. Rather than starting a church, the couple established Care Channels, whose mission is to help the poor "to uplift their lives towards transformation, empowerment and dignity, through holistic work meeting the physical, socio-economic and the spiritual needs of poor communities".[343] Development became their primary work. Care Channels runs several development programs in partnership with churches.

[342] Interview TBHBBC Leader 1
[343] Ibid.

Care Channels provides the resources and the technical know-how and their church partners implement the programs. For Care Channels, their role is to be the arms and hands of the church in its response to poverty.[344] In addition to documenting the number of attendees in the Bible study groups and the number of newly baptised participants in the programs that they fund and support, they are also keen to document increases in the body mass index of children in their feeding program, the increased incomes of those participating in their livelihood programs, and the number of people who receive medical assistance. The training and teaching the organisation and its partner offer focus on: livelihood skills; how to avoid sickness and maintain good health; and learning leadership skills, character formation and spiritual maturity. Their community includes their beneficiaries, volunteers, church partners, staff, leaders, and donors.

It was in 1988 when Sis. Joy and her co-founder the late Sis. Lilia Reyes started their evangelism and discipleship work to children that incorporated feeding. Later, other programs were added, like financial aid for students, the day care centre, and medical and dental assistance. In 2003, the MAG-AMBISYON curriculum which incorporates values formation by using Bible stories, was adopted to teach values and skills that are intended to help children exit poverty. The values include work, time management, knowing one's rights (rights of the child), and the skills embrace saving, good study habits, time management, and other life skills. These programs of Reach Youth have been extended to other provinces outside Metro Manila in partnership with other churches. Reach Youth also started the Reach Youth Pag-Ibig Community Church Inc. (RYPCCI) in 2001. While Reach Youth and RYPCCI have a separate legal identity and different boards, they work as one. The church is also led by Sis. Joy Reyes. Church members volunteer in the Reach Youth work and the work at Reach Youth became the ministry of the church members. Some activities of Reach Youth are held in the church facility and are promoted by the church, including sex education and HIV-AIDS awareness and prevention. The Reach Youth community includes their beneficiaries, volunteers, staff, the church community, church partners, and donors.

Development work accompanied the evangelism and discipleship work of two FBOs studied, which adopted development discourses and practices because these provided opportunities for them to respond to poverty in more concrete ways. 'Development' became part of their discourses and practices and influenced their views on who is part of their communities. Development discourses provided alternative explanations for the reality that they face – poverty. Although they experienced the

[344] Interview Care Channels Leader

complexity and multidimensional aspects of poverty at the time they were starting, they could not explain these using their religious discourse. While they strongly believe that poverty is a result of sin and that only through following Jesus can one exit of poverty, they also understand that there are other dimensions of poverty. They report that they were driven by compassion but also that they acted on it. Sis. Joy narrates, “I believe that God is the one who allows us to see the need and He is the one telling us to respond to the need”. FBOs came to believe that their development practices were appropriate and effective to poverty responses.

7.6.2.2 FBOs are pressured to adopt development discourses and practices

These changes in practice, discourse, and community, while viewed as positive by the FBOs studied, did not all occur merely because of their own initiative. FBOs experience pressures from other organisations with which they have relationships, whether NGOs or government. For example, Sis. Joy believes that the funding for their programs comes from the Lord – from people who voluntarily gave because God told them to do so. She further explains that she personally asked some of their donors to help, and some just learned about their programs from other supporters and then gave. In contrast, with funding organisations, Reach Youth had to write proposals and comply with the demands of funders. Sis. Joy remembers that they did not have experience in writing proposals but eventually learned how to do it. Now, one of their staff is assigned to write the proposals and Sis. Joy checks them.

In the case of TBHBBC, they needed to have a legal identity, before submitting proposals to NGOs and government. Dr. Jocelyn narrates:

> We needed funding, we learned that malnutrition and the health of the children are the primary concerns in our community, we wanted to do feeding programs and give medical assistance but we could not, we did not have the resources. Even though I know how to write project proposals, I could not write them because we did not have a legal identity then . . . [In 2003] the church was registered . . . The first proposal that we made was so difficult, there were so many documentary requirements. We were able to finish it and submit our application. Unfortunately, we were not accepted because we did not have a physical structure.[345]

TBHBBC also described how they had to comply with the reporting and accounting requirements of their partners/funders. Dr. Malyn observed the adjustments churches have had to make in terms of reporting on program activities and providing financial reports on the money received. In addition, FBOs need to comply with government regulations if they agree to partner with government agencies and secure funding from them.

[345] Interview TBHBBC Leader 1

7.6.3. Development Encountering FBOs

The faith communities therefore adopted institutional development discourses and practices, but not at their face value. They also needed to translate, edit, contextualise these discourses and practice as they share them with their members and implemented them. As they implement development programs, new ideas and experiences are generated. Translation and editing continues, with new ideas and experiences becoming texts, some of which turn into discourses that shape institutions.

7.7. PRACTICE AS THE ACTION OF TRANSMITTING, TRANSLATING AND EDITING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The development programs of the FBOs under study have been described in Chapter 6. Before these initiatives were adopted and implemented, they were introduced to the FBOs in various ways. As mentioned above, collaborative or network groups of NGOs like PCMN provide an avenue for the circulation of development models and programs. The international connections of PCMN, like the VIVA Network, and Philippine based international NGOs like World Vision and Compassion International, who are also members of the network, are sources of new ideas that may be translated into models, frameworks, strategies or programs. In most of the translations identified, an interpretation or re-interpretation of supporting scripture is developed, thereby integrating religious discourses with development discourses. As local CFBNGOs and congregations participate in the activities of the network, they become aware of these new ideas, some of which may be appealing to them. The government and the business sector are also sources of development ideas. The government has programs that require a third party to implement them. With business establishments, development programs may be part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) program. While funding and feasibility are factors that are considered in deciding action, FBOs adopt programs that have a degree of flexibility so that they can contextualise them and particularly so that they can incorporate a spiritual aspect.

Programs are being translated/edited as they are adopted and implemented. In the case of the programs of Tondo Blessed Hope that they are implementing in partnership with Care Channels and PCMN, training volunteers is essential. In this process, strategies and frameworks have to be explained in ways that young people or parents can understand. Again, scripture references are provided. In the case of Care Channels, programs funded by secular NGOs were implemented in partnership with congregations, which add a spiritual component to the programs. In the case of Reach Youth, scriptures

were integrated to their teaching modules on child rights, and HIV prevention programs. As FBOs implement programs, prayer and study of the scriptures are incorporated with program activities. Thus, development gets translated and becomes intertwined with religion in the development practice of FBOs.

As actors translate/edit, they appropriate what is applicable to their context and contest which are not. Also, the are creating new content, new approaches and strategies, which is an alternative to development models initially introduced to them. Post development focusses on these processes of appropriation and contestation, and on the creation of new models alternative to development. These new models are not insulated from the influences of dominant development discourse, as post development would prefer, because the actors as well are not insulated. Actors, through various community networks, become aware of new innovations, and, as a sentient actor, is free to decide what will be appropriated and translated/edited.

7.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated how community as actors, adopts, translates and edits development ideas and practices that are circulating. In this process of adopting, translating and editing FBOs appropriate, contest, and transform institutionalized development discourses and practices so that they become something they can own, an approach to development work that integrates faith, particularly institutionalised religious/faith practices.

Chapter 8: Discourse and Institution

In this chapter, the themes identified in the text produced by FBOs are discussed. These themes represent the FBO discourses or frames of meaning that may be supported or confronted by the institutionalised discourses in development or religion that exist.

8.1. POVERTY DISCOURSE

Narayan, in the study on the perspectives of the poor on poverty she coordinated, presents five findings: first, the study recognises the multidimensional characteristic of poverty; second, poverty implies scarcity of the essentials for material well-being; third, deficiency in psychological well-being emerges as an important dimension; fourth is the absence of basic infrastructure; and fifth is that the poor place more importance on assets than income, because they link their lack of assets, whether physical, human, social, or environmental, to their helplessness and susceptibility to risk.

The perspectives on poverty provided by the FBOs in this study resonate with the findings of Narayan. For the FBOs working in Manila and beyond, multidimensional aspect of poverty refers to the physical dimension – the lack of food to eat, the inadequate income to save and spend, and lack of a safe place to live. This has a cognitive/psychomotor dimension – a lack of knowledge to inform sensible decision-making and a lack of skills to match the demands of better jobs; a psycho-emotional dimension – feelings and experiences of insecurity and *mahina ang loob* (being emotionally weak or without courage); a socio-political dimension – a lack of social skills and social capital; and an environmental dimension – being forced to live in problematic and hazardous places. These observations reflect findings of other research on the general characteristics of the poor living in slums in the Philippines.[1] However, for the FBOs studied, poverty has a spiritual dimension – sin is viewed as the cause of poverty, the sins people commit - "they profess to believe in God but does not do God's will"[2], "they are into vices – smoking, drinking, gambling, they are also into criminal activities – gangs, stealing and selling of illegal drugs"[3], and the sins committed against them leading to a view that the poor are "victims of injustice and exploitation".[4]

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[1] Marife M. Ballesteros, 'Linking Poverty and the Environment: Evidence from Slums in Philippine Cities', Working Paper (PIDS Discussion Paper Series, 2010), https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/126823.
[2] Interview Reach Youth Leader
[3] Interview TBHBBC Pastor (Translation mine)
[4] Interview VOH Leader

The FBOs view poverty as a deficit or scarcity of the essentials for well-being. With respect to the essentials for material well-being, people living in the slums have no or insufficient income to meet the basic needs of their families such as food, water, clothing and shelter, because of unemployment and underemployment. As observed by the respondents, in the slums, a number of people are involved in micro-businesses, some are employed as domestic workers, nannies, or dishwashers, they are also drivers of *pedicabs* (a non-motorised tricycle for public transport), tricycles, or *jeepneys* (an assembled four wheeled passenger vehicle common in the Philippines), some construction workers, and many are service-oriented jobs. Dr. Joyce Ilagan (M.D.), one of the respondents, stresses the issue of job security, "many do not have stable jobs".[5] The Philippines government allows companies to give working contracts for five months, since the Philippines labour laws mandate automatic regularisation when one has already worked for six months in a company (regular employees are entitled to additional benefits mandated by law, including security of employment).[6] Towards the end of five months, a person commonly had to face the challenge of finding another job, and usually, during this period, they are forced to depend on loan sharks so that they have money to spend to meet the needs of their families and to finance finding another job.[7] At times it takes them five months to repay the loan, and by that time, they will have to borrow again, as the cycle of finding a new job starts again every five months.[8] In addition to unstable jobs, breadwinners may prioritise spending on their vices, such as alcohol, cigarettes and gambling, or the purchase of gadgets such as mobile phones flat screen TVs and cable connections, over the basic needs of their families.[9] In Pastor Cesar's view, "most of the time, their lack of basic needs is not really because of their lack of resources, it is because of their ignorance and wrong choices."[10]

FBOs, also observe a deficiency in psychological well-being. Dr. Jocelyn narrates,

> In the slums, when someone in the family feels unwell, they will not bring him/her to the doctor for a check up, even if it is free. The reason is because they do not want to know that they are sick, because if they are sick, they will have to buy medicine, but they can not buy medicine because they have no money. So, for them, it is better not to know that one is sick.

This feeling of helplessness is intensified if they know that they cannot do anything to help cure the sickness of someone they love. The poor do not think that they have the power to get out of their situation, resort to vices or depending on luck. For

[5] Interview TBHBBC Leader 1
[6] Interview Notes TBHBBC
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] TBHBBC Pastor
[10] Ibid.

example, a father of six children apologising after spending all his income for the day on liquor and getting drunk, "Pastor, sorry, I needed to drink because I cannot provide for my family."[11] Sometimes people are said to spend their time doing nothing and watching TV shows, hoping that they might be the lucky winner of raffle draws.[12]

FBOs are also aware of the lack of the basic infrastructure that is essential for well-being. Pastor Cesar notes that people in the slum communities are not eligible to have their own water and electric meters, therefore they cannot have their own water and electricity supply.[13] As a result, they have to buy water from those with a water supply at a higher cost (more than double the official cost).[14] Electricity is often tapped illegally with neighbours paying the one who ensures that the wire connection continues. In addition, when the illegal connection is caught, neighbours have to contribute to pay the bribe, so that the connection can be restored and continue.[15] According to Pastor Cesar, households in the community pay an average of P500 for electricity (about £8, 50p more than the daily minimum wage in Metro Manila), more expensive than the official average cost of electricity.[16]

The FBOs observe that the living conditions of people living in the slums along the *esteros* is particularly problematic and hazardous. In addition to what Pastor Cesar describes above, he describes how:

> On the *estero*, we walk on a wooden pathway built above the water. It became worn, torn and dilapidated through the years and many fell through that pathway including children. When there is a typhoon, the *estero* overflows and floods the area, washing away the shanties including the things inside, and at that time some babies fell into the water and drowned.[17]

8.2. HOLISTIC TRANSFORMATION DISCOURSE

8.2.1. FBO Development Work as Holistic Transformation

The understanding of FBOs and their community of what they aim to achieve is transformation. Transformation is viewed as a process of positive change, referring to being able to maximise one's full potential as designed by God. Respondents envision that transformation has taken place when there are "happy and united families" and different institutions, like the church, government, schools and others are working

[11] Field Notes TBHBBC (translation mine)
[12] Interview TBHBBC Pastor; Interview Reach Youth Leader
[13] Interview TBHBBC Pastor
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Interview TBHBBC Pastor (Translation mine)

together for the common good, including protection of the environment.[18] They believe transformation occurs when people become educated and aware of their rights and are able to assert these rights when needed.

For the FBOs, transformation must be holistic. For the members of the PCMN, the programs/ministry and services of their partners especially their church partners, must be holistic. The PCMN core values state, "[a]s a network we ensure that member organizations have programs and services that are innovative, holistic, responsive and culturally-sensitive".[19] A PCMN board member stated, "the ministry of the church in the community should be holistic".[20] Care Channels for example, identifies itself as "a non-profit organization that seeks to help the poor through a holistic approach".[21] A Care Channels leader explained that their "donors are looking out for the holistic help" that they provide.[22] The same can be said of Reach Youth and Vision of Hope. Holism characterises programs that are considered to address the economic, physical, mental (educational), socio-political, and spiritual needs of the people receiving help. For the respondents in this study, since poverty is complex and has different aspects, programs responding to it must be holistic. For example, Ptr. Cesar of TBHBBC uses the metaphor of the body of Christ to refer to the church, as it reaches out to people to connect them to the body of Christ. For him, the physical body is as important as the spiritual body. He explains:

> The church is the body [of Christ], the church needs to reach out those who are not yet connected to His body . . . the lost have to be connected. Because a person is a body, he/she is not a body that is only spiritual . . . [but] a physical body that can be touched . . . The Lord taught values, healed the sick or taught his followers to feed the hungry. [23]

The TBHBBC serves their community through a feeding program, Please Pass the Bread, in partnership with Care Channels and, through the BoH project in partnership with PCMN and other churches and FBNGOs. It includes giving relief and assistance to victims of disaster and training in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM). In their feeding program, they feed 150-200 children with rice and viand once a day for five days every week. The church volunteers gather underweight children and bring them to the feeding sites. At the sites, the children are required to attend and participate in the values education study program, which includes learning children's rights, training in DRRM, and Bible study. The parents of the children are encouraged to

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[18] Ibid.
[19] PCMN.
[20] Interview PCMN Board Member
[21] Organisational Profile Care Channels.
[22] Interview Care Channels Leader.
[23] Interview TBHBBC Pastor.

volunteer and, like their children, are required to attend and participate in the values education program, where they learn about moral values, the rights of their children, appropriate discipline for children, DRRM, and about the Bible. They can also become beneficiaries of the livelihood program of the church in partnership with Care Channels. As a church, they do not only focus on the spiritual development of the children and the community, but also on other aspects, such as the physical, mental, economic and social, making their work holistic.

For the Care Channels, the FBNGO partner of TBHBBC in their feeding program, their response to poverty is rooted in the teachings of Jesus, "when you did it to one of the least of these my brothers and sisters, you were doing it to me"[24] This compels them to respond to the needs of the community in a holistic manner. Their experience with the poor communities led them to create programs one after the other. As the Care Channels leader explains,

> So initially they started with the very first things that [were] identified, education sponsorship [because] many were out of school, but . . . that still [left] them hungry . . . and they're sick . . . because they were sick, they (Care Channels) provided medical and dental missions . . . and that still was not enough, they need food on the table, so they (Care Channels) started lending.[25]

In their practice, based on a holistic concept, Care Channels serves the community through education program – sponsorship and computer labs; health programs; livelihood programs - micro-enterprise and faith gardens; and community development.[26] Care Channels provides these programs though their church partners like the TBHBBC. Their church partners implement the programs of Care Channels in the community, especially the spiritual components of the programs. Care Channels believes that only through the church can their programs can be truly holistic because, while they provide resources for the programs, the church adds a spiritual component, therefore making the appropriate holistic.[27]

The TBHBBC's partner in their DRRM is PCMN who, while working in the area of the protection of children at risk from, for example, child abuse and children trafficking, saw also the need to respond to disaster, for it too puts children at risk. PCMN, through the Bearers of Hope project, in partnership with churches like TBHBBC and other FBNGOs, responded to the needs of victims of disaster. PCMN trained TBHBBC, together with the other members of BoH, to provide trainings and capacity building for communities in flood prone areas, to promote the protection of

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[24] Interview Care Channels Leader.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Organisational Profile Care Channels.
[27] Interview Care Channels Leader

children in times of disaster. For the PCMN national director, this holistic response to children at risk is a demonstration of their faith based on the epistle of James in the Bible, "the fruit of your faith is your works, show me your faith [without works] and I will show you [my faith through my] works".[28] The

PCMN member Lingap Pangkabataan (LP), like the Care Channels, bases their practice of holistic programs on the teaching of Jesus, "when you did it to one of the least of these my brothers and sisters, you were doing it to me"[29] For LP, the root cause of children's problems is the incapability of their families to support the development of their children. This incapability is not limited to physical, mental, emotional, social, and economic aspects, but also in their view, includes spiritual incapability. An LP leader explains: "The family is not supportive [or capable of supporting their children], they lack in giving the care and guidance needed by the children . . . the lack of spiritual values formation in the family, that is the real root of the problems and issues of children".[30]

In response to this incapability of families, LP developed and adopted a child-focussed community-based development program (CCDP) as their framework to address the needs of children.[31] The LP leader explains:

> [This program] does not only respond directly to the specific issues of children like education and child protection, but also to the other needs of the family so that the family can be supportive to their children not only in socio-emotional, cognitive, or physical aspects but also spiritual which is important. Because when it comes to child protection, we also look at the resiliency that is drawn from the strong spirituality of the child.[32]

Like the Care Channels, LP partners with churches in their education and child protection program. For LP, the church "provides [spiritual] support or facilitates [spiritual] development".[33] Their partnership with churches, according to the LP leader,

> It is not only limited to their being recipients or participants in a program, but begins from the identification of the needs of the children in a specific community. We involve them in the design and identifying resources so that the ministry of the project may be implemented. From the management to the evaluation of the project, we involve them. [34]

For LP, the work becomes holistic when it is designed and implemented in partnership with churches, because of the capability of the church, with the assistance of FBNGOs, to identify the problems and issues of a community since they are rooted in it.

[28] Interview PCMN Leader 1 (Translation mine)
[29] Interview LP Leader 1 (Translation mine)
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

In addition, such collaboration enhances true potential for sustainability. The LP leader explains,

> The churches have the capacity to design, to implement, to manage [projects]. All they need is to increase their awareness that they can do more than outreach or medical mission . . . The churches become more empowered, and in our experience, the projects are more sustainable when done in partnership with the churches. [They] design specific projects from needs analysis to the identification [of the problems or issues] and formulate strategies, they themselves can identify or respond to specific issues of children or of the community as whole because of their capability.[35]

The concept of holism in FBDW has religious and development characteristics that are intertwined with one another. Holism as an approach is rooted in the life and teachings of Christ in the Bible, the sacred text of the Christians. It is viewed as what Jesus did when he healed the sick, fed the hungry, took care of the oppressed and marginalised, and saved people from their sins. It is conceived of as an aspect of the gospel that Jesus preached and taught, the inauguration of the kingdom of God, the rule of God here on earth, said to be characterized by righteousness, justice, peace and equity. At the same time, holism includes development concepts, such are well-being, capability and freedom (rights) and is said to be about participation, empowerment and sustainability.

8.3. FAITH AND SPIRITUALITY DISCOURSE

The terms faith and spirituality, used interchangeably by the leaders, partners and volunteers in the FBOs studied, refer to their belief in God and the expressions of their belief. However, the term religion is avoided because of their claim that their faith in God is not a 'religion' but a relationship with God, while religion is associated with other faiths/religions. Addressing faith or spiritual needs is viewed by them to be critical in alleviating poverty and addressing these needs is perceived as lacking in non- faith-based development work. The leaders of the FBOs studied agree that the church is and should be the primary provider of the faith and spirituality components of development work. A PCMN leader explains: "I believe the churches are the ones mandated to really do the work of the ministry, I believe the CFBNGOs are just there because the churches failed in the mandate of God".[36] For Lingap Pangkabataan (LP), a PCMN FBO member, the church is the one which "provides [spiritual] support or facilitates [spiritual] development".[37] Similarly, a Care Channels leader states: "we cannot ignore the spiritual component . . . when we think of helping, when we think of human needs, there

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Interview PCMN Leader 1.
[37] Interview LP Leader 1

is always a spiritual component, and when we do [community work], the church is key".[38] In the case of Reach Youth and Visions of Hope, spiritual components are already embedded in their programs, although they still try to connect people in the areas where they work while at the same time establishing their own church (CCT, establishes church in every branch). Respondents' perspectives, as will be observed below, are also framed by their faith and spirituality. In the context studied, faith and spirituality are claimed to be in the lives of the beneficiaries of FBDW, but also in the lives of some doing FBDW. Respondents quoted scriptures as they expressed their views on the concepts related to FBDW.

The development work of FBOs thus becomes a place of religious expression. Volunteers, though not members of the same or any Christian church, are members of the FBDW community. In the case of TBHBBC, while non member volunteers are intentionally evangelised, by being required to attend values formation meetings that include Bible study, they are not forced or coerced to attend church activities or to convert.[39] For the leaders of the church, if volunteers convert, they most do it willingly. A church board member and coordinator of the feeding program narrates, "At the start they are not yet believers, but as they continue in the volunteer work, we share to them our faith, then they are changed . . . maybe they are observing us what kind of persons are we, they become influenced by the way we live".[40] For some volunteers, their participation in the study of the scriptures became the reason why they continue to volunteer. As one volunteer states, "when they shared [the scriptures] with me, I came to know the word of God and that was the reason I continued".[41]

The Evangelism in this context resembles the concept of evangelism that is presented by Posterski who differentiates evangelism from proselytism.[42] Posterski explained that evangelism is "viewed in today's world as a derogatory term . . . judged to be manipulative and abusive".[43] Instead he adopts Bosch's definition of evangelism,

> Evangelism means to tell the good news that Jesus saves. It means to invite men and women in the world to accept Christ as Savior. It means to inform them of the cost of following Jesus. Evangelism always aims at a discipleship, which in turn requires commitment to the purposes of the Kingdom in history.[44]

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[38] Interview Care Channels Leader.
[39] Field note Participant Observation TBHBBC 01.01.
[40] Interview TBHBBC Leader (Translation mine)
[41] Interview TBHBBC Volunteer 1 (Translation mine)
[42] Donald Posterski, "What on Earth Is Evangelism?," in *Part of the Problem, Part of the Solution: Religion Today and Tomorrow*, Sharma, Arvind (ed.) (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Publishing Group): 56
[43] Ibid.
[44] David Bosch, cited in Posterski, "What on Earth Is Evangelism?": 58

Posterski argues that the expression of a claim or belief that is observed in this definition is not limited to religion but is the same as the claims of advocates of rights, ecological advocacy and so on.[45] Also, he points out that evangelism is actually a "celebration of religious freedom", where everyone can express their beliefs and can identify themselves with what they believe without feeling apologetic.[46] While inter-religious dialogue was not observed in this study respect for and valuing of people of other faith does exist and is strongly advocated. It is possible that in the context of a FBD collaborative community, there is an opportunity to "give each other [a] social space, [a] cultural ground on which people can stand . . . [having] mutuality in relationships that can start with acceptance and move into honest exchange".[47]

8.4. COLLABORATION DISCOURSE

Collaboration and partnership between FBOs and congregations are strategies for achieving holism in the programs of both FBOs and churches. On the one hand, the development work of FBOs may become holistic as their partner congregations get involved in the implementation of programs in which spiritual component is integrated. The congregation is believed to be the main providers and facilitators of spiritual development. On the other hand, the development work of a congregation may become holistic when they partner with FBOs. As the congregation nurtures the spiritual life of a community, the resources and skills in development work of the FBOs allow the church to meet other needs.

The FBOs and congregations learn from one another as they interact. Interaction happens in practice during capacity building trainings, consultations, and participation in the process of designing projects. Better practices are adopted and duplicated while bad practices are corrected and eliminated. The Ptr. Cesar explaines:

> It was only during the time when we partnered with PCMN that we gained a deeper understanding [of the church's role in the community], we also learned about the rights [of children], about child sexual abuse. Because before, though we know that it is happening, we thought that it is the responsibility of the victim or the family of the victim to report it. But now, we (referring to the church) are raising awareness and advocating the law [rights of children]. [48]

While there is an imbalance of power between FBOs and congregations, FBOs also learn from the congregation, FBOss relying on a congregation's understanding/analysis of a local community. Also, this imbalance is addressed as

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[45] Posterski, "What on Earth Is Evangelism?"
[46] Ibid., 58
[47] Ibid., 60
[48] Interview TBHBBC Pastor (Translation mine)

leaders of congregations get involved in the process of designing a project. For the FBOs, involving a ongregation is a way of empowering the latter, thereby evening out the imbalance of power.

8.5. WELL-BEING DISCOURSE

Respondents in this study understand well-being as *ginhawa*. The concept *ginhawa* refers to a life absent of need and hardship where need is not limited to economic and material needs but includes mental, emotional, social, and spiritual needs. It also refers to having access to good education and health facilities, peace and order, rights and justice. This perception reflects earlier findings on Filipinos' concept of well-being.[49] Respondents associate *ginhawa* with the Biblical concept of *shalom,* which means wholeness and being blessed in all aspects of life. It is therefore their view that God is the source of *ginhawa* or *kaginhawaan.*

8.6. CHARACTERISTICS OF DEVELOPMENT WORK OF FBOS

8.6.1. Religion and development are integrated

While scholars like Ter Haar, writing from a development perspective, proposes that religion must be viewed as an integral part of people's lives,[50] FBD views development as integral to religion, for faith without works is dead (Jas. 2:20). Faith-based development as holistic mission and transformation does not only involve the spiritual, non-material and future, but also the physical, material, social and present. Though there was a time in the evangelical history when development was viewed as irrelevant to religion, as with the debates on the relationship of social action/responsibility with evangelism, later consultations advanced an integrated view of religion and development. With regard to the issue of the relationship between evangelism and social action, though they are distinct from one another, "evangelism, even when it does not have a primary social intention, nevertheless has a social dimension, while social responsibility, even when it does not have a primarily evangelistic intension, nevertheless has an evangelistic dimension".[51] In addition, transformation became

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[49] Lyna Sycip, Maruja Milagros Asis, Emmanuel Luna, "The Measurement of Filipino Well-Being: Findings from the Field" in Consuelo J. Paz, ed., *Essays on Well-Being, Opportunity/destiny, and Anguish* (Quezon City, Philippines: UP Press, 2008).
[50] Gerrie ter Haar, "Religion and Development : Inftroducing a New Debate," in *Religion and Development : Ways of Transforming the World*, ter Haar, Gerrie (London: Hurst & Company, 2011)
[51] John Stott and Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, *Making Christ Known*

understood as “to enable God's vision of society to be actualised in all relationships, social, economic, and spiritual”.[52]

8.6.2. Faith-based development interprets the society in relation to the God and the scriptures - Transcendent.

Societal issues, the vision and process of transformation, the nature of the Christian mission, are all interpreted in the light of the scriptures and in relation to God. This is evident in the declarations and consultation documents. This view of society in relation to the scriptures and to God is also reflected. For example, a Micah Challenge officer in the Philippines, when asked to define poverty, cited first bible references and teaching on the poor and explained how Christians must respond to the issue of poverty. He states,

> The bible tells that Jesus ministered to the poor . . . It was the Catholics who used the term ‘preferential option for the poor’. . . we read also in the bible that as early as the New Testament church . . . James was writing that the church should be able to take care of the less fortunate members of the church, the orphans, the widows, and actually it is a critique against particular well off sections of the church who were indifferent to the needs of the poor, it was also told that it was an issue of faith, what kind of faith would the person have if he says ok I hope you get fed and somebody will give you clothing and I'll pray for you and that's it, and James actually made it an issue of faith, it's a dead faith because it does not result in action . . . God is expecting us, specifically the Christians, to tangibly help the poor in the material aspects of life, so , poverty, typically, as reflected in those passages and mandates has to do mostly with the condition of a certain class of people with no access to make their lives meaningful or better or at least with dignity.[53]

Development technologies are also reinterpreted to be able to relate it to the Transcendent. Deneulin and Bano state,

> This gives them a more absolute, universal and time-resistant character than non-religious traditions of thought. The fundamental agreement that societies ought to be arranged around the idea of individual freedom is relatively recent and limited to western societies. Whereas once the fundamental agreement that characterizes religious traditions is established (with the birth of Christ or Allah's Revelation to Mohammad), it is independent of time and space even if the concrete embodiment of that agreement in practices and institutions is not.[54]

8.6.3. Faith-based development is holistic

Faith-based development involves a holistic view of human needs which include reconciliation with God, one's self, the society and creation, a need that can only be met through the integration of evangelism and discipleship and social action. A holistic approach also understands and takes seriously the complexities of life and society, that religion, culture, social structures and institutions are embedded in a society and that the

[52] Sugden, *Gospel,* 7
[53] Interview MC 1
[54] Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development,* 63

transformation of society can only take place through the demonstration of God's love and power through the lives of those who believe. God's love and power at work in the lives of the believers is demonstrated in their compassion and mercy, sensitivity and respect.

8.7. INSTITUTIONS

The themes that emerged from the texts based on the practices/actions of the community doing development, including holism, integration, transformation, contribute to broader discourses. Discourses on these themes are coherent and structured, receiving more support and less contestation from broader discourses, and following the logic of communication, and are highly institutionalised in the FBDW of the FBOs under study. However, inviting more churches to participate remains a challenge. Some of the leaders of the FBOs under study belong to big denominations in the Philippines and some attend Mega Churches. As expressed by the FBO leaders, the leaders of the denomination or mega church where they belong know what they are doing, but do not really understand the values of the work as how FBOs doing FBDW perceive it.

8.8. CONCLUSION

The FBDW of the FBOs studied appropriates, contests, or transforms institutionalised development discourse and practices. They use their background ideation abilities in selecting what to adopt and why, either because it gives them a strategic advantage or to increase their legitimacy. Contestation and transformation take place as actors use their foreground discursive abilities, not only in representing ideas and action in (via text) discourse, but also with the use of persuasion following the logic of communication. FBDW practice, produce text, which in turn becomes part of broader discourses, either affirming or contesting these discourses, resulting in either creation, maintenance or changing of institutions.

Chapter 9: Summary and Conclusion

9.1. SUMMARY

In Chapter 1, the problem pursued in this study is presented. This study asks the question, how and why faith-based organisations appropriate, translate and transform circulating and institutionalised development discourses. While it is the interest of post-development to inquire how local communities appropriate, translate and transform development discourses, leading to the construction of alternative views and practices of development, the sole voice of religious organisations in this area is rarely recognised. In Chapter 2, a review of literature is presented. The concepts religion, development, post-development, faith-based organisations are discussed and defined. In addition, the concepts of discourse and institutions are reviewed. This chapter provides a basis for formulating the theoretical and analytical framework utilized in this study, as discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 states the methodological paradigm of this study, that is an interpretivist paradigm using a qualitative case study approach. In Chapter 5, the context of the study, which is the Philippines, is discussed, in Chapter 6, the organizational and program characteristics of PCMN and an analysis of the dimensions of community and practice (action) is presented. Chapter 7 the organizational and program characteristics of Tondo Blessed Hope, Care Channels, Reach Youth, and Visions of Hope and an analysis of the dimensions community and practice (action) is presented. In Chapter 8 an analysis of the dimensions of discourse and institutions is presented.

In the analysis of the dimension of religion and development, this study finds that: First, FBOs (development actors) claim membership or affinity to multiple communities. As they identify with a particular group of people, they become part of an organisational field where ideas and discourses circulate, and are translated and transformed. In the case of Tondo Blessed Hope and the local church partners of PCMN and Care Channels; they became identified with an FBO community; were introduced to discourses used by FBOs (development discourses); and adopted, translated, and edited/transformed them into models, another discourse, or action by incorporating it into their religious discourses and practices. Most of the FBO actors identify the people they serve as their community. Being part of the same organisational field as those they were serving allowed the FBOs to translate and circulate their discourses within the field, in which

other FBOs may imitate. In the case of Reach Youth, Care Channels and Visions of Hope, in identifying themselves as FBOs allowed them to interact with other FBOs to get acquainted with 'current trends' in development thinking and approaches that they were able to imitate, translate and transform. Second, FBOs development practices/action include community development, social services and advocacy activities. Action also includes how development activities are implemented, and how development practices are incorporated to local church practices, such as the practice of participation and accountability. Third, for the FBOs in the study, the institutionalised discourses that frame their practice/action are holistic mission, church unity and collaboration, and transformation. In the same way, the actions of the FBOs studied produced texts on holistic mission, church unity and collaboration, and transformation that may contribute to the maintenance or transformation of institutionalised discourses. Being the child protection arm of the Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches, the texts produced by PCMN (which include report on partnerships with Tondo Blessed Hope and Visions of Hope, annual reports and program reports to funders,) are presented to national and international consultations that they facilitate or participate annually.

9.2. CONCLUSION

This study investigated closely the development work of FBOs in the Philippines, particularly those working in the slums of Metro Manila, the capital city. It is the conclusion of this study that FBOs incorporated development programs in their work as a result of their experience of encountering poverty and that their practices of evangelism and discipleship were viewed inadequate in responding to the needs of the poor. These development programs are institutionalised discourses (i.e. models or strategies or innovations) diffused through FBO networks like PCMN. As FBOs put these development programs (models) into action, they translated or edited these programs to fit their context. Because they believed that their practices must reflect their religious discourses (scripture and doctrine), they incorporated religious elements, such as prayer, singing of Christian songs, Bible storytelling, and Bible studies in their implementation of development programs. In doing so, their program implementation was different from the original model.

Post development emphasises the processes of appropriating, contesting, resisting, and creating or producing. When these FBOs were translating or editing, they were also appropriating aspect of the development program that they believe may be beneficial in

their context, and were also contesting and resisting what they believe may harm their community. By translating or editing, FBOs created something new, something that can be considered as an alternative to development.

Development work is not a typical practice for church congregations. With new practices, FBOs rationalised their action by drawing from their religious discourses, particularly discourses emphasising the holistic aspect of the Gospel and the mission of the church, and using it to explain their development work. The leaders of the FBOs cited scripture references as they explain that incorporating community development work or social services in their practice is the application (materialisation/action) of what the Bible teaches (discourse).

Because these FBOs were incorporating development activities in their practice, they began to identify with other FBOs doing development work. They then became part of an FBO community. Within such a community, organisations share frames of meaning and institutional environment within an organisational field, where development ideas and discourses circulate. Development discourses circulating in the form of models, strategies, frameworks or programs, within this (FBO community) organisational field provide alternative discourses that can be points of reference for their attempts to address poverty amongst the people they serve. FBOs, as sentient actors imitate those who they identify with and desire to be like. Using their background ideation abilities, FBO actors chose what development discourse they wanted to imitate, translate or edit/transform.

Integrating development discourses into their religious discourses allowed the FBOs under study to re-shape their identity, resulting to the integration of development work in their practice. The development work they do is a product of a translation and editing process, through which they have contextualised the development models that they have received, because they believed that they needed to re-formulate and present the models in ways that would reflect their religious identity. As FBOs do development work, they are confronted by reality in their practice and as a result need to adjust the models they use. FBOs need to make sense of the new things that they are doing and seek legitimacy, so they talk about them, and sometimes write them into stories. As FBOs tell their stories or explain their development practices, they emphasised the importance of the spiritual aspect of their work such as prayer and the study of scripture. In doing so, they became engaged in affirming or contesting existing discourses (such as holistic transformation discourse, or religion and development discourse), or in constitution of new discourses (new innovation or model). Also, as FBOs shared their

stories, whether orally or in written form such as in reports, they were producing texts. As these texts circulated through networks, some may be noticed by other actors, especially when they are marked as success stories, and get imitated or translated. Some of those circulating are contested, while some may be accepted, translated into a model and shared with actors in a broader context, some or many of which may adopt this model. As adopters increase, the model becomes a new institutionalised discourse. Hence, through this process, the translation and transformation of institutionalised development discourse take place.

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Interviews

Philippine Children Ministries Network:

National Director: Fe Foronda

Founder Board member: Pine Gutierrez

Community Network leader 1: Obet Awa-ao

Community Network leader 2: Norman Joel Candano

Network member 1: Cathy Eder

Network member 2: Consuelo Gantero

Tondo Blessed Hope:

Pastor Cezar Lubrico

Leader (Dr.): Dr. Jocelyn Ilagan

Leader 1: Danilo Pancho,

Leader 2: Memelin Pancho

Volunteer 1: Diding Kababad

Volunteer 2: Riza Pahimnayan

Care Channels:

National Director: Dr. Mayin Vilar

Reach Youth:

Managing Director: Joy Reyes

Staff: Veron Cruz

Visions of Hope:

Executive Director: Arlene Sy

Staff 1: Lanilyn Solis

Staff : 2 Mike Miyah

Group interview and FGO

Tondo Bless Hope Volunteers: Volunteer 3, Volunteer 4, Volunteer 5, Volunteer 6

Reach Youth Volunteers: Jelo Bantigue, Auberry Gil, Jeca Cayetano, Jaime Mercurio

Local Network

Local Network officers 1: Rei Crizaldo

Local Network member 1: Jon Soriano