THE CALL TO THE FILIPINO DIASPORA: LOCAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN GEOGRAPHY
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

OCTOBER 2020

Abstract

Answering the Cry of the Poor (ANCOP) is an NGO operating in Canada and the Philippines. ANCOP, under the Catholic lay organization Couples for Christ (CFC) have a community development program where it builds villages for the poor and offers free housing to selected beneficiaries. It accomplishes this by drawing on donations from, among other sources, the Filipino-Canadian diaspora, utilizing its transnational networks to redistribute wealth. This raises the question of what type of local development is being constructed through such transnational philanthropy? I argue that ANCOP's practices can be situated as a governmentalizing process that creates and enforces specific religious and middle-class subjectivities through the structures of power that are enacted by its leadership, members and benefactors. Additionally, this research highlights the role of transnational religious organizations in contributing to development in the Philippines and in creating transnational economic practices beyond individual remittances whose impact is already well known.

Acknowledgements

During my time as a graduate student, I have received a tremendous amount of support throughout my journey, and I'm grateful to the many people who made this journey possible.

Firstly, I would like to thank the wonderful people at *Answering the Cry of the Poor* in Toronto for introducing me to their global communities and assisting me throughout my fieldwork.

I'm also grateful to *Couples for Christ International* and its members for letting me stay in their villages and for helping me find my way around in the Philippines. I will never forget those that I met along the way as it made my journey even more exciting, enjoyable and informative. I hope that one day I can see you all again.

This extensive project would not have been possible without the generous contributions from the Canada-Philippines Alternative Transnational Economies Project at York University and Vivienne Poy for the financial awards, which went a long way in helping me complete my research.

I would also like to acknowledge my supervisor, Dr. Philip Kelly, for his unwavering support during my writing period and for putting up with my countless questions before and during my time as a graduate student in the Department of Geography. Without your support and guidance, I would not be where I am today. From the bottom of my heart, *thank you.*

I'm grateful to my committee members for helping me think more critically about my work and offering different insights. Thank you to Dr. Peter Vandergeest for his continued guidance during my writing process, offering his valuable time and input. Thank you to Dr. Luin Goldring, who asked thought-provoking questions and for introducing me to intriguing research during my undergrad that inspired me to pursue graduate studies at York.

Also, thank you to Alicia at the York Centre for Asian Research and Yvonne from the Department of Geography, who provided me with assistance and important reminders that helped keep me on track and made graduate school navigable and bearable.

Lastly, this journey would not have been possible without the support of my friends and family. Thank you to my family in Canada and the Philippines for providing me with the necessary information and resources to help me navigate my home away from home – the Philippines. Thank you to my partner Mia Sara for giving me input and emotional support during my writing process and to all my friends who lent an ear to my rambling.

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Acronyms

ANCOP	Answering the Cry of the Poor
ANGOC	Asian NGO Coalition
CARP	Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program
CFC	Couples for Christ
CLP	Christian Life Program
GK	Gawad Kalinga
LGU	Local Government Unit
MOA	Memorandum of Agreement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
OFW	Overseas Filipino Worker
PO	People's Organization
PSA	Philippine Statistics Authority

Chapter One - Introduction

1.1 Thesis Overview

While the Philippines is an increasingly developed nation according to conventional measures, many of its people are still left in poverty. Many private, non-governmental organizations are operating in the Philippines to provide different types of poverty relief, especially as the Philippine state remains mostly ineffective in providing assistance. This thesis will investigate development mobilized by a transnational religious organization operating in the Philippines. Specifically, my focus is on the Catholic lay organization 'Couples for Christ'(CFC) and their sub-organization called 'Answering the Cry of the Poor' (ANCOP). They raise funds around the world through chapters located in Canada, the United States, Europe, Australia and other places. Their programs, such as child sponsorships and community development, are mainly focused on the Philippines but also extend to other beneficiaries around the world. CFC was founded in 1981 in the Philippines as '*Ang Ligaya ng Panginoon*', meaning 'Joy in the Lord'. Its goal was to renew society with Christian goals and to do so meant bringing parents and their families closer to Christianity - hence 'Couples for Christ'. Today, CFC's purpose remains the renewal and strengthening of Christian family life. To fulfill this goal, ANCOP was created to address issues of poverty, while at the same time forming Christian values through values formation programs that are integrated into their projects.

This thesis will primarily analyze CFC/ANCOP's community development program, which involves the construction of villages in the Philippines as a development strategy for addressing poverty and creating religious subjectivities among beneficiaries. The type of development that the organization fosters is transnational, as resources from abroad, including both money and labour, are mobilized. By researching this organization and its practices, I hope

to address how local level development in the Philippines is influenced by transnational processes and religious values, which then have the effect of creating specific identities or subjectivities among individuals who participate in such programs.

As noted, CFC/ANCOP operates a global network from which it draws its donations, but this research is limited to studying the types of development that are funded by the Canadian ANCOP/CFC chapters and will primarily focus on their community development program.

1.2 Research Significance

The terms non-profit organization (NPO) and non-governmental organization (NGO) elicit many positive sentiments – sentiments that often critically ignore underlying issues that arise from their programs and/or practices. For me, I had understood NPOs and NGOs as positive social forces that fill in the gaps where demands for assistance had mainly been unanswered and unfulfilled. NPOs, and most NGOs, are after all not-for-profit, and therefore would operate out of selflessness to help those in need. However, this limited view ignores the potential outcomes of certain programs of these organizations. While the outcomes may either be positive or negative, depending on how one views them, it is important to see how the outcomes are met, what methods are used, and what is sacrificed. This study contributes to the overall literature on transnational and religiously-inspired development practices, while at the same time contributing to the critical development literature by examining the outcomes of such development through the concept of governmentality. Outcomes motivated through a particular set of beliefs, can lead to the reproduction and enforcement of a specific set of subjectivities that result in a change of behaviour and attitudes. Therefore, this research can provide an insight into development

practices that work for local communities in uplifting conditions of poverty, while also being critical of the possible outcomes of such practices. This study also highlights the role of transnational religious organizations in development practices. The research can also contribute to literature on religiously-driven development practices, which are not often discussed in research on remittance practices in the Philippines.

1.3 Research Questions

Through religiously inspired Filipino-Canadian transnational practices, what forms of local development are created in the Philippines? This question will be addressed by using a conceptual framework that draws upon literature relating Foucauldian governmentality and literature on diasporas, religious discourse and middle-class formation.

A series of secondary questions flow from my primary question:

a. How does the religious underpinning of CFC/ANCOP shape the model of development that they apply to their villages? With CFC and ANCOP being religious organizations, how are their values and mission statements reflected in their development program?

b. Who is included as ANCOP beneficiaries and who is not, and how are people shaped in the process of religiously motivated development assistance? What are the requirements for people to become potential ANCOP beneficiaries and how are they subsequently shaped?

c. Where do ANCOP villages operate and why? How do the characteristics of places play a role when deciding on locations for villages?

d. What ongoing role do diaspora communities play in the creation and life of the village? Are Canadian sponsors/donors continuously playing a role in the villages they helped create?

In answering these research questions, my thesis explores the outcomes of religiously inspired, transnational development programs and contends that they are deeply rooted in governmentalizing, subjectivity-forming processes. These processes are motivated by a religious discourse that CFC/ANCOP presents to its members. Development programs are also highly selective, where beneficiaries must meet certain requirements to live in villages that are provided free of charge.

1.4 Motivation for the Research

There have been many studies that have documented the importance of acknowledging positionality and practicing reflexivity in research. It is important to not conceal the position of the researcher, and thus the work, and instead these should be reflected upon and stated within the research to reveal the politics and standpoint of the researcher (Rogers, Castree, Kitchin 2013). In the spirit of transparent knowledge production, I will unpack my identity and positionality so anybody engaging in this research will be able to better evaluate its merits. This research is inspired by my personal journey in understanding my home away from home – the Philippines. I call it my home away from home because I acknowledge that it is my ancestral homeland, the place that most of my family were born in. For me, I was born in the Philippines, in the city of Manila. However, I also acknowledge that Canada is also my home, as I have lived

in it for much of my life. I am reminded of this dichotomy through my encounters with other first-generation Filipinos who ask:

> '*saan ka pinanganak?' ('where were you born?')*, in which I would respond *'sa manila, pero lumaki ako dito sa Canada' (In manila, but I grew up here in Canada).*

This question has resonated with me for a long time as I began to question my own identity – was I Filipino or was I Canadian? Through my experience as an undergraduate at York University studying topics such as refugee and migration, I have come to accept that I am a Canadian more so than I am a Filipino. Answering this question however did not satisfy me, as I became more curious about the Philippines, a country in which stories of my past originate – how is it so that my family can recount stories of the Philippines, but I can not? This burning curiosity has led me to pursue a personal journey in understanding my home away from home. To remedy this curiosity, over the past eight years, I have made several trips to the Philippines for different purposes. Many of these trips were for superficial purposes, like going on a vacation to tourist destinations and during these vacations, my mother would often reminisce about her past:

> *'anak, ang swerte ka, kasi lumaki ka sa Canada at hindi dito sa Pilipinas' ('Son, You're lucky because you grew up in Canada and not here in the Philippines').*

Of course, this made me even more curious, as I lived in Canada for most of my life and wanted to know what it meant to live in the Philippines. This prompted me to make trips to the Philippines where I would live on my own to experience the Philippines on a more personal level. These solo trips presented me with the opportunity to learn about the Philippines and its politics and culture. The point that I am making here is that my position is as an outsider in the Philippines. I come from a middle-class Filipino-Canadian family, raised by parents born in the Philippines while living in Canada with a hybrid Filipino-Canadian upbringing. In this personal journey, I realize that I do not have much knowledge coming into the Philippines, hence my repeated visits to better understand it. Growing up, the transnational links between the Philippines and Canada have always interested me. I am part of my family's first generation in Canada, which makes certain transnational links with the Philippines very evident. My family would often send *'balikbayan' boxes (return home)*, which in simple terms, involves gathering material goods and monetary resources to be sent over to the Philippines. As a child, I would always wonder why my family had boxes stacked up from the floor to ceiling in our house. They would sit in our storage room for months on end until they finally disappeared, and the process would start again. I realized their purpose when my mother told me that we were sending them to our family in the Philippines, which made me surprised because they were not known to me. Perhaps it was these transnational practices that occurred in my early life that made me curious about transnationalism and my role and other Filipinos' involvement in society in the Philippines. Taking into account my positionality as an individual, who is on the sending end of these transnational links, I am curious to see how these remittances through forms of monetary resources, material goods, social ideas and so on, are materialized and used in the Philippines. More specifically, given my educational background in Human Rights and Equity Studies, I am

interested in the forms of development in developing nations such as the Philippines, which are realized as a result of transnational links. However, I also want to understand the implications of such development, as certain transnational links are politically and socially rooted – a point that becomes evident in the empirical chapters of this thesis.

CFC/ANCOP encompass several characteristics that satisfy my curiosity for learning more about the Philippines. They operate around the world; however, I am mainly interested in development practices materialized by Canada's collective donations that shape social landscapes in the Philippines. I chose to research them because they are a transnational organization that draws upon resources from the Filipino-Canadian diaspora. I am interested in their humanitarian work that utilizes these resources through the building of communities for the poor in the Philippines, in which ANCOP is primarily based. These characteristics make ANCOP a good example that shows how transnational links between Canada and the Philippines are realized through forms of local community development. An example of this are the villages whose construction is supported from Canada, where donations are (generally) gathered from the Filipino-Canadian diaspora through fundraising efforts. In analyzing ANCOP's materialization of these transnational links, it provides important insights into the outcomes that are created by private, NPOs and NGOs, such as CFC and ANCOP. Thus, I believe that researching this well-established organization could lead to further research that illustrates the processes, results and implications of programs outside of well-known remittance practices, while adding to my knowledge of my home away from home.

1.5 Format of the Thesis

This section will provide a brief overview of the chapters within the thesis that will answer the research questions that were laid out earlier in the introduction.

Chapter 2 – Conceptual Framework: In this chapter, I outline the guiding theoretical concepts that are used to analyze the data in the empirical chapters. The framework consists of an analysis of Foucauldian governmentality that helps frame the argument that development can come with strings attached that govern, discipline and regulate. This chapter is supplemented by areas of literature that include religion and diasporas, as they are useful in situating CFC/ANCOP as an organization and are also interrelated with governmentality.

Chapter 3 – Methodology: In this chapter, I lay out the methodological approaches that I took during the research project. An emphasis is placed on the importance of my conduct and positionality in obtaining data in the field.

Chapter 4 – Contextualizing Development in Philippine Society: In this chapter, I provide a broad outline of Philippine society. It starts with a historical overview of Philippine development that investigates the roles and actors engaged in colonial development processes in order to situate the Philippine political economy in the present. Next, the chapter looks at the crucial role of civil society due to the inadequacies of the state in responding to various social issues. The role of religion in the Philippines is also analyzed as it has a significant impact on Philippine society, influencing broader political and social discourses. Lastly, the Filipino diaspora is also investigated, as it is considered as a major driving force of development and economy of the

Philippines. By analyzing these main areas, the chapter looks to provide an insight into the development processes in the Philippines, which help situate the existence of organizations like CFC/ANCOP.

Chapter 5 – ANCOP The Call to the Filipino Diaspora: This chapter is the first empirical chapter that provides an extensive account of the organization that forms the focus of this study. It will outline the inner processes behind ANCOP's development programs, and how villages become materialized. It will also analyze the role of the Filipino diaspora in the organization and the lives of their beneficiaries.

Chapter 6 – Life in an ANCOP Village: Control over Conduct and Middle-Class Formation: This is the final empirical chapter and provides an insight into the everyday lives of ANCOP beneficiaries in two different ANCOP villages. It provides evidence of the governmentalizing processes occurring in the village that attempt to ascribe certain subjectivities and alter the behaviours and attitudes of the beneficiaries.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion and Discussion: This last chapter considers the findings and summarizes the research and relates them back to the theoretical concepts put forward in Chapter Two. It also puts forward suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two – Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline and explain relevant theories that are used in this thesis, situating CFC/ANCOP's programs and practices as governmentalizing processes that ascribe a set of subjectivities on their beneficiaries that seek to change their behaviours and identities. Therefore, Foucauldian governmentality will be the main theoretical concept that will be drawn upon in this chapter, but I will also acknowledge existing literature on religion and the diaspora in development contexts, which are interrelated with governmentalizing processes.

2.2 Governmentality and Subjectivity Formation

Governmentality is an important concept that helps frame the argument that philanthropy come with strings attached – governmentalizing, disciplining and regulating strings. Put simply, according to Tania Li, governmentality is defined as "the attempt to shape human conduct by calculated means" (2007: 275). Within the context of government, the concern lies within the wellbeing of the population in relation to wealth, longevity and health (Foucault, 1991 as cited in Li, 2008). Achieving certain goals, however, requires the governing of conduct. Li argues that it is not possible to regulate individual actions in minute detail, but instead the government achieves governmentality by "educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs" (Li, 2007: 275). In doing so, government achieves power not through physical force but from a distance where individuals are unaware of how their conduct is being monitored and regulated. In this sense, the configuration of habits and the education of desires are artificially arranged through a process of normalization, where individuals, while following their own 'self-interest', "do as they ought" (Scott, 1995: 202). This is not to say that this governmentalizing process is

limited to the government, but instead extends to other areas. According to Foucault, the governmentalizing process is a distinct mode of exercising power and is not reducible to just the state but to a wide array applications outside of the political realm (Smith, 2010).

In presenting Foucault's concept of governmentality, Li discusses how governance and control over conduct can be achieved by applying strategies and techniques that configure habits, aspirations and beliefs. The same strategies and techniques can be applied to various organizations and institutions that operate under a certain mandate or goal. For example, programs have goals that need to be met, which are accompanied by various strategies and techniques that are deployed in order to meet that goal. The population that these programs are applied to are linked together by common problems, which are then linked to mechanisms that attempt to address these problems (Li, 2007). Governmentality opens a line of inquiry and empirical analysis that attempt to outline the outcomes of governing behaviour. Governmentality and the subsequent subjectivities that are formed are found in various contexts in the development studies literature, especially where it discusses subjectivity and identity formation that is achieved through the governance of behaviour (Li, 2007; Rankin; 2001).

Li (2007) discusses the World Bank's Social Development Program in Indonesia and provides an analysis of the governmentalizing aspects behind it. She states that the ends sought by a program should not necessarily be condemned, as they can lead to a higher quality of life. However, she contends that despite the benevolence of such programs, we should not ignore the element of power behind them (Li, 2007). In her analysis of the Social Development Program in Indonesia, she stated that officials from the World Bank asserted themselves as the experts of optimal forms of development who decided what should and should not be included in development programs. The World Bank intervention was in response to the New Order in

Indonesia, which emerged from President Suharto's rise in 1966 and his creation of a regime that "damaged village life, where villagers became passive and ignorant of their rights, became accustomed to corruption and diminished their capacity to mobilize their own resources" (Li, 2007: 239). In this case, a population is identified that is linked together by common problems, and a program is created by the World Bank to address the problem. The Bank focused on regulating the conduct of villagers, who were framed as communities that were capable, but impaired, thus allowing the World Bank to govern through community (Li, 2007: 239). In doing so, it would help establish communities as being empowered by managing their own projects and conflicts and in turn reforming the state from the ground up (Li 2007). Through Li's work, it is apparent that governmentalizing power is behind certain development programs that can shape and form neoliberal subjectivities.

Another example of governmentality is found in Katherine Rankin's (2001) work on microcredit programs and the governmental strategies in Nepal. These microcredit programs are framed as ways of allowing people to free themselves from poverty, by allowing them to participate in the global economic market through personal enterprise. Rankin identifies the changes in participants of microcredit programs as they become people with more social rights, but they also have more responsibilities for themselves and their families (Rankin, 2001). The significance in this is the governmentalizing power behind the program, as it seeks to change people and their everyday lives, as they adopt an increasing capitalistic ideal of themselves. Rankin further establishes the context of microcredit programs in Nepal by outlining the 'deprived sector regulations' that required banks to contribute to the development of those who are in the disadvantaged rural sector, allowing farmers to acquire credit. These lending programs were intended to increase aspects of community development, such as technical training and

infrastructure improvement and to create income-generating enterprises (Rankin, 2001). Governance of the rural sector through economic means is detailed by the National Planning Commission who stated: “So we must make sure that the liberalization process gives more, not less, importance to the rural sector, so that the majority of the population does not remain outside the institutional credit system, and outside the benefits of liberalization” (Rankin, 2001: 25). This example serves to reinforce the main idea of incorporating those in the rural sector into the credit system thereby ascribing neoliberal capitalist subjectivities on these individuals. One interesting outcome of governmentalization and subjectivity formation under this program was the feminization of microcredit, where women became the “desired beneficiaries and agents of progress” (Rankin, 2001: 19). An outcome that arose is that these programs allowed women in agrarian societies to become more empowered through entrepreneurship and redefine traditional norms. However, it is also important to note that the feminization of these microcredit programs is motivated in part by financial concerns as women were more likely to pay back their loans (Rankin, 2001). This type of development had led to the shaping of entrepreneurial subjectivities for women who were equipped with resources to participate in the global economic system. By framing this development through social justice and empowerment, microcredit programs were able to ascribe capitalist subjectivities and shifted the onus of prosperity onto the people themselves. As Tania Li noted, although the benevolence of such programs can be applauded, we should not ignore the element of power that lies behind these programs, and as Katherine Rankin has demonstrated, programs have the ability to govern conduct and ascribe subjectivities and form identities that follow a certain discourse.

Discourse is a powerful concept that can reveal what guides and influences governmental and non-governmental programs and practices. Through discourse, certain meanings,

representations, and identities are produced and make possible political and social outcomes. In this sense, reality is produced through a specific set of practices and interventions (Gregory, 2009). Arturo Escobar uses the concept of discourse to analyze global development thinking coming out of the 1950s. Escobar sees development as being historically produced through a discourse, which helps understand why countries are either labeled developed or underdeveloped (Escobar, 1995). The label of being 'underdeveloped' thus turned the poor into 'the assisted' which authorized the West to intervene under the banner of alleviating poverty and underdevelopment. Capitalism was presented as the solution to these problems and thereby "created consumers and transformed society by turning the poor into objects of knowledge and management (Escobar, 1995: 23). Escobar uses Colpmbia as an example of an underdeveloped nation targeted to become more developed by institutions like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), whose name hints to the governmentalizing power behind it (Escobar, 1995). The goal of this institution in Colombia called for improvements and reforms in major areas of the economy. These interventions required planning and the utilization of science and technology, which had supposedly shown their usefulness in the West (Escobar, 1995). Escobar describes this implementation of development in Colombia as conforming to the expectations of the West, which the West sees as part of the normal course of evolution and progress, thus becoming a normalizing force around the world (Escobar, 1995: 26). Escobar demonstrates the power behind discourse where it can influence governmentalizing behaviour and interventions, which consequently shaped the subjectivities of the individuals in nations labeled as 'underdeveloped'. He bluntly states that the discourse of development that emerged in the 1950s became commonplace, to the point that governments subjected their people to intervention, as they thought of themselves as inferior, underdeveloped and doubted their own

cultures, deciding to "pledge allegiance to the banners of reason and progress" (Escobar, 1995: 52). Discourse, therefore, is a powerful social force that provides a framework for governmentalization and subjectivity formation. Such discourse is seemingly commonplace in present developmental programs taking place around the world.

Governmentality, subjectivities and discourse are important guiding concepts for this thesis. Like the development processes that were discussed by Li and Rankin, governmentality can create specific subjectivities for individuals, which are guided and influenced by a specific discourse. Processes of governmentalization and subjectivity formation can be seen in the deployment of a religious discourse. In this thesis, I will suggest that the development programs of CFC/ANCOP have the power to create specific religious subjectivities in their villages through a governmental atmosphere that is guided by a religious discourse. As part of CFC's mission to evangelize, individuals are renewed with Christian values or are converted along with their immediate family members. Their behaviour is often monitored throughout their tenure in the village and they are expected to conduct their lives accordingly. It is important to note however, that these development programs should not always be condemned, as they may be beneficial to some. However, as Tania Li emphasizes, there is still a need to be critical in examining the power structures in place and understanding who dictate what development practices occur in these villages.

In the sections that follow, I discuss other areas of literature that elaborate on some of the specific discourses that CFC/ANCOP uses. These relate to religious development, and diaspora-driven development. These areas of literature are important to consider, as they are interrelated with the argument that philanthropy comes with strings attached, strings that are governmentalizing, regulating and disciplining. In acknowledging these areas, it provides

insights into how they contribute to development and have governmentalizing and subjectivity forming aspects.

2.3 Religious Development

Liberation Theology has inspired religious development programs around the world having originated from Latin America in the 1950s as a reaction to issues of social injustice suffered by the marginalized members of society. Liberation Theology is a critique of 'market idolatry' and 'structural sin' and seeks preferential treatment for the poor (Andrade, 2017, p. 621). This idea became useful in addressing social inequalities because it would take ideas of assisting the poor from Christian doctrine then apply them to everyday life. Liberation Theology provides a framework for implementing Christian values in communities to address poverty while advancing the ideas of Christianity. For example, liberation theologians traced their roots back to religious officials that spoke against social injustices under Spanish and American colonialism and thus church workers believed they could change "structural roots of poverty and create a community more oriented toward justice" (Holden & Nadeau, 2010: 91). In this sense, the morals and values found in the Christian values are materialized and put into action by actors involved within the movement.

Similarly, the Basic Ecclesial Communities (BEC) movement that emerged in Latin America helped the Church better relate with the poor on the neighbourhood level. One of the goals of these communities was to allow people to come together to form and exchange their ideas and experiences in light of the bible. In one study a survey conducted with BEC participants found that they participated in masses, bible classes, Christian formation and other social activities like social action work and justice and peace work (Holden & Nadeau 2010:

104). BECs, while being centered on the formation of evangelical communities, also become useful for development, as they created large groups of organized individuals who began to demand improvements to their situations (Bruneau, 1980). In the case of Latin America, the BECs allowed for a grassroots movement of self-development, as the elites of society were more concerned with large industrialization strategies (Bruneau, 1980: 542).

Religious movements that came out of Latin America like Liberation Theology and Basic Ecclesial Communities are important to consider as potentially influencing other churches (and other institutions and organizations) to assist the poor based on Christian doctrines. Just as the discourse of development can take hold on societies and influence governmentalizing programs and practices, religious discourse has the same ability. Through these religious movements, a discourse is created that adheres to teachings and morals that are found in the Christian bible. For example, a common Christian moral is the development of both spiritual and material poverty, where Christian NGOs try to emulate Jesus Christ by helping alleviate these poverties (Bornstein, 2002). As these movements began to grow, they created a nexus between religious doctrine and development, where programs, policies and practices are infused with the morals found in a religion. The Christian religious discourse, for example, often includes ideas of the responsibilities of humanity to assist those living in poverty, which is partly influenced by numerous Christian bible verses. This religious discourse is a guiding philosophy for large NGOs such as World Vision, but most importantly for this thesis it also firmly underpins organizations such as CFC/ANCOP who help the poor through development programs anchored on Christian values.

The outcomes of this religious discourse are important to consider, as religious teachings can be a strongly disciplining and governmentalizing process. In analyzing the practices of

World Vision in Zimbabwe, Erica Bornstein demonstrates how a religious discourse is strongly governmentalizing through its development practices. World Vision believes that development does not progress if their beneficiaries possess non-Christian traits. These non-Christian traits include spending money earned through development on drinking beer or in acquiring another wife, which are not considered Christian values (Bornstein, 2002: 12). Therefore, in order to preserve the development that World Vision has achieved, they combine their development program with religion, focusing on 'good behaviour' according to Christian morals, while liberating beneficiaries economically from the grasps of poverty. The ideas laid out in Bornstein's research are significant, because they demonstrate the power of NGOs to set out a specific agenda through their programs and policies. In this case, a nexus is formed between the discourse of religion and development, that draw some similarities to religious movements like liberation theology and basic ecclesial communities. Through this religious-development nexus, NGOs like World Vision hold governmentalizing power that ascribe subjectivities and shape identities of their beneficiaries that conform to Christian values in exchange for economic prosperity. However, its important to differentiate movements like liberation theology, that have anti-colonial and anti-capitalist underpinnings, compared to some development programs that do not attempt to address fundamental causes of poverty.

2.4 Diaspora-Driven Development

The transnational connections between people and places are important to consider, as in many cases they foster development in several ways. The literature on diasporas and development discusses the idea of migrants being transnational development agents, who transfer financial resources by mobilizing individual and collective remittances for their country of origin

(Faist, 2008). Hometown associations, for instance, have provided significant resources for local development in communities in Mexico. This practice can involve procuring materials and funding that are needed for the construction of infrastructure or other buildings in migrants' hometowns. These transnational flows provide large amounts of income to the receiving countries to the point that states begin to adopt transnational policies. In some cases, countries like Mexico foster activities between hometown associations and the homeland through programs like the 3x1 program (tres-por-uno), where the state would provide three additional dollars for every 'migradollar' sent by migrants abroad (Faist, 2008). These examples are cases of diaspora philanthropy, where migrants become a pivotal force in development aid, as earned income can contribute to achieving development goals in the origin country. This philanthropy is partially driven by the imagined relationship between an individual in a diaspora and their homeland, where one's migration can be seen as desertion or betrayal that deserves repayment and thus motivates diasporic communities to raise funds for the homeland (Espinosa, 2015).

Alongside the material importance of these diasporic contributions to development in a homeland, there exists an improvement narrative that can include imaginations of tidy settlements, poverty reduction and the elimination of slums and therefore come with a set of expectations. Remittances, aside from financial contributions, also brings social ideas or 'social remittances', that include behaviours, identities and social capital that can be exported to the origin country (Levitt, 1998). As these social remittances reach the origin country from diasporic migrants, they become valuable resources and can have the potential to affect the social landscape in a country. Levitt uses the case of Peruvian migrants returning to their hometown of Miraflores from the United States as an example of how social remittances can come with improvement narratives that attempt to foster changes in behaviour. These migrants noted that

they observed behaviours and practices that were different such as littering. Upon returning to the hometown, they noted that they would throw their trash into the garbage bin in order to inspire those around them to follow suit and more generally to do the 'right' thing in the hope that others will acquire the good habits that they picked up in the United States (Levitt, 1998). In another example of social remittances, Petra Dannecker (2005) investigates the case of Bangladeshi female migrants who found employment Malaysia. These transnational experiences for Bangladeshi women led to new perspectives on gender relations, where women began to believe in gender equality as women in Malaysia could work and earn their own income without being criticized. These experiences contrasted with the conditions in Bangladesh, where such practices were frowned upon. Upon returning home, these women brought with them a newfound belief in gender equality and began to renegotiate gender relations in their home country (Dannecker, 2005). In this instance, female migrants from Bangladesh provide evidence of the social remittances that Levitt conceptualizes, by bringing behaviours, identities and social capital to the country of origin. These cases illustrate direct examples where individuals bring social remittances back with them to their homeland. As migrants pick up new social practices in receiving countries, there can be an expectation or an improvement narrative applied to the homeland. The transnational connections between people and places can therefore be framed as a governmentalizing process, especially with organizations that have agendas and programs that have a specific image of development.

The ideas found within the literature on diaspora-driven development are important to consider for this thesis. To understand CFC/ANCOP's development programs, it is important to consider the transnational dimension that includes the Filipino-Canadian diaspora who help strengthen and reinforce the organization through both financial and social remittances. The

Filipino-Canadian diaspora is effectively utilized to mobilize funds for development programs in the Philippines that come with middle class and religious expectations. Social remittances are transferred both ways, from the Philippines to Canada and vice versa as they collectively help reinforce ideas of Christianity through its sharing of resources, such as knowledge, behaviour and skills to support one another.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, Foucauldian governmentality is discussed as the primary theoretical concept that guides the framework of this thesis. By analyzing Foucauldian literature, I contend that within the practices and programs of development organizations there are highly governmentalizing processes that create subjectivities through a specific discourse. Thus, through a careful analysis, the framework allows for insights into the outcomes of CFC/ANCOP's programs that operate under the banner of religion and development. This chapter also acknowledges relevant ideas relating to religion and diasporas, which are important concepts that situate CFC/ANCOP as a religious, transnational organization involved in promoting development on local scales within the Philippines.

Chapter Three – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodological approaches that were taken throughout the research project by describing the various experiences I encountered during my fieldwork. I emphasize the importance of my conduct and positionality, as I was conscious of my position as both an outsider and a transnational Filipino within the communities being researched in this project. Adopting such a self-reflexive approach was, as I explain later in the chapter, important due to the element of governance within the villages that creates atmospheres of caution. This chapter is divided into three main sections, which include conduct and positionality, qualitative research methods and dilemmas during fieldwork.

3.2 Conduct and Positionality During Fieldwork

My conduct during fieldwork was an important factor to consider, as building trust in the communities that I engaged with was essential to the project. Ethnographers believe that it is important to build trust because it not only creates reciprocal relationships, but the kinds of relationships that are created also have an impact on the amount of data that can be accessed and the quality of data that is reached (O'Reilly, 2009). O'Reilly argues that researchers can gain trust through extended periods of time in the field that involve "sharing food, learning the language, adopting cultural habits and by demonstrating that we have a genuine interest in them" (O'Reilly 2009: 175). In using this methodological approach built upon trust, I carefully navigated my fieldwork and was conscious about my conduct around the people I met both in Canada and in the Philippines. This required me to carry myself in certain ways and undertake different roles to foster further immersion and integration into the villages. This practice was

especially important to my project, because of the dynamic of governmentality that existed in the villages that created caution and distance between myself and the beneficiaries. For example, due to the set of rules that govern a village, there was an underlying fear among the beneficiaries about getting into trouble with the local elders and leaders. While these elders and leaders were inhabitants and beneficiaries of the village as well, their position within the village meant that they had greater authority and closer ties with external CFC/ANCOP leaders who have the capacity to take disciplinary actions. This underlying element became evident to me when I had initially entered a village to conduct research. Some beneficiaries of the village were hesitant to accept an interview with me and in cases where they did accept, they were very cautious about what they said during the interview. The beneficiaries I spoke to had to be careful with speaking to an 'outsider', such as myself, who asked somewhat difficult questions regarding their membership with CFC and ANCOP. This came as no surprise, as I arrived and was introduced by external CFC/ANCOP personnel and was therefore identified as a potential auditor of sorts for the organization. Additionally, while not directly conveyed, I understood that CFC/ANCOP personnel wanted to make the village look presentable as they knew my thesis concerned ANCOP's villages and programs. So, ANCOP used a level of caution when presenting the village to me. This was particularly evident when a local leader wanted to steer me away from talking to a local beneficiary who may not give an 'accurate' depiction of the village. Owing to these potential limitations, I had taken steps to mitigate them. Establishing a good rapport was crucial to become more of an 'insider' as opposed to a stranger. This rapport was established in several ways during my visits to both of my field sites, which were villages called 'Vancouver Homes', and 'CFC-Mississauga West, Tambuli Community'. I took on the role of a *Kuya* (older brother) in the household that I was assigned to. Becoming a *kuya* allowed me to gain more

acceptance within the community, by doing helpful things, like watching the children and keeping them entertained while their parents attended to different matters. Becoming a *kuya* in the community not only helped me establish a good rapport but was also a way of giving back to the family hosting me. Sometimes I offered my assistance with mundane things in the village, such as helping carry groceries home, cleaning, or helping with laundry. While this continued exposure with members of the community would never fully change my identity as an outsider, it allowed me and the people that I spoke with to be more comfortable around each other. One of the most important, yet seemingly mundane, activities that helped my integration was eating with a family. I recall attending one of ANCOP's spiritual events called 're-echo', where one of the speakers said that when we eat together, '*masaya tayo'* (meaning we are content together, or we are happy). This became clear to me when I ate with a family at their home, where we talked to each other and shared personal life stories. This is a notable example to me because it provided a close and intimate private session, in which we learn about each other's lives, and where I would subsequently learn new things about the village and their lives in it – information that would otherwise not be easily accessible in less private and intimate settings. This example demonstrates how trust can be gained in more active ways, as O'Reilly (2009) explains, by being in the field and doing things like sharing food.

I believe reciprocal relationships are important because as researchers we should not forget that we are working with people who are not simply resources for us to exploit. This point is made clear in feminist research approaches, where authors such as England (1994) state 'those who are researched should be treated like people and not as mere mines of information to be exploited by the researcher as the neutral collector of "facts."' (82). Following this guideline, the familial identity I took allowed me to not only give back to the community I researched, but also

to create and foster a closer relationship with my hosts and the community in general. As a result, conversations with people in the village became more comfortable and fluid, leading to richer information about their lives.

Although these practices were invaluable to me as a researcher in my field sites, I began to see the limitations of my conduct due to a village's layout and my identity. I use my second field site, 'CFC-Mississauga West, Tambuli Community' as an example. In this village, I implemented the same practices that I used in my first field site, to establish a rapport with the local beneficiaries. However, establishing this rapport was somewhat more difficult due to the village's physical layout. The land incorporates two different communities, the first being CFC-Mississauga West, and the second being CFC-Bermuda (both their own separate village). I was primarily interested in speaking with residents from the CFC-Mississauga West portion, as the Bermuda village was developed by the Bermuda chapter and therefore somewhat outside of my scope of research. This was problematic because it was initially difficult to establish my rapport with the Mississauga community, as the only vacant unit I could live in was in the Bermuda portion. From my experience in my first field site, I knew that being in closer proximity to the people I wanted to observe and speak to made interaction and integration easier. Though the Bermuda village was just across the street from the Mississauga West village, being associated as a 'neighbour' would have made integration into the community easier (Fig 1). Despite this, I established a rapport with residents from the Bermuda portion through small things, such as helping with chores and joining them for meals. In turn, they were able to introduce me to their friends in the Mississauga-West portion, and although this was helpful, it did not have the same effects of full immersion.

Figure 1 The layout of the Mississauga West Village and the Bermuda village (prior to completion)

My positionality also made research more difficult in this village. The village is located in the northern province of Cagayan, where the common language spoken is Ilocano, a language that I am not familiar with. In contrast, my first field site was in Tarlac where I was primarily able to use Tagalog, a language that I am very familiar with. Speaking the same language made integration easier because it made interactions more comfortable without the worry of misunderstanding each other. This meant that conversations flowed more easily, without either side having to guess what was said, leading to richer natural conversations. Since I did not speak Ilocano, at times there was a language barrier that led to awkward silences in conversation. To remedy this issue, I was able to get assistance from a local member who was fluent in English, Tagalog and Ilocano, and was able to translate for me. Therefore, due to my identity as an English and Tagalog speaker, the language barrier that I encountered with native Ilocano speakers hindered my ability to perform in certain ways that would have helped better establish a

rapport with people in this village. Regardless of this issue, however, I was still able to establish relationships in other active ways, such as sharing a meal and assisting with chores.

My positionality in the Philippines allowed me to have unique access to certain kinds of information. Interactions with Filipino town officials, for example, were very easy as my guides introduced me as a researcher from a Canadian university, which legitimized my position and provided access that may have not been easily obtainable otherwise. In my second field site in Buguey, Cagayan, I found myself in the town hall, where I was able to access relevant documents like memoranda signed between town officials and CFC/ANCOP. These interactions and access to information are due in part to my privilege in coming from a Western country, which is often legitimized by organizations like CFC/ANCOP.

3.3 Qualitative Research Methods

Through my research questions, I am interested in exploring the type of development practices that arise from CFC and ANCOP and the outcome this development has on its beneficiaries living in their villages. I am also interested in CFC and ANCOP's process in creating villages, selecting beneficiaries and their connection with the Filipino-Canadian diaspora. To explore these issues, I utilized qualitative approaches to gather information from both local beneficiaries and the staff of CFC and ANCOP. The research methods that I used were semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-Structured interviews were an important tool for gathering information in my field sites. To answer my research questions, my semi-structured interviews are divided into two sections –

questions for ANCOP beneficiaries and questions for CFC/ANCOP staff. In my semi-structured interviews, I used a specific set of questions, depending on the person I interview. The first section analyze the experiences of local beneficiaries in ANCOP villages, and addresses themes such as their membership, engagement with CFC and religious involvement and, conditions in villages and livelihood, while the second section addresses themes such as beneficiary selection, monetary donations and values formation.

Through the theme of membership, I sought to address the reasoning behind the decision made by beneficiaries to join the CFC/ANCOP community, and the processes of becoming a member. Questions relating to the theme of engagement helped with gauging their interactions with local CFC leadership and how they reinforced Christian values in the villages. Lastly, questions related to the theme of village conditions and livelihood assessed the effectiveness of ANCOP's development program in addressing better living conditions and livelihood for their beneficiaries.

I also utilized semi-structured interviews for interviewing CFC/ANCOP staff in the Philippines and Canada. In these questions, the theme of beneficiary selection brought to light how and why beneficiaries are chosen. Secondly, the theme of monetary donations helped establish the role of Filipino-Canadian diaspora communities in contribution to local development practices in the Philippines, particularly through CFC/ANCOP's programs. Lastly, the theme of values formation was also probed, to reach an understanding of what was being taught and reinforced in these ANCOP villages, and how they are being implemented, as expected by CFC.

Semi-structured interviews were my preferred research method for my thesis because they allow for the research to be fluid as new information comes to light in the field. This

method does not necessarily rely on a fixed set of questions, and it allows the researcher to understand issues "in the interviewees' own terms" (Valentine, 2005: 119). This method was particularly helpful for me, because through my positionality, I ran the risk of asking ill-informed or limited-scope questions due to my current understanding of the Philippines. Using semi-structured interviews, my conversations often dove and splintered into interesting issues and topics that I had not originally anticipated, prompting me to constantly rework my questions in the field to address new issues I came across in my previous interviews. For example, through my initial conversations with people in the first village, I learned that some had active roles and responsibilities in the village, such as the role of a 'household head'. These roles were important to be aware of, as they contributed to an understanding of how they co-operated with CFC/ANCOP, as they were told to do certain tasks as directed. This offered insights into the governance structures of these villages, an important idea in understanding the effects of private development practices. This information might not have been discovered had I utilized a more structured and rigid interview schedule. However, this is not to say that having a set of pre-determined questions hindered my data gathering ability. Before engaging in fieldwork, I created a list of questions divided into specific themes, which helped in generally guiding the direction of my research and answering my research questions.

My positionality was an important factor that influenced the success of my interviews. In certain ways, my positionality both facilitated and hampered my interview process. I use my first field site in the 'Vancouver Homes' village as an example of how my positionality facilitated my interviews. As a person of Filipino descent who is somewhat fluent in Tagalog, I have a shared identity with those that I interacted with in this village although there were clearly also differences, such as my lack of local knowledge in the area. For the most part, however, due to

the lack of language barriers and being somewhat of a 'cultural insider', people were generally more comfortable talking to me during my interviews. We would sometimes open the discussion with stories of how Filipino family members end up living abroad or about where my family lived prior to leaving the Philippines. These relatable stories helped me ease into the interview and allowed for both myself and the interviewee to be comfortable. My positionality, however, somewhat hindered my ability to do interviews in my second field site in the village of 'Mississauga West, Tambuli Community'. As alluded to in the previous section, I faced a language barrier in my everyday interactions, as some people in the village spoke very little Tagalog or English.

Regarding the physical set-up of the interviews, they were conducted at closed-door locations that were chosen by the participants. Typically, beneficiaries would opt to do interviews in their own homes, where sometimes the immediate family members would also be present. Prior to these interviews, we would typically start with small conversations that would help lead up to the actual interview. For CFC/ANCOP personnel, the interviews would typically take place at their offices, like the CFC headquarters in Quezon City. However, for local personnel who lived close to the villages they were monitoring, interviews would take place at their residence. Later during the research project, due to COVID-19, interviews with CFC/ANCOP personnel were conducted over-the-phone.

In the post-fieldwork process, transcriptions of interviews would be sorted based on village and whether they were beneficiaries or CFC/ANCOP personnel, which helped in analyzing the data, as each location or role within the community provides specific sets of information. For example, by looking at a summary written up after each interview, I was able to extrapolate key bits of information of an event or issue that is relevant to the empirical chapter.

From there, a simple word search within the transcription file would find important data such as the ‘CLP or Christian Life Program’.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was another important qualitative tool that I used to gather information. I first want to establish the difference between participant observation and conduct. Participant observation involved attending and participating in events or activities that were directly related to my research. My conduct, on the other hand, had more to do with daily casual interactions that may not have had any direct relation to my research. Participant observation is the process of living and/or working within communities to understand how they work ‘from the inside’ (Cook, 2005:167). Based on this definition, my fieldwork relied on participant observation in order to gain a further understanding of the practices of CFC/ANCOP. Using this method, I was able to map the activities and events created by CFC leadership and hosted by local beneficiaries. By attending these activities and events, I was able to understand more broadly how the organization reinforces and maintains religious practices as requirements for membership within their communities. For example, some of the activities that I participated in gave me insights into governmentality in the village. Such activities included weekly prayer meetings, which involved a certain number of families who would recite bible passages and share their thoughts on them. Other events that I participated in included ‘turnover ceremonies’, which offered insights into the processes involved in recruitment, while other activities such as oyster shucking gave me insights into the livelihood practices in place (Fig 2). Often, my participation in these events and activities were spontaneous and due to chance encounters in the field, where I would be invited by the people I spoke with.

Figure 2 Oyster shucking – A common livelihood practice found in Buguey, Cagayan

Participant observation also allowed me to validate certain assumptions that I either read about or were told to me. Through this method, I validated these assumptions by observing what happened on the ground, compared to what was said by CFC/ANCOP staff and beneficiaries. There were several instances in which validation through participant observation was helpful. During my fieldwork, I attended meetings with CFC, discussing their programs such as 'mushroom farming' and the 'mobile training center' (Fig 3). The mushroom farming program was a livelihood program meant to offer beneficiaries income in the village, by growing and selling mushrooms. However, by spending time with people in the villages, and learning about the ways they secure income and education, I learned that these programs were mainly non-existent in the villages that I visited. Thus, participant observation is an important tool, as it not only provides insights into the inner workings of a community and its processes, but also allows for the validation of pieces of information from other sources.

Figure 3 ANCOP's livelihood programs

Participant Selection

For my interviews, I selected a total of 30 research participants to interview. I selected 10 research participants from each of my two field sites, who were beneficiaries of the village, and another 10 research participants who were members or staff from CFC/ANCOP. For participant selection, I first established a connection with a 'gatekeeper', defined as "individuals in an organization that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research" (Valentine, 2005: 116). Through my research, I established contact with several gatekeepers, with the first one being in Toronto who introduced me to ANCOP and helped establish my networks in the Philippines. Other 'gatekeepers' included local CFC/ANCOP leaders in the Philippines who were able to further establish my network to the particular villages that I was interested in. These gatekeepers were important as, without them, I would not have been able to meet people within CFC/ANCOP, since their villages tend to be closed communities. Therefore, they were vital to my introduction to the villages I studied. As I established initial contacts through the gatekeepers, I then utilized the practice of 'snowball sampling' in both of my field sites, which is defined as using contacts to help recruit other contacts who in turn, put me into contact with more people (Valentine, 2005: 117). This practice was beneficial because of the 'close-knit' social dynamic that existed in the village. Using

snowball sampling, I was able to gain the trust of the people I interviewed, as my initial contacts were able to vouch for me. However, the dangers of this method include recruiting informants from a narrow circle of like-minded-people (Valentine, 2005: 117). For this reason, I made sure to establish multiple starting points by knocking on other peoples' door to introduce myself and eventually ask for an interview. To conclude, the selection of my participants relied on establishing a connection with CFC/ANCOP 'gate keepers' who were then able to introduce me to the community. Snowball sampling allowed me to gain referrals from my known contacts, making recruitment a lot easier and less intimidating to me and the people I spoke with.

Site Selection

I chose to conduct my fieldwork at two ANCOP villages. As noted previously in this chapter, my first field site was a village called Vancouver Homes in the municipality of Paniqui, Tarlac, and my second field site was a village called 'CFC-Mississauga West, Tambuli Community', in the municipality of Buguey, Cagayan. When selecting the sites, I made sure to select ones that were directly funded by the Filipino-Canadian diaspora, as the research is limited to investigating the relationships between these two countries. Selecting a Canadian village allows for an insight into these relationships. Also, I chose these two locations as they were likely to yield different lived experiences among the people that lived there, as they were in different settings. The Vancouver Homes village (Fig 4) is in a densely populated urban area, while the Mississauga West Tamblui Community (Fig 5) was in a less populated rural area. Visiting these two field sites yielded different results, due to factors such as livelihood opportunities, village layout/development, and varying ANCOP values program intensification. Although weak, livelihood programs were centred on the local practices in the area. In the Mississauga West, Tambuli Community village,

people focused on livelihoods such as farming and fishing, while people who lived in the Vancouver Homes village focused on more urban jobs, such as tricycle driving or shop keeping. ANCOP's programs are dependent and different based on the environment they build their villages in. One of the coordinators I spoke with said that they implemented different programs based on the skill-related specialties of the people so that the people do not end up leaving the village due to a lack of related livelihood practice. Therefore, choosing these two sites offered different insights into the people and villages situated in different environments.

Figure 4 Vancouver Homes village – situated near a highly populated urban area (Source: Google Maps)

Figure 5 Mississauga West Village – situated in a rural area (Source: Google Maps)

3.4 Potential Limitations in the Methodology

I encountered several dilemmas during the research process, some of which I have noted in earlier sections of this chapter. These issues were important to consider, as they could negatively affect my research, or the community being researched. Upon starting my field research, as discussed earlier, I established relationships with gatekeepers within CFC/ANCOP in order to facilitate an introduction to their community and allow me to conduct my research. Doing so was crucial because, without their permission and referrals, I would not have otherwise been able to get into these closed tight-knit communities. To establish these relationships and in the spirit of reciprocation, I offered my time by becoming an independent volunteer at ANCOP's Toronto office, which had some implications. Firstly, as my position as a volunteer had no direct links to my research, I had to be careful with the privileged information I came across as a

volunteer. Despite working with information related to ANCOP's other programs that were not related to my research, I had to ensure that I utilized appropriate data collection from the field to secure the information needed. The second problem that arises from this was the potential issue of my position as a volunteer and as an independent researcher. My position as a volunteer within the organization had the implication of identifying me closely me with ANCOP as an official member of the organization and therefore potentially affecting what people said to me during my stay in the villages. I did my best to circumvent this by establishing closer relationships with people, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. However, to promote transparency in the research process, I told them about my position within ANCOP as a volunteer, but also emphasized my position as an independent researcher outside of ANCOP.

Another dilemma I faced during my fieldwork was the relationships that I created in the villages. While these had many advantages for me, I had to be careful with how I navigated around these relationships. These relationships were important, and as Bonnin (cited in Turner, 2013) emphasizes, "not becoming friends with people whom we engage in the field – and sacrificing human feelings in the service of some sort of imaginary objectivity – is what presents the greatest ethical dilemma" (123). However, it is important to understand the possible consequences of such relationships, especially the one I shared with my host in the village of Vancouver Homes. My host happened to be a leader within the community and being close to local leadership meant being close to power and authority in the community, which may have impacted the way people saw me. Therefore, separating myself was crucial through a personal introduction and telling the people I spoke with of my intentions to write a thesis for school. It was also helpful to tell people that the information I received would be kept anonymous and confidential.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

During all phases of the research project, certain ethical precautions have been taken to respect the community and the research participants who participated in the study. As mentioned earlier, those who are researched should not be treated as mines of information and exploited by the researcher. Therefore, caution must be taken in order to prevent any possible harm to the community and to the research participants. Informed consent was important throughout the research and was used prior to collecting data through semi-structured interviews. My informed consent protocol included a full description of the research, what the participant was being asked to do, the benefits of participating in the research, and the rights of the participant to full confidentiality and to withdraw from the study. Furthermore, to address any potential language barriers, research participants were able to access either English or Tagalog consent forms. However, due to the impact of COVID-19 later during the research project, interviews had to be conducted over the phone, and so verbal consent was obtained from the participant. With regards to confidentiality, every effort was taken to hide the identity of research participants by excluding their names from any portion of the thesis, either replacing them with a pseudonym or assigning them with other labels such as ‘interviewee 1’.

Lastly, considering those that I came across during the research project as people and not mines of information, I continue to make an effort to maintain relationships with them – some are providing me with updates on their situations and I am sending them updates on my research. I have made people aware that once the research is completed, I can share the knowledge by providing them with copies of the thesis.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has laid out my methodology for my research. I have outlined my positionality, which influenced how my research was formed with ANCOP and how I saw the Philippines through this process. I have structured my methodology, not only to meet certain requirements for my research but also to guide me through my journey in understanding my home away from home. This has benefited me personally, as I gained a deeper and more intimate understanding of the Philippines, through the relationships that were created during the field. I am a strong believer in reciprocal relationships during fieldwork, as I believe that the people I spoke with were not mere ‘mines of information’. Following this guideline, I was able to create meaningful relationships in the field, which has had a positive impact on my research.

Chapter Four – Contextualizing Development in Philippine Society

4.1 Introduction

Organizations such as ANCOP that utilize transnational development practices need to be contextualized in the historical roots and structural processes of underdevelopment in the Philippines. This chapter analyzes the role of institutions such as the Church and other forms of civil society and takes a larger-scale perspective by highlighting the role of transnational communities of Filipino contract workers and emigrants. It will provide a broad historical context for contemporary Philippine development and will also outline the role of various institutions or actors that are engaged with development processes. The chapter is divided into four main areas: political economy; the role of civil society; religion; and the Filipino diaspora. This chapter will help situate the state of Philippine society to help understand the development programs and practices being carried out in the Philippines that I analyze in more depth in the later empirical chapters. The question that I want to address here is, what are the social forces in the Philippines that work to address a broad range of development issues that are presently afflicting many within the country?

4.2 Colonial History and the Political Economy of Development in the Philippines

Presently, the Philippines remains a developing country in Asia, with many people falling below the poverty line. According to the Asian Development Bank (2020) in 2018, approximately 16.6 percent of people in the Philippines were living below the national poverty line. This grim number signifies that problems continue to exist that reinforce underdevelopment in the country. Later in this chapter, I discuss key sectors that play significant roles in the

Philippines, but an analysis of the political economy of the country is needed to situate the current state of underdevelopment.

The colonial history of the Philippines represented a process of mistreatment by colonial powers through the extraction of resources that inescapably led to a state of underdevelopment. After the Spanish-American war in 1898 and the subsequent Philippine-American War in 1901, the United States took possession of the Philippines. American colonialism allowed for the expansion of capitalism through the exploitation of natural resources when American corporations began creating plantations to produce cash crops that were tended by low-paid Filipino labourers (Nadeau 2002). While farming practices varied in different parts of the country, there were instances of American corporations directly benefiting through both the exploitation of natural and human resources. For example, according to McCoy (1982, cited in Nadeau, 2002), peasant farms on Negros Island in the Visayan region of the Philippines, were forcefully taken by American sugar barons. These farms were either acquired by expropriation or high-interest loans that typically led to the forfeiture of land. To extend the process of exploitation, they had recruited low-wage labourers to work on these 'acquired' lands on Negros Island by importing dispossessed textile workers from Panay Island, who had lost their jobs due to the flood of imported textiles coming into the country (Nadeau 2002). In addition, free trade policies between the United States and the Philippines were created that transformed the Philippines into a dependent colonial economy. The Philippines saw the continued export of raw materials, while it imported finished products that came from the United States, which was the largest trading partner for the Philippines (Takagi, 2016). This colonial economy became problematic as it led to the country mainly becoming unindustrialized as natural resources were exploited, while American-made goods came to market. Some scholars argue that the cultural

‘Americanization’ of the Philippines was imposed through a public education system that disregarded Filipino culture and instilled American culture as dominant. These policies not only had the effect of instilling American values but also led to the promotion of colonial mentalities and American export-oriented ideology, and created conditions that were optimal for emigration to the US (Espiritu, 2003; Nadeau, 2002; Rodriguez, 2010). This research has shown that the Philippines has historically been oppressed by its colonizers through the exploitation of its resources and people to bolster the nations of the West, leaving the country mostly dependent and unindustrialized during the colonial period – a pattern that extends to the present.

In 1946, the Philippines finally received its formal independence from its American colonizers, but since then neocolonial activities remain persistent within the country. In light of receiving independence from its colonizers, it became questionable if independence was merely symbolic, but rather just a continuation of exploitation by other nations to indirectly maintain economic interests within the country. For instance, policies were created that created trade favouring US interests. Policies included the Bell Trade Act lasting from 1947 to 1974, allowing the exploitation of natural resources in the Philippines by American businesses (Takagi, 2016). The goal of this policy was to provide free trade between the two nations and gave equal rights to American citizens and corporations to own natural resources. This policy required an amendment to the Philippine constitution, as it previously stipulated that areas of the Philippine economy must be 60 percent Filipino-owned (Shalom, 1980). During the Marcos Era (1966-86), further initiatives were taken that allowed even deeper exploitation of natural resources, through the introduction of high-yield rice crops. The initiative was called the Green Revolution, which ultimately benefited transnational corporations by place emphasis on increasing production and exporting crops. While supposedly operating under the banner of alleviating poverty, these

innovations served the interests of agribusiness and wealthy farmers. In contrast, smaller farmers suffered during seasons of bad harvest and were negatively impacted due to the high cost of new rice technology (Nadeau, 2002).

Critical researchers like Walden Bello paint a stark image of the Philippine economy plagued by increasing globalization and neoliberal restructuring. For example, structural adjustment programs introduced in the 1990s aimed to reduce support for agriculture and increased trade liberalization, resulted in an influx of imports that negatively impacted the local agricultural sector (Bello, et al. 2014). This lack of investment led to devastating effects on the Philippine agricultural sector - a significant industry, which before the 1970s accounted for around 31 percent of the Philippines' GDP (Bello, et al. 2014). Due to the large number of people employed within this sector, the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) was introduced in the late 1980s in the Philippines. It was an initiative that distributed land to cultivators to ensure their tenure over the land. However, the slow implementation of this initiative has meant that large tracts of agricultural land remain undistributed, and millions of farmers are not able to meet their full productive potential, which would contribute to growth and development in the Philippines (Bello, et al., 2014). Slow implementation is attributed to slow resolution of legal disputes over landowner protests, lack of petitions from farmers organizations in haciendas[1] that are tightly controlled by landowners, and lastly, the lack of urgency in the government in redistributing land (Carranza, 2015: 4). The slow implementation of CARP can also be attributed to the financial constraints of land acquisition, as landowners need to be compensated (Bello, 2008 as cited in Carranza, 2015). Agriculture-focused NGOs such as the Asian NGO Coalition (ANGOC) have reported that matters about land and resources are overly

[1] A hacienda is a large estate or plantation with a dwelling house.

complicated, with over 19 government agencies involved in the process in the Philippines (ANGOC, 2016). Lack of investment in the agricultural sector is also due to shifting attitudes towards development, which according to Bello (2014) is "anchored on servicing the needs of a growing globalized middle class" (16). In catering to the globalized middle class, development and investment have shifted towards financial services, and more notably real estate, where land was being used for urban development, such as malls, office spaces and housing (Cardenas, cited in Bello 2014). Such investment shifted away from the countryside, where more than 50 percent of the population resides (Bello, et al., 2014).

Due to the issues arising from structural adjustment programs, trade liberalization and the slow implementation of CARP in the Philippines, unemployment grew, leading to the departure of ever increasing numbers of Filipinos from the homeland. As Bello (2014) suggests, labour export should not be divorced from neoliberal capitalism, as a result of the effects of structural adjustment policies and trade liberalization imposed on the Philippines, which have disabled equitable economic growth. Instead, as outlined in a later section in this chapter, the Filipino diaspora becomes a significant driver in the Philippine economy.

Bello's research paints a stark image, but it is important to note that the Philippine economy has been growing in the past decade. Major institutions like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have noted positive trends in the Philippine economy. The World Bank reported that the Philippines was one of the fastest-growing economies in East Asia, demonstrating strong growth in 2017, third only to China and Vietnam, with a growth of 6.7 percent (World Bank, 2018). Other institutions like the Asian Development Bank reported similar trends, with growth in 2017 being the highest it has been in 60 years (Felipe and Estrada, 2018). In a press release by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), the growth can be

attributed to manufacturing, trade and real estate, renting, and business activities sectors (PSA, 2018). Despite positive economic growth in the Philippines, it is essential to understand that growth did not extend to all areas, including quality employment and the agricultural sector. Ignoring these areas has failed to reduce overall inequality, which the World Bank terms as 'missing links to higher shared prosperity.' (World Bank, 2018; Felipe and Estrada, 2018). Most poor households live in rural areas of the Philippines, relying on agriculture as the primary source of livelihood, and a failure to raise productivity has suppressed incomes in these households (World Bank, 2018). As the agricultural sector remains weak, former cultivators (and their children) are transitioning away from agriculture and ending up in low-paying jobs (World Bank 2018). Thus, while the Philippines in the last decade has experienced some of the highest rates of growth in East Asia, it has not translated into equitable processes of employment creation and rising incomes, especially in rural areas. As a result, issues of poverty, underemployment, inequality and lack of land tenure continue to exist and they highlight the magnitude of the development problem that small organizations like ANCOP seek to address.

4.3 Civil Society

Civil society in the Philippines plays a major role in development, which includes entities such as people's organizations (POs) and non-government organizations (NGOs). POs are defined as grassroots organizations, whose purpose is to advance their members' material or social well-being, as these groups typically encompass disadvantaged members of the community. NGOs may act as intermediaries between the State and POs, advocating for disadvantaged groups that are not affiliated with the NGO through any form of membership. In

doing so, they strengthen POs by providing advocacy, financing and networking with other groups (Asian Development Bank, 2007).

It is difficult to know precisely how many NGOs exist in the Philippines, as there are thousands of NGOs currently operating. Gerard Clarke (as cited in Silliman and Noble, 1998), using the Philippines Securities and Exchange Commission registration data, estimated that there were about fifty-eight thousand NGOs in the Philippines in 1993. While this figure represents a historical moment, it is safe to say that the number of NGOs now is likely to be significantly higher. Some scholars have suggested that the number and variety of NGOs working in the Philippines is a result of the neoliberal withdrawal (or non-existence) of government social programs (Kelly and Ortega, 2020; Kares, 2014; Holden, 2010; Bello, 2014). Due to the withdrawal or absence of government social programs there is a reliance on civil organizations or the private sector to fill these needs. An interesting factor to point out, however, is that within the Philippine political system, civil society has the potential to impact policy. In understanding the role civil society plays within this political system, a brief introduction into the fall and rise of democracy in the Marcos era in the Philippines is needed.

The Marcos regime had declared martial law in1972 in a bid to circumvent the constitutional laws prohibiting the President from running for a third term. In doing so, Marcos expanded the powers of the executive branch of government and allowed further participation of the military to secure his power and legitimacy. Such actions of circumventing his term limits and enacting martial law were presented by Marcos as responses to the growing threat of communists in the country (Caouette, 2013; Overholt, 1986). As martial law proceeded in the Philippines, resentment increased against the regime, leading to other significant events like the

assassination of Benigno Aquino Jr., a major political opponent of Marcos, and escalating tensions with the public leading to the EDSA or People Power Revolution of 1986.

In the efforts to restore democracy to the country, the Philippine Constitution of 1987 gave a significant role to civil society including a constitutional role in governance. More specifically, the party-list system allows for proportional representation of underrepresented groups in the Philippines, where 20 percent of the seats in the House of Representatives are allocated to these groups (Tangkia and Habaradas, 2001; Torres-Pilapil, 2015). This allocation of underrepresented groups was an important political move for civil society as it allowed NGOs and POs to have a voice within the government. Jamie Tadeo, a leader in the Philippine Peasant Movement, stated that the previous legislative format only favoured a small minority in Philippine society.

"Our experience, however, has shown that legislation has tended to benefit more the propertied class who constitutes a small minority in our society than the impoverished majority, 70 percent of whom live below the poverty line. This has come about because the rich have managed to dominate and control the legislature, while the basic sectors have been left out of it" (Tangkia and Habaradas, 2001: 2).

Through the party-list system, civil society can 'crossover,' going from outsiders to insiders of the government to achieve and implement the goals and values of civil society organizations, allowing a variety of sectors within civil society to engage in such formal politics (Lewis, 2013: 29-30). Presently, the impact of civil society is evident in the Philippines and continues to make noticeable strides in advocating for social change. For example, people's organizations such as Kadamay that are part of the civil society are acting on the issue of social

housing. Occupy Bulacan, initiated by Kadamay in 2017, resulted in the occupation of thousands of idle government-built houses by the urban poor (Dizon, 2019). NGOs such as Gawad Kalinga, which like ANCOP had its roots in the Catholic organization Couples for Christ, is a well-established NGO with a focus on alleviating poverty and material want for the poor (Coloma-Moya 2009). These examples demonstrate the diverse issues, strategies and ideological leanings of NGOs and POs in civil society, and their role in Philippine development, whether it is through philanthropic giving or advocating for social change.

While civil society has proved its impact and effectiveness in Philippine society and its constitutional role continues, it presently remains vulnerable. For example, under the current Duterte specific sectors within civil society have been undermined and threatened by red-tagging. Red-tagging includes labelling individuals or organizations as left-leaning, subversives, communists or terrorists, thereby presenting them as enemies of the state (Gavilan, 2020). Such red tagging has led to attacks and harassment of activists and government critics, with 60 organizations tagged as communist fronts (Gavilan, 2020). Civil society's role in the Philippines is, therefore, fragile.

4.4 Religious Involvement

According to a report published by the Philippines Statistics Authority, there were 100 million people with religious affiliations in 2015, with 80 million of those identifying as Catholic. Due to the significance of these numbers, when looking at large actors involved in Philippine society, it is essential to look at the role of religion.

To understand religious involvement in the Philippines, I once again use events that occurred in the Philippines during the 1980s. Religion, specifically the Catholic Church in the Philippines, had become a powerful social force, to the point that it had influenced political discourse. Some Filipino scholars suggest that the People Power Revolution of 1986 may not have been possible without the role of the Catholic Church – in particular through its radio station, Radio Veritas, that mobilized millions of people (Ayittey, 2011). The revolution, assisted by the Catholic Church in the Philippines, led to the end of martial law, the removal of Marcos and the start of a new and more democratic government.

Before the end of the Marcos Regime, however, the Church's involvement in the revolution was rooted in issues that arose from the mistreatment of people by the regime. The Church was responsible for mobilizing people within poor urban communities, as during the period of martial law, these communities were being targeted for demolition, a move that convinced the Church to create underground cells in covenants and parishes to assist them. Further, nuns brought attention to the violence of Marcos' regime during. They supported the urban poor in their struggles for livelihood and peasants in their efforts against land grabbing by the state, to name a few, by making available their religious houses and other facilities for use (Caouette, 2013).

In situating the role of religion, it is also important to analyze religious movements such as Liberation Theology and Basic Ecclesial Communities in the Philippines that influence religious discourse (see Chapter 2). BECs emerged in the Philippines to create an alternative source of power for the people, especially during the Marcos regime, and transcended class-based party politics and hierarchical organization (Holden and Nadeau, 2010). For example, within the BEC movement, large groups of individuals became organized and demanded

improvements to their situations caused by the development approaches taken by the authoritarian regime (Bruneau, 1980). Presently, the legacy of BECs continues within the Philippines, through the continued support by Church officials. Many organizations, including Couples for Christ, have developed programs that draw inspiration from Liberation Theology and Basic Ecclesial Communities.

Through these examples, it is evident that Catholicism has played a vital role in influencing social change and political discourse in the Philippines, but the role of religion extends beyond the work of those affiliated with the Catholic Church. Other religious entities like *Iglesia Ni Cristo* (INC) in the Philippines have an increasing political and social role in society. For instance, INC is known for practices like bloc voting during elections, which have a theological basis for its members (Cornelio, 2017). Although the religious denomination has far fewer members than the Catholic mainstream, its political influence is significant, which is why political candidates often pursue the 'Iglesia Vote.' According to local news outlets, in recent elections, political candidates like Rodrigo Duterte requested to meet with the organization and stated that he had met with INC leaders to discuss "what would be good for the Philippines" (Ranada, 2016: para 3). Outside of the political realm, INC has contributed to social programs in the Philippines. Most notably, through *Lingap sa Mamamayan* (care for citizens) through which the Church donated relief goods to coastal communities in Tacloban that were impacted by Typhoon Haiyan (Cornelio, 2017). INC, though, was not the only faith-based group contributing to relief efforts. Other religious organizations include World Vision, Islamic Relief and Tzu Chi (Cornelio, 2017), which demonstrates the role of religion in Philippine society beyond any singular religious entity. For example, Islamic Relief in the wake of typhoon Haiyan had created 270 disaster-resistant shelters to house those impacted by the typhoon ("Remembering super-

typhoon Haiyan," n.d.). Other religious organizations like the Buddhist Compassion Relief (Tzu Chi) had donated 1 billion Philippine Pesos worth of material aid, that benefited 37,00 families and 136 barangays (villages) in the city of Tacloban (Tzu Chi Foundation, 2014). The religious sector plays a significant role in Philippine society, and the suggestion made here is that a variety of religious organizations have influenced broader political and social discourses in the Philippines.

4.5 The Filipino Diaspora

The contributions of overseas Filipinos have had a significant impact on Philippine society, and the narrative of the Filipino diaspora is one that tells the story of a harrowing journey of families or individuals migrating to other places in search of better opportunities. However, like other narratives of diasporas, it means leaving behind their former lives, which include friends and family members who were not able to follow them. Due to this separation, numerous methods of interaction have been created that re-establish ties to the homeland, which can add significant value to the development of the country. On-going connections can include remittances sent by overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) utilized for investment in real estate or other assets and through other minor forms of engagement, including tourism, and volunteerism.

Overseas Filipinos have contributed through remittances, either as permanent residents of another country or as labour migrants, to create alternative income sources to support their loved ones in their homeland. In 2019, US$35 billion in remittances entered the Philippines, making up almost 10 percent of the national GDP (World Bank, 2017). These remittances are important resources for Filipinos in the homeland, as they can be used to foster development. Remittances

are used in a broad range of investments, but a large portion is invested in property, leading to the growth of the real estate sector in the Philippines, attributed in part to overseas Filipinos. For instance, one estimate suggests that 30 percent of all remittances were spent on property, totalling to US$5.6 billion spent on real estate in 2010 (Bello, 2014). This data shows that remittances are not only helping families in the Philippines but also fuel economic growth through the real estate sector. Furthermore, as Cardenas states, commercial construction, for spaces such as malls, is also rising in the Philippines. Colliers, an international commercial real estate organization, expects to see more malls opening in the Philippines, reaching approximately an addition of roughly 300,000 square meters of retail space. The expansion of such retail space can be credited to "rising purchasing power, backed by holiday-induced spending and sustained remittances from OFWs" (Remo 2019: para 26). In other instances, remittances provide capital for productive activities, funding enterprises that can be considered as strategic investments. These strategic investments come in the form of the purchase of land for coconut cultivation or pig-raising, which can generate further income for a family (Kelly, 2017). Aside from being used as investments, remittances can also provide a form of 'social insurance'. Research conducted by Yang and Choi (2007) looks at how environmental conditions in the Philippines affect the flow of remittances coming into the country, as changes in weather can result in a loss of income. They concluded that 'income shocks,' caused by natural disasters in the Philippines, correlate with higher inflows of remittances from overseas Filipinos, replacing up to 60 percent of household income during income shocks. These inflows of remittances are especially crucial in the case of the Philippines, as social insurance backed by the government is typically inadequate. The inflow of remittances could then help Filipino families financially when there is an inevitable loss during natural disasters. This is not to say, however, that remittances provided

during natural disasters are always widely distributed. Further research on remittances that highlight their nuances have shown that while during events of natural disasters, remittances rise, they also exacerbate inequality. For example, Su and Mangada (2017) demonstrate that in the case of Typhoon Haiyan that impacted many coastal communities in Tacloban, Philippines, remittances were unevenly distributed due to class-based inequalities. High-quality labour migration that comes with higher income and therefore higher remittances, is only accessible to Filipinos that possess financial, social and cultural capital (Su & Mangada, 2017). They go on to state that the abrupt needs created by instances of natural disasters do not change the financial situations of lower-class migrants working abroad (Su & Mangada, 2017). Remittance are thus useful in many scenarios, but as in the case of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, the nuances of remittances reveal unequal access.

In these remittance-related scenarios, it is evident that the Filipino diaspora plays a significant role in development, either through the continued growth of the economy through real estate investments, strategic investments for livelihood or through social insurance that help keep well-being intact during times of crisis. Remittances, however, can be flexible, giving them a variety of scenarios in which they are used. It is important to note that other research suggests that remittances can be used as a form of compensatory income. This type of income is used on consumption goods and, therefore, does not have a large impact on development but rather causes behavioural changes in the household, reducing labour market participation (Chami et al. as cited in Randazzo & Piracha, 2014). While research on remittances points towards either optimistic or pessimistic views, it is evident that remittances mobilized through the Filipino diaspora, at least in the short-term, have many benefits. Research on remittances acknowledges that they can lead to a decline in household wage and income as well as increasing overall

inequality as not all families have access to overseas employment opportunities (Ducanes, 2015). However, these issues in the Philippine context are outweighed by the positive impact of remittances. For example, the inflow of remittance more than offsets the decline in domestic wages and income in households, resulting in further spending in areas such as food, education, property, and medical care. Furthermore, such increases in income due to OFWs could also lead to 'spillover,' where there is an increase in gifts and contributions to other households (Ducanes, 2015). Thus, research on remittances in the Philippines shows that the increasing flow of remittances outweighs potential problems that may arise. As research by Ducanes (2015) points out, unless there is a move to improve domestic development and to increase quality employment within the Philippines, there is no reason to discourage such labour migration policies. He does suggest, however, that there is a difference between letting overseas migration play out versus actively pursuing it as a development strategy (Ducanes, 2015: 104). Presently, the Philippine government is actively encouraging labour migration, as remittances account for a large amount of revenue entering the country. Consequently, these large inflows of remittances are secured by policies engaging in nationalist discourses and reinforcing ideas of familial responsibility, which attempt to encourage migrants to maintain ties with the Philippines after departing the country by touting migrants as 'migrant heroes' (Rodriguez, 2010).

Remittances are one method used by the Filipino diaspora that contributes towards development, but there are other areas of engagement that play a minor role as well. Volunteerism, for example, allows overseas Filipinos to get involved with local organizations while providing the opportunity to negotiate their identities. As second-generation Filipinos grow up in other countries, there is a blurry and incomplete image of the homeland prompting some to engage in activities, such as working or volunteering to gain knowledge and experience for

personal growth. By taking up these opportunities in the homeland, it can be part of a process called 'ethnification,' forming an identity in the context of the host society they grew up in (Haller & Landolt as cited in Kelly, 2015). The idea of ethnification is evident in other research that documents the experiences of second-generation Filipino's in countries like the USA. These youth visit the Philippines, outside the carefully fashioned experiences of families going to specific vacation destinations, to experience the *real* Philippines and, in doing so, learn more about the country (Garrido, 2011). In experiencing such exposure, they can conjure conceptions of life in the Philippines. This not only benefits Filipinos in the diaspora but could also benefit Philippine society by utilizing volunteerism through local organizations in the Philippines. In a later empirical chapter, I further analyze the role of the Filipino diaspora and provide examples of volunteerism and its impact in the Philippines.

4.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad canvas of development in the Philippines. By outlining the colonial history of the Philippines, it demonstrated a historical process of exploitation, which extended itself to the present, where an overview of the general political economy supports the idea of the country remaining in an underdeveloped state. This state gives way to the prominence of specific sectors like civil society, religion and the Filipino diaspora that work to address a broad range of development issues within the country. By contextualizing these areas, it helps in situating the development practices being carried out by organizations such as CFC/ANCOP that I analyze in later chapters.

Chapter Five – ANCOP: The Call to the Filipino Diaspora

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide background information on CFC and ANCOP by looking at their history through an analysis of the organization's literature. Through an analysis of interviews conducted in the Philippines in Canada, this chapter will shed light on the inner workings behind the processes involved in creating ANCOP villages in the Philippines and the selection of beneficiaries. Additionally, these interviews also reveal how CFC/ANCOP reaches out to the Filipino diaspora to utilize its established CFC networks to engage them in various transnational efforts fostering a global flow of resources. These transnational efforts are not just limited to fundraising, but also include volunteerism that supports the organization. This chapter is broken down into several sections, addressing background info on CFC/ANCOP, village development, beneficiary recruitment, and the role of the Filipino-Canadian Diaspora.

5.2 A Background on Couples for Christ and Answering the Cry of the Poor

To understand the motivations and processes behind programs such as the community development program in the Philippines, some background on CFC/ANCOP is needed. Upon finishing my immersion at my first field site at Vancouver Homes in Tarlac, Philippines, I paid a visit to CFC's global mission headquarters in Quezon City (Metro Manila) to discuss my experience with my coordinator. After finishing my meeting, I noticed a small store in the lobby that sold CFC merchandise, like t-shirts and mugs. They also sold literature that detailed their programs, such as the Christian Life Program (CLP), which I discuss in more detail in the next chapter. For this section, I will be utilizing the organization's publication entitled 'Journey of Family Evangelizers, Volume I 2016', to provide context and background for CFC and ANCOP.

According to this book, the formation of CFC is accredited to *Ang Ligaya ng Panginoon* (Joy of the Lord or LNP), a religious organization that was formed in the Philippines in 1975 due to the success of the Catholic charismatic renewal movement in the USA. LNP started with a small of people who held prayer meetings every Friday in Makati City and Quezon City, which eventually grew to around eight-hundred people in the years to follow. However, LNP realized an issue where its members consisted of mostly females, whose husbands were not attending church regularly. To solve this, LNP assigned Vic Gutierrez to create a program meant for couples – the husband and wife. The program began with six couples and soon grew to sixteen couples who underwent the Christian Life Program to keep their interest in the organization. Vic stated that "God wanted them (couples) to be the seed of a new movement for the renewal of families" (2016: 27). This movement manifested into a new organization when these sixteen couples made their commitment to form Couples for Christ on June 26th, 1981. Then in 1993, CFC separated from the LNP community and established its family ministries, which allowed every aspect of the family to be included in the evangelization process.

As stated earlier, CFC's rise can be credited to the spread of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement. It began in the USA with an international ecumenical community called Swords of the Spirit who had gathered every week for prayer (Couples For Christ Global Mission Foundation 2016). This movement included a renewal of Church life, emphasizing a 'personal relationship' with Jesus. In this, one can experience divine power, through things like 'spiritual gifts' and faith healing (Csordas, 2007). Through this movement, CFC established a framework to follow through their religious practices. Since CFC began from this movement and is a lay organization outside of the clergy, it had no direct origins within the Catholic Church. However, over the years it has been increasingly tied to the Catholic Church and other religious

bodies through various forms of recognition. In 'Journey of Family Evangelizers, Volume II 2018', it describes these ties with the Catholic Church. For example, in the year 2000 CFC was being recognized by the Vatican as a group part of the International Association of the Faithful ad experimentum – offering limited approval of the Vatican as a religious community or congregation, given it adheres to its mission. Shortly after, in 2005, CFC had gained full approval from the Vatican being recognized by religious authorities such as the Pontifical Council for the Laity and the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (Couples For Christ Global Mission Foundation 2018). Such recognition by the Catholic Church requires fulfilment of a certain set of expectations of the movement (or organization) being "soundly in and with the Church". One criterion for example states "The responsibility of professing the Catholic faith, embracing and proclaiming the truth about Christ, the Church and humanity, in obedience to the Church's Magisterium, as the Church interprets it" (Couples For Christ Global Mission Foundation, 25 2018). To this day, CFC is tied with the Church by upholding Catholic standards and working closely with religious figures.

Moving forward to the present day, CFC/ANCOP is a continuously growing organization with several active programs aside from community development. Beginning with CFC, their scope of activities varies widely outside of ANCOP. As discussed within this research, CFC is an evangelical organization that focuses on strengthening faith within the Christian family life, hence different ministries (or subgroups) that cater to different parts of the family, such as Kids for Christ, Youth for Christ, Singles for Christ, Couples for Christ, Handmaidens of the Lord (for mature women above 41), and Servants of the Lord for mature men above 41. Each of these ministries are responsible for strengthening faith through various events and activities that are catered specifically towards the demographic within these groups. Such practices are not just

localized within Canada or the Philippines but are found in over one-hundred other countries around the world ("Global Presence" n.d.). The scope of their activities can also apply to other areas of society, allowing CFC to increase their reach and influence.

Interviewee 1: And under social development programs, there is OSM (order of saint Michael), that's for men and women in uniform, meaning the Philippine army and air force. We give the character enhancement program, through the chaplain.

Me: What happens in the character advancement program?

Interviewee 1: It's like a retreat for values formation. There are 5 talks.

Interviewee 1: So, going back to Social development, there's the prison ministry, we conduct the CLP in jail. Also, there is the migrant program, where we conduct a retreat with 5 talks for the OFW [2] *families left behind in the Philippines, conducting a values formation for them.*

Me: So, the ones abroad, do you go there to them?

Interviewee 1: We just conduct values formation for their family, so they'll be close to God, and they don't fall into temptation. We also have something called oikos, which is for mother earth, for the environment. We conducted tree planting in Carbonel and waste management.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

[2] OFW refers to Overseas Filipino Workers

Outside of individual character development, CFC also has an environmental program called Oikos, which has religiously inspired motivations. According to an article published on their website

"The Global Oikos Day also commits to "Care of Mother Earth" by encouraging members to individually and as a community pledge to pray for and with creation, to live more simply, and to advocate to protect our common home" ("Celebrating the Season of Creation via the Global Oikos Day", 2017).

There is a clear indication that CFC has expanded quite extensively through their different programs, allowing a much broader application of character formation through certain programs that cater to different groups of people. The scope of their activities is quite wide, however, most of the programs mentioned during interviews and those found on their website include a religious element. Through ANCOP, CFC can increase the scope of their activities in a variety of ways. For example, I analyze ANCOP's community development program, but seldom touch on their child sponsorship program, which utilizes the most funding. Child sponsorship through ANCOP allows for children and young adults in the Philippines to go to school by receiving funding that pays for tuition and other school related fees. By navigating ANCOP's website, I learned that this process begins with the creation of a profile for recipients, where their picture, information and story are posted on ANCOP's website. These recipients are chosen either directly through the website by donors or are chosen by the head office through generalized allocated funding, such as revenue from the ANCOP global walk. It is worth pointing out that the beneficiaries living in ANCOP villages try to get their children sponsored through ANCOP to relieve school

related expenses. Lastly, ANCOP is also involved in humanitarian relief programs, which raises donations and volunteers for victims of natural disasters. For example, after typhoon Haiyan hit the Philippines in 2013, ANCOP was able to organize groups of volunteers that were able to distribute relief goods ("Impact Report", 2016). ANCOP was also able to follow up with relief efforts through their community development program, that built the Pope Francis village, by partnering with other large organizations like SM and others [3]. The beneficiaries that would live in this village would be those that lost their homes to typhoon Yolanda ("A New Heaven, A New Earth: Turn-over Ceremony", 2016). The programs outlined here show the scope of CFC/ANCOP's activities and programs, that are found all throughout Philippines and in other countries around the world. Since CFC's separation from GK, their influence continues to grow, as they maintain large networks of committed individuals and create new partnerships with large organizations such as SM.

5.3 ANCOP – A Solution to the Separation of Gawad Kalinga and Couples for Christ.

It would be unfitting if this research proceeded without at least mentioning Gawad Kalinga (GK)[4]. GK is important to bring up because it was the former development arm of CFC that carried out programs like community development. Before ANCOP, GK engaged in creating villages in the Philippines to house those in poverty, and these still exist today. However, due to internal tension between CFC and GK, CFC had '*let go'* of GK in 2009, allowing it to manage itself outside the governance of CFC. This tension between GK and CFC grew due to growing concerns over GK becoming secular and not abiding by CFC's pro-life and pro-God stance.

[3] SM (Shoe Mart) is a large conglomerate that operates in the Philippines.
[4] Gawad Kalinga is translated to "to give care" in Tagalog.

More specifically, Tony Meloto who was the founder of GK, shifted the organization towards more secular views that led to their practices being becoming less adherent to the Catholic teachings that CFC had heavily focused on (Cherry 2014 as cited in Kelly and Ortega 2020). Such differences in operation and management can be summarized within the interviews that I conducted with ANCOP staff in Canada.

Me: Can you explain the separation between CFC and GK?

Interviewee 2: Now, at the time when GK was under CFC, GK being a ministry would implement activities beginning with mass, prayers, worship invoking the Lord Jesus Christ. But then it became so big, and Tony Meloto's intention was to bring everyone in, inclusivity, even non-Catholics, Muslims and different religions. The intention is good, but when different groups joined us, there was a separation or a diversion of the philosophy of CFC and implementation of the work with the poor in GK, because the prayer, mass and spiritual catholic practices were watered down. Tony said, there are Muslims here, let's not pray anymore. So, the GK philosophy view was starting to take its own path from the original intention of CFC's work with the poor of implementing work based on the key principles and core values. So GK now became very focused on nationalism, patriotism, love for the country, which is good. But CFC's vision is beyond nationalism and patriotism. CFC's work with the poor is not only building houses and sending children to school but primarily, and most importantly, the vision and mission of what CFC wanted to do is to build the kingdom of God here on earth. Its kingdom-building compared to GK's nation-building. So, because of the difference of philosophy by GK, CFC allowed GK to go on its own.

– Original English version

– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

These understandings of GK's movement toward becoming more secular are also reflected by the former CFC Director and GK Chair, Frank Padilla, who in a letter titled *'At the Crossroads on our Journey of Hope and Joy, 2007'* stated that;

"Some key GK leaders do not give priority to critical CFC life and activities, such as households, prayer assemblies and formation programs. Many key GK people now in place actually have not undergone the basic formation courses in CFC."

As stated during my interview with ANCOP staff and in the statement given by former CFC leaders, GK had separated due to a shift in values. The emphasis was inclusivity and nation-building, rather than evangelization and spirituality, which are the core tenets of CFC and ANCOP today, as evidenced during my immersion in their villages as outlined in the next chapter. The shift into a more secular framework for GK led to less adherence to certain Catholic practices, like mass and prayer, which according to ANCOP staff were being watered down or left out altogether. ANCOP staff provided an interesting comparison between GK's work and CFC's work, where they see CFC/ANCOP as an organization that supersedes nationalism and love for one's country, but one that advocates for creating the Kingdom of God on earth, by bring others into the Catholic faith. In comparison, GK is viewed as secular-leaning organization that prioritizes ideas such as nation-building by assisting the poor through development programs achieved through broader and less religious paths, while overlooking certain religious components or sourcing funds from secular companies and organizations that CFC does not wish

to associate with. Because of the tensions that came about due to the deviating principles between GK and CFC, ANCOP (formerly ANGKOP) that had already been formed prior, replaced GK as CFC's development ministry with a renewed and significant focus on evangelization and spirituality.

5.4 Beneficiary Recruitment

CFC members, along with ANCOP personnel with the assistance of the Local Government Unit (LGU), are responsible for the recruitment of beneficiaries in the area. Of course, to develop a village, there must be eligible families in the area that are willing to participate in ANCOP's programs. During my interviews, I asked personnel about the process of recruiting potential beneficiaries.

Me: For potential ANCOP beneficiaries in the Philippines, how are they recruited?

Interviewee 3: In the Philippines, it's not a problem identifying poor communities and families, because if you just go outside of Makati or GreenHills, in the peripheries, you see poor families and squatter communities. We have a criteria in identifying who should qualify. First, he should belong to the income level of the poor; they should not exceed 18k pesos combined income per month. Other criteria, of course, is that they should not own a home. There is a list created by the government agency in charge of helping the poor in the Philippines, which is called DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development). So, when we start to help the poor in one area, we get that list from the DSWD. When we get these lists, the final decision on awarding the benefits is done by the CFC volunteers. They do inspections and visit the families one by one.

– Original English version

– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

In this interview, he discusses the process of recruiting beneficiaries. This is usually done with the help of the government, along with support from local CFC/ANCOP personnel in the area. Through the government, they can identify families living in poverty, who are then verified by CFC/ANCOP personnel. He also indicated that potential beneficiaries must meet certain criteria, like having specific income levels and being homeless, as ANCOP's shelter program mainly assists those in poverty. According to ANCOP, if people meet this requirement, persons regardless of race, gender and religion, they are permitted to become beneficiaries of ANCOP. However, through processes of governmentality and subjectivity formation, there are specific religious requirements that beneficiaries must agree to before joining a village (as outlined in the '*Godliness and Religiosity'* section in the next chapter). These sets of criteria seem very broad and could potentially elicit more beneficiaries than the organization can accommodate, provided people meet religious requirements. The question that arises is, how is the list of potential beneficiaries arrived at? If the organization is recruiting based on these requirements, many people in the Philippines would qualify for such a program but are not part of it. To answer this, I draw on points from the next section on identifying a potential village site. If the basic criteria of a site are met, as I have outlined in the next section, the actual list of identified and recruited beneficiaries is determined by a key factor, which is evangelization. The main concern is carrying out evangelization, so inclusion on the list of potential beneficiaries depends on the cooperation of the individual to take part in religious doctrines, and on being within an area chosen by CFC/ANCOP due to its capacity to carry out evangelical efforts on behalf of local CFC members. There are certainly clear expectations for what a potential beneficiary should

encompass, like meeting a certain socioeconomic threshold. However, it is evident that the primary goal is to evangelize as many people as possible, as doing so would mean bringing more people closer to God and bringing "Christ's transforming love to the poor", which are core tenets of CFC and ANCOP ("About ANCOP Canada", n.d.). Therefore, the list of beneficiaries is arrived at by cooperation of the individual to adopt a Christian life but primarily through luck by being in an area that can support CFCs Christian indoctrination by utilizing local CFC resources, like volunteers to help carry out the Christian Life Program that is mandatory for all beneficiaries.

5.5 Village Development and Site selection

Upon first visiting an ANCOP village in 2019 in Quezon City along Visayas Ave in Metro Manila, a village called Canada Village that was lined with colourful houses which resembling that of a rainbow. It was not clear why villages were located in certain areas, but could be due to the assistance of the local government, or sponsors of village had some type of connection to that area. These were some of the things that I had considered, especially concerning my two field sites. There are specific requirements for an area that CFC looks for before building a village, which I discussed during the interviews I conducted with ANCOP staff in the Philippines.

Me: What makes a good location for a village?

Interviewee 4: We have criteria that would make a good location. First, it should be near or accessible to the main business center of an area, meaning to say that its near schools, near the

office of the municipality, there are business establishments, so that they can work, it must have a road and accessible to transportation and last have water and electricity. These are good sites for a village. There are many who want to donate land to us, but sometimes they are up in the mountain, and you have to walk several kilometres on a dirt road, there is no electricity, no water, that is a bad site. Some are rice fields, where when you build a house, and it rains, it would get flooded. All of these things are taken into consideration when we built houses. We make sure that the houses will not get flooded, make sure that they are supplied with electricity, water, transportation that will bring them to the center of business, to the church, school, supermarket and so on.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

In this interview, he noted that essential infrastructure, services and livelihood opportunities must be present within the surrounding area to develop a village. Recalling an orientation I attended before my fieldwork, he mentioned the development of earlier communities where key components were missing. Despite receiving free homes, their beneficiaries went back to their squatter areas, simply because the village was located too far from their livelihoods. CFC and ANCOP solved this by creating stricter criteria for the development of ANCOP villages, such as having proper access to livelihood to avoid beneficiaries abandoning the village. For this reason, villages are built close to areas where their beneficiaries are recruited, generally in the same municipality, so beneficiaries would not need to uproot themselves or travel to distant places for their livelihood. The issue of livelihood and relocation is similar to the social housing projects occurring throughout the Philippines, when residents that are forced to relocate would not only

experience a disruption in their social lives but also their livelihoods, where assigned housing is located away from their sources of livelihood (Ortega, 2016). According to an article published in *Bulatlat*, residents volunteered to relocate to Rodriguez, Rizal, as their homes in Metro Manila were being torn down due to road widening or for business and residential projects. However, due to the lack of electricity, water supply and distance from their livelihoods, 'relocatees' preferred their 'shanties' instead of social housing.

"Even if our homes back in Agham road did not look nice, I would never trade it for this. Back there, we were near to everything. There are hospitals, and our jobs and sources of livelihood are also there. Here, we just have a house but nothing to eat" (Ellao, 2014).

In addition to essential infrastructure and livelihood, the LGU (local government unit) and the *Barangay* (village) should have a willingness to help CFC, through the donation of land and offering administrative assistance. For example, as outlined in the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) [5] for the Mississauga-West village, support provided by the LGU include:

1) Facilitate and process the procurement of all the necessary permits and license fees, documentation of the partnership, and apply for the necessary exemption from fees if necessary.
2) Shall only facilitate to provide access to electricity and water supply but not an obligation of the LGU to provide funding for these.

[5] The MOA is a document that outlines the responsibilities of all partners in the creation of an ANCOP village, including the local government unit, CFC/ANCOP and the Barangay.

3) Take lead in ensuring that there will be a road right of way in going to the CFC ANCOP site that would be passable for all light and heavy vehicles.

Example of responsibilities for the Barangay:

4) Take the lead, in coordination with the LGU, the PNP (Philippine National Police) and all other appropriate agencies in the maintenance of peace and order in the relocation site.

Without the assistance of the LGU and Barangay in creating an agreement that divides responsibilities amongst all parties, CFC/ANCOP would not be able to get the rights to build a village or any logistical support. In return for working with CFC and ANCOP the LGU can provide people living within the municipality humanitarian assistance through housing, provided the meet some requirements. Partnership with the government is a crucial step in selecting an area for development; however, there are other factors to consider outside of these basic requirements. There is also an evangelical component, in which CFC/ANCOP rely on their networks within an area to carry out religious practices to potential beneficiaries. While the homes are free of charge, there is still a requirement that beneficiaries undergo spiritual formation through Christian doctrine. Evangelization is a core tenet of CFC/ANCOP, so in addition to meeting basic requirements, the area must also be able to support CFC programs such as the CLP, a requirement reflected in interviews with personnel responsible for identifying areas for the development of villages.

Me: What are they generally looking for in a site?

Interviewee 5: At the end of the day, this is about evangelization. There have to be people that can teach values formation and conduct the CLP. They will need to sustain their values somehow, so people (CFC members) *need to teach them to be a good member of society and be a good neighbour and all that.*

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the tension between GK and CFC arose due to the lack of focus on evangelism and spirituality that was occurring through GK villages. For these reasons, it would not make sense for ANCOP to develop a village in an area that cannot carry out evangelical processes, as it would contradict the earlier tensions between GK and CFC. These processes are vital and require CFC presence in the area as another primary requirement for the development of ANCOP villages. As evidence of this, during my fieldwork in the Vancouver Homes village I was invited by my coordinator to visit a future ANCOP village in the neighbouring barangay of Carbonel. In these visits, CFC members from Paniqui conducted the CLP seminar to future ANCOP beneficiaries who were interested in living in the ANCOP village that was in development in the area (Fig 6). This example shows how the organization uses evangelization as a means of expansion through the development of their villages in different areas of the Philippines by utilizing its extensive networks. To avoid rehashing the issue of secularization that occurred with GK, ANCOP seeks to develop in areas where evangelization can occur through the assistance of its members. It should also be pointed out that the Filipino-

Canadian diaspora also play a potential role in selecting a site, which is outlined later in this chapter under '*The Role of the Filipino Diaspora'.*

Figure 6 Site of a future ANCOP village in Carbonel, Tarlac

In selecting a site, certain environmental conditions must be met to avoid unnecessary injury, loss of life, and damage to property. For instance, in another interview with the CFC head in the Tarlac region, James, along with his wife Nancy [6] spoke to me with regards to this issue.

Interviewee 6: In the community development plan, there is a lot of collaboration with the municipality. They must reclassify the land. Usually the land is for agricultural use. They need to reclassify the land to be residential. Only the LGU has the authority to reclassify the land. Then, the mayor will sign the memorandum of agreement. The municipal engineer shall certify the area, that its free from environmental issues, like floods and corrosion. After, the municipality passes a resolution, accepting this housing project by ANCOP.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

[6] James and Nancy are a pseudonym to keep their identities anonymous

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

The CFC head of the Tarlac region noted that certain environmental conditions must be met. This is contrary to the conditions in the Vancouver Homes village, however, due to the area being prone to flooding, a possible oversight in the selection of the site (Fig 7). Upon further inquiry into the reasoning behind the oversight, members from the sponsoring chapter stated that the site was chosen as the land was being donated by the local LGU (see section 5.6 for interview).

Figure 7 Water level warning signs around the Vancouver Homes village and the evacuation center located nearby.

Land acquisition occurs when individuals, corporations or the government donates land to CFC/ANCOP.

Me: What about the land the village is built on? Is it owned by the government or by CFC?

Interviewee 6: ANCOP does not have funds for buying land, so land is donated by rich families or by LGUs and what happens is that the title of the land remains with the government, city or

municipality. If it's a donation by a businessman or family, the title is transferred to the government and the government executes a tripartite agreement with ANCOP, the government and with the beneficiaries.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

According to this respondent, while the land is donated in the sense that CFC/ANCOP can use it free of charge, ownership of the land remains with the government, leading to an agreement between several parties. This agreement is called the Memorandum of Agreement, which is outlined in the previous section titled *'Village Development and Site Selection'*. The villages analyzed in this research came from donations from individuals and the government. During an impromptu conversation with CFC personnel in Buguey, Cagayan where the Mississauga-West village is located, they decided to build on land already developed. According to local officials, there was an abandoned plot of land that was intended for social housing, an initiative launched by the government. However, this was never realized and was left abandoned, leaving behind empty roads (Fig 8). The President of ANCOP saw this opportunity and suggested it be developed and asked the CFC chapter in Mississauga to fund its development once they reached an agreement with the government.

Figure 8 Mississauga-West village prior to the development of the ANCOP village. (Source: Google Maps)

5.6 The Role of the Filipino Diaspora Within CFC and ANCOP

The first half of the title of my thesis is called 'The Call to the Filipino Diaspora.' I chose this research because I wanted to investigate the significance of the Filipino diaspora in developing the Philippines on a local scale. By visiting development projects in the Philippines and speaking to the people fundraising for them in Canada, the importance of the Filipino diaspora came to light through the development and assistance of the '*kababayan'* (fellow Filipinos). ANCOP villages can be sponsored by CFC chapters around the world, but many are sponsored by chapters in Canada, which I focus on in this research (Fig 9). To start this process, CFC chapters in Canada pool their resources through donations to pay for the construction of homes. According to ANCOP staff in Canada, typically, the first stages of a village include funding a minimum of 30 homes to reach an agreement with ANCOP.

Figure 9 An ANCOP Canada Village in Quezon City

Interviewee 7: Ideally, the village is composed of 30 units, and the organization or the sponsoring CFC chapter will generate money towards those 30 units. Depending on the construction rates, it comes to around 190k Pesos per unit and multiply that by 30, and that will be the target for the group who is raising money. If they have that intent or commitment, we go into an agency agreement with them. For example, the east sector of the GTA, which is composed of 5 chapters, commits to building one community in Taal. So, they sign an agreement, and now they're fundraising and gathering money towards that.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Original English version

– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

There are a variety of methods of generating funds for ANCOP villages. In Canada, I spoke with the sponsoring CFC communities to gain an insight into the ways they mobilize the Filipino-

Canadian diaspora in hopes of creating villages. I use the Vancouver Homes village and its sponsors as an example to provide a look into the methods being used for fundraising donations.

Me: How are monetary donations gathered for ANCOP villages?

Interviewee 8: Fundraising for the shelter comes from things like the annual spring run relay, where mostly CFC members gather together for this big annual event. This is primarily for the shelter project, that's why Vancouver was able to fund two villages in the Philippines… All CFC communities are parish-based or called chapters. We have ANCOP coordinators in each of the parishes, and we ask them if they could raise funds for the spring run relay. We have April as a scheduled date, so from December to April, they already do their individual fundraising for each chapter. They do events such as bottle fundraising, garage sales, and their own dinner and dance. All of this small fundraising will be collected at the spring run relay, where we have a minimum quota of 1 house for each chapter.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

In this interview, he discussed certain activities, like bottle fundraisers, garage sales, dinners and sporting events, where funds are solicited internally from within the chapters. He noted that the chapters should raise the funds required to build a village by April, where they would gather all funds from each chapter during their spring run relay event. However, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the ANCOP head office created a 'virtual ANCOP walk', where donations will be accepted online. This shows the importance of the Filipino-Canadian diaspora within this organization, as they utilize their networks and work together to come up with donations that go

to ANCOP. For example, members can contribute by selling food during events, from which proceeds go to ANCOP. Furthermore, ANCOP coordinators are careful not to 'burn out' their donors, by creating activities that allow them to participate and engage with one another, making the contribution more meaningful. Such activities are carried out by volunteers known as pastoral workers, which I discuss later in this chapter. For example, during the year CFC chapters create events for their members that allow for fundraising, while also allowing them to participate in activities and events.

Off the track were food stalls set up by the various teams to sell meals and delicacies like porridge, noodles, pork barbecue, ukoy, rice cakes, and spring rolls. All sales proceeds also went to ANCOP (Garrucho 2015, para 11).

However, depending on the community, funds can also be solicited externally from companies or organizations that are not affiliated with CFC/ANCOP. For example, the CFC community in Winnipeg is partnered with a company called Vickar Automotive, which regularly donates to ANCOP. The company has provided enough support to ANCOP to the point that it has an ANCOP village named after it in Camiguin, Philippines (Fig 10).

Figure 10 Vickar, Rotary Village (source: Ancopcanada.org)

Once CFC chapters collect funds, the intent to build a village is relayed by ANCOP Canada to the CFC head office in the Philippines, who dispatch teams that go to potential areas and correspond with local government officials.

Interviewee 9: Before we offer a community site, we have coordinators in the Philippines who inform the head office that we are doing another village and targeting a particular site (like Taal), and they go to the site and talk to CFC members in that particular area and ask for their help. Then they go to the government entity like the mayor or barangay, and all people who process the legalities, like zoning, facilities, amenities, water, lighting, roads and all that. When everything is in place, they ask the local CFC to prepare documents.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Original English version

– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

Typically, CFC's head office identifies potential areas by sending personnel around the Philippines. Once areas are identified, they provide the sponsoring community in Canada with three areas to choose from for building the village. However, the sponsoring community also has the choice to request specific areas of their choosing, because of their familiarity with the area.

Interviewee 9: In choosing a site, some allow the head office to choose the site for them. But some donors, like this donor from Calgary, donated 30 houses and came from Lubao, Pampanga. So, he chose to build a village in Lubao. It depends, some chapters would ask the head office to provide them with three choices, others identify sites because that is where they come from.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

The choice of selecting potential areas for a village is significant, because it implies that villages can be created in locations according to their donors. While the CFC's head office has volunteers that identify potential sites, donors have the capacity to suggest areas for villages, rather than placing them in places of greater need. Both of the villages that I visited, Vancouver Homes and Mississauga-West, were built in their respective areas because they were suggested by the head office or by ANCOP. In the case of Vancouver Homes in Paniqui, Tarlac the decision was made by the sponsoring community based on the suggestion from the head office.

Me: Why did you choose Paniqui?

Interviewee 10: At the time, it was timely for us to put up funds, because somebody donated land in Paniqui, Tarlac. Since we had available funds from our fund raising that time, we were able to choose Paniqui Tarlac, because the head office also coordinated. They do all the groundwork for whoever donates the land.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

Outside of the processes of fundraising and deciding where villages are placed, there are other ways the Filipino-Canadian diaspora is involved, given their extensive networks within CFC and ANCOP. During interviews with members in Canada, about their involvement with the ANCOP in the Philippines, the topic of volunteerism came up. For example, some CFC chapters in Canada partner with local school boards who allow students to take part in immersion trips to the Philippines. ANCOP in Toronto, for example, has partnered with the Toronto Catholic District School Board (TCDSB) to create a program that allows their students to travel to the Philippines to interact with beneficiaries and to help construct villages (Fig 11). It is important to note that while these students are not necessarily part of the Filipino-Canadian diaspora, they are mobilized by the diaspora through the establishment of partnerships with CFC. However, Filipinos make up a sizeable portion of students within the TCDSB, as pointed out by a teacher who works for the school board. This information is backed up by a report conducted by the TCDSB, where Tagalog speakers make up 8.2% of the student population, second only to

English speakers, who make up 67.4%, and who most likely include second-generation non-Tagalog speaking Filipinos (2018).

Interviewee 11: At our board, we've been doing trips to Tanzania, Kenya, India, and Mexico. There were no service trips to the Philippines, but we have close to 30% of the TCDSB being of Filipino background. So, I figured there was a great need and opportunity to go there because of the immense poverty in the Philippines, and since we have such a huge Filipino population in the board, I thought it was a good fit. We actually have the highest population of any cultural group in the TCDSB.

Me: What's the connection with CFC and ANCOP and the school board?

Interviewee 11: Well, we needed a partner in the Philippines to help coordinate the programming we were going to do in the Philippines, so we got permission from the board that the trip was a go, we had a start date and an end date. However, when we go to the Philippines, what would we actually do when we get there? I also had to assess safety and transportation and all that, and from there, we decided that ANCOP was the best fit, both in terms of programs and their connection with Catholicism and how they intertwine religious aspects into their programming.

Me: When the students go to the Philippines, can you give me a basic breakdown of what they do there?

Interviewee 11: There's a whole bunch of things that they do. First, students can bring two pieces of luggage, one would be for belongings, clothes and toiletries, but your other luggage you fill with as many donations as you can because we visit as many villages as we can. So, in

the first year, we only went to one village. But in the second year, we went to the previous village and a new village, and in the third year, we went to the two previous villages and then a new village. So, we go to the previous villages, so it is not just a one-time thing, like oh, they came in December, and we'll never see them again – we wanted to keep that connection with them even though we're no longer there. We also do a community cleanup, and then one of our main focuses is helping construct houses in the new community.

– Interview with TCDSB teacher, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

In this interview, the teacher outlined their partnership with CFC/ANCOP, where he traveled with their students to the Philippines to foster relationships with ANCOP beneficiaries and assist with the development of houses for ANCOP's shelter program. Through voluntary labour that is mobilized by the diaspora, ANCOP can create homes at a reduced cost by not having to hire additional workers. Furthermore, students are required to fundraise for their trip to pay for the cost of travel and living, which also goes towards ANCOP, further contributing to the organization.

Me: Is there any monetary contribution, like has the school board allocated funds or have the students allocated funds for a certain amount to build homes?

Interviewee 11: These students were required to do fundraising to pay for their trip. But part of their total cost is a contribution that we give to ANCOP for both building materials as well as a donation to the community.

– Interview with TCDSB teacher, 2019

– Original English version

– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

Figure 11 Toronto Youth from TCDSB in 2017 at the Baliuag, Bulacan build site. (source: Ancopcanada.org)

Through the establishment of relationships between local CFC chapters and other groups, it is evident that they can fully utilize the full reach of their social networks within the Filipino-Canadian diaspora. The teacher that was interviewed for instance, was referred to CFC/ANCOP, because his father had prior connections with the organization and thus was able to establish the volunteer program with the schoolboard. While these trips are short excursions, they are very beneficial to the organization, as they receive voluntary labour, donations, and create sustained relationships that can provide further long-term support.

Partnerships between the TCDSB (plus other schoolboards) and CFC/ANCOP is not the only form of transnational volunteerism. Aside from short excursions to villages by Canadian students, the organization utilizes their own set of volunteers. During fieldwork in the Philippines while visiting various CFC/ANCOP sites, there were several encounters with individuals that were volunteers for the organization. Upon further inquiry, I learned that the volunteers that I encountered in the Philippines were local to the country. They were known as either 'missionaries' or 'pastoral workers' that are trained to be full-time workers for the organization and voluntarily leave their careers behind to pursue such missionary work. [7] In most cases these volunteers are posted in the country they originate from. However, the volunteers who were being utilized in Canada have significant roles when it comes to the establishment of ANCOP villages abroad. Through my discussions with them in Canada, they outlined their vital roles in contributing to the development of a village remotely, providing forms of transnational assistance by coordinating with projects between the Philippines and Canada. One volunteer in Vancouver, for instance, outlined her work and responsibilities.

Me: Do you have any responsibilities that are specifically catered to assisting any ANCOP village related duties?

Interviewee 12: Yes, two years ago, we started the True North initiative. We worked with young adults, and we tried to capture what they get interested in. So, we come up with campaigns or things that would help excite them, so they would want to support it financially. For instance, the True North Village was an initiative that came up that would be sponsored by Singles for Christ

[7] Volunteers are required to have educational credentials and an established career to fall back on in case they decide to stop being volunteers.

(SFC) in Canada. As a missionary, we had to launch this nationally and gather certain funds from each area. Then to reach our goals, we needed to encourage our leaders and members to promote events like the ANCOP walk (which generates donations).

– Interview with CFC Volunteer, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

In this interview, she had noted that she assisted with community-driven efforts to sponsor villages, such as the True North village, in the Philippines, indicating a significant role in helping create villages for CFC/ANCOP and subsequently further development for the Philippines. Such volunteer roles are arguably the most crucial in the transnational process, because they are responsible for helping mobilize the Filipino-Canadian diaspora in Canadian CFC chapters, that help generate donations that are vital to the organization. According to reports from a PowerPoint during my initial CFC orientation, donations from Canada are one of the largest sources of funds for CFC providing 46.45 million Pesos, making up 28.4% of all donations, second only to ANCOP Global Walk (AGW) [8] which provided 46.9 million, making up 30.4% of donations in 2018. It is also worth pointing out that Canada has the most significant contribution, as Canadian contributions are counted towards the AGW contribution collected during then annual event. Additionally, it had almost doubled its funding from 2017 to 2018 from 23.91 to 46.45 million pesos, indicating increased efforts at the Canadian end (Fig 12). These figures are significant and vital to their development programs which require a large

[8] AGW is the ANCOP Global Walk, an annual activity with the goal of fundraising.

amount of financial resources. Such activities and events are made possible through the coordination and assistance of Canadian volunteers.

COMPARATIVE SCHEDULE OF DONATIONS
APRIL 1, 2018 TO DEC. 31, 2018 (In Million PH Pesos)

DONORS	2018	%	2017	RANK IN 2017	Variance	%
1. AGW	46.970	30.4	37.692	1	9.277	25.0
2. CANADA	46.454	28.4	23.911	2	22.544	94.0
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12,						
13.						
14.						
15.						

Figure 12 ANCOPs Donation schedule in 2017 – 2018. (AGW: Annual Global Walk) (source: Couples for Christ)

These workers, however, are not the only actors that play an active role in the organization. Regular CFC members, aside from their monetary contributions, can play an active role too. In the earlier methodology chapter, I discussed the term *'balikbayan boxes'* and how Filipino families provide things to friends and family to the Philippines. To reiterate, this practice involves gathering material goods like canned food, clothing, electronics and money that are to be sent to the Philippines. This is a common practice for Filipinos and is often brought with them as luggage, when they go back to the Philippines. In an interview with a CFC member, I inquired on whether this practice was applicable for members donating to beneficiaries in the ANCOP villages.

Me: Do CFC members usually bring things to the Philippines if they have the chance?

Interviewee 13: Yeah, we had a member that planned to go home and asked for some relief donations like canned goods and toiletries because their place is so close to the village and can just provide them things like ANCOP shirts and stuff like that. Most of our members who are closer to the beneficiaries do set up appointments with ANCOP to visit their beneficiaries, for example, scholars and their families.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

Aside from collective monetary donations, here it is evident that regular CFC members can also play a role, although minor, in providing direct in person assistance to ANCOP beneficiaries. Their donations typically include things like t-shirts, canned goods or toiletries, and the impact of this practice adds up as many Filipinos, specifically those who are a part of CFC, make a pilgrimage back to the Philippines often. This can not only provide material value, but also rekindles relationships made between the donor(s) and the beneficiaries, providing sustained contact and support. These relationships can also be formed through other ANCOP programs that assist beneficiaries, such as their child sponsorship program. Although this program is not a focus of this research, it is still important to consider as method of development and assistance.

Me: After the village is complete, and aside from sending volunteers, do you ever keep in touch with the village or ongoing connection?

Interviewee 13: Yes. With the children that need education, that's when the child sponsorship of ANCOP comes into play. A lot of our members also want to help children that want to go to school. So, those families may also have their children sponsored by our members.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

These interviews provide examples that illustrate the additional responsibilities that CFC members take on outside the practices of collective monetary donations. Through small practices like *'balikbayan boxes,'* they not only supplement their contributions to ANCOP, but also sustain relationships with beneficiaries, making their roles important for assistance in this transnational process.

It is evident that the Filipino diaspora through CFC/ANCOP play a very active role developing the Philippines on a local scale, which is accomplished through a variety of methods. In the next chapter, I discuss the outcomes of donations within ANCOP villages, analyzing and observing the ways a religious middle-class identity begins to take shape through the subjectivities imposed on the beneficiaries by the organization. However, before doing so, it is important to analyze the thinking and attitudes that underpin these donations that drive the organization's social programs. The thinking and attitude that motivate these transactions are reflected in an interview with a CFC member who is also a full-time pastoral worker with the organization.

Me: In the villages, I saw a shift towards a middle-class life. People coming from poverty, coming to have homes, and having a means of living. This seems like they start to become part of the middle-class. Was this outcome one of the primary attitudes towards the donations or was it more faith-based?

Interviewee 14: Because we're CFC, our first mission is to build the church of the home, its always about that first. I guess, them becoming middle class, I've never thought about that because I didn't think they were middle-class. I guess, it's better than the one they had before. It's always about building the church of the home first, so for me personally, its more about the faith first, because it is an evangelization strategy, that's why we don't just go in and build houses, they also have to commit to helping in that process and making sure they attend some kind of a faith thing like the CLP or whatever it is CFC offers for that specific village.

– Interview with CFC volunteer, 2019
– Original English version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

While my observations within two villages point towards a shift toward a middle-class identity, this is not the primary motivation for assisting beneficiaries. As CFC is a religious organization, their intent goes beyond changing the socioeconomic status of their beneficiaries and is focused on the religious element of evangelization. This attitude is a reminder of the separation between GK and CFC, where GK was described as being too focused on 'nation-building' rather than 'kingdom-building', referring to the Kingdom of God on earth. Due to GK's separation, the religious components in their programs are closely guarded to prevent a similar situation from arising. Shifting their beneficiaries to being part of the middle-class was never an attitude that

underpinned the work of CFC/ANCOP. According to a respondent the attitude is the opposite, where they never thought of them being part of the middle-class but instead, as subjects that would conform to a Christian way of life that inadvertently leads to a middle-class life. In these examples, benefactors or the Filipino diaspora play an indirect role in the lives of their beneficiaries. As expressed earlier in this chapter, the diaspora plays a very minor role in in the lives of the beneficiaries, through short visits to the villages. However, it is important to consider their indirect roles to the organization. The Filipino-Canadian diaspora is able to mobilize collective remittances for CFC/ANCOP, because they have a belief and expectation that funds go towards a cause they believe in, thereby transferring a type of religious social remittance that reinforce religious values, behaviours and beliefs. It is evident in the interviews that the attitudes that underpin these transnational processes are rooted in evangelical belief that will have an inevitable effect on the beneficiaries of the organization. Although the Canadian diaspora's direct role is hard to imagine in the lives of their beneficiaries, they play a significant indirect role that support the organization through a religious expectation and belief that is supplemented by financial resources. Relating to the development discourse discussed in an earlier chapter, it seems clear that CFC/ANCOP have a certain idea of what they perceive to be the problems and needs of their beneficiaries. This discourse of development, however, acquired a distinct religious component, creating a nexus between religious belief and development.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an insight into the history of CFC/ANCOP, which provides context and reasoning behind the methods that they employ. Such methods include the siting of their villages in hand-picked locations and the way they administer their programs, which becomes much more relevant for the next chapter. Analyzing the interviews with the individuals associated with this organization has also allowed for an understanding of the processes involved in creating ANCOP villages that include a global flow of resources between Canada and the Philippines. These processes show the significance of the Filipino-Canadian diaspora as vital transnational actors for the organization in developing the Philippines with a religious element.

Chapter Six – Life in an ANCOP Village: Control over Conduct and Middle-Class Formation

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to offer an overview of the practices within ANCOP villages that control and shape the conduct of beneficiaries living there. It will provide evidence that demonstrates elements of governmentality through different practices that aim to shape the subjectivities of individuals. These practices include religious elements designed to (re)evangelize individuals with Catholic doctrine, but they also include what could been seen as values of middle class respectability, including cleanliness and orderliness, godliness and religiosity, family life, civic engagement, and livelihood and work ethic. These are forms of conduct that are seen by ANCOP as 'lifting' beneficiaries out of the pathologies of the poor and into a middle class norm. Importantly, these values are especially promoted by the diasporic donors who support ANCOP's community development program. In looking at the middle class, there is a cultural hierarchy where members of the middle class look down on the poor and see their behaviours and habits as inferior. Governmentality relates to these middle class respectabilities through charitable generosity towards the poor that wish to improve them.

6.2 Cleanliness and Orderliness

I recall my trip to my first field site in Paniqui, a municipality located in the province of Tarlac, just north of Tarlac City. I had to overcome my fear of public transit, as getting to Paniqui required a bit of local knowledge. I boarded a bus in Pasay City (Metro Manila) bound for Dagupan, making stops along the way, including Tarlac City. It took approximately five

hours due to the usual Manila traffic. As soon as I arrived in Tarlac City, I met with the Tarlac region's ANCOP head, James, and his wife Nancy[9], who I had met previously at a CFC conference back in Manila. We proceeded to Paniqui, where an ANCOP village called 'Vancouver Homes' was located, about a half-hour drive from Tarlac City. During the drive, James and Nancy told me about their roles in the organization as 'sector heads' and gave some context about the village. We navigated through the busy night markets of Paniqui and turned onto a side road that leads into the village. Upon first entering the village's driveway, the first thing that he pointed out was a makeshift garage that was in front of one of the homes. Initially, I did not think much of it, but it seemed to be a growing concern with James and Nancy, as it violated some village rules. They were confused and consulted an elder in the village for a reason behind the garage. When pressed about the issue, the local elder mentioned that the garage was temporary, as the beneficiary living in the home said he needed it to store his son's car until he returned to pick it up. I began to realize the extent to which control over conduct was present in the village, making its way down to small things, such as altering homes, which is tied to *ugali* (habits) of an individual, according to CFC/ANCOP officials.

The home's appearance was enforced, but I began to wonder what harm alteration could have, especially if a person uses their own resources to change their home and use it for practical reasons. It was not until I visited my second field site, 'Mississauga-West' (in Buguey, Cagayan), that I learned the rationale behind this approach. In Mississauga-West, local beneficiaries had complained that they had no indoor spaces for cooking their food, as cooking inside could ruin their walls and ceiling due to smoke. To prevent damage, they created an extension for a kitchen area made from *nipa* (palm) leaves, but it was eventually torn down, as a

[9] James and Nancy are a pseudonym to keep their identities anonymous

visiting delegation from Canada did not appreciate the way it looked. During my interviews with local beneficiaries in the village, the kitchen issue came up, and responses pointed to the same reason.

Me: What would you like to see improved in the village?

Interviewee 16: We hope to have a kitchen because when it rains, we get wet.

Me: So, the kitchen is not inside?

Interviewee 16: No, we cook outside.

Me: Why aren't you allowed to have a kitchen?

Interviewee 16: Well, before we had a kitchen built from nipa leaves. When Sir came to visit us here, he thought the nipa huts looked bad and made us look like squatters, so he wanted to take them down.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

Another couple that I spoke to in the village repeated these sentiments but stated that a kitchen addition was possible, but with better-looking materials like concrete blocks, instead of nipa leaves.

Interviewee 17: All we want is to put a kitchen up because we would get wet cooking outside.

Me: So, you're saying you're not allowed to set up a kitchen?

Interviewee 17: We did once, but they told us to take it down. They said we could have a kitchen if we use hollow blocks, but we don't have money for that, so before we just created one from

nipa leaves. When they came to visit, the Canadians said it looked messy and made us look like squatters. That's why they told us to take it down. It was Sir who told us to take it down.

– – Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

A specific image is maintained in both villages by preventing unapproved alteration of the house. Such alterations are only possible if the material used is of better quality (like concrete blocks), to avoid the image of looking like "squatters".[10] For example, a preferred alteration is evident in the Vancouver Homes village, as residents saved enough money to construct a kitchen made from concrete blocks opposed to *nipa* leaves (fig 13). Rules regarding alteration and the house's overall image are enforced and stated in the *kasunduan*, which is a contract signed between ANCOP and the beneficiary.[11] In this agreement, beneficiaries cannot alter their home's appearance without the organization's written consent - and this including adding *nipa* leaves. Furthermore, warnings are given if beneficiaries do not maintain their unit's cleanliness.

Neighborhood Association Rules and Regulations (Mississauga-West Village)

Offence:

[10] The term 'squatter' is colloquially used to define a person whose traits and lifestyle resemble that of a squatter, even if the person they are referring to is *not* a squatter or homeless.
[11] ANCOP villages maintain their own set of separate rules but are similar as they follow CFC guidelines.

1) Alteration and renovation of units without the written approval of the Samahan (organization). (Three warnings until formal eviction)
2) The beneficiary is not properly maintaining the cleanliness of the unit and its surroundings. (Four warnings until formal eviction)

Figure 13 Vancouver Homes village with units that have concrete block kitchens attached.

I recall attending a 'turn over' event in the Barangay (village) of Moonwalk, in Parañaque (Metro Manila), where CFC and ANCOP hand over the keys of newly built houses to their beneficiaries. During this event, one of the speakers told the beneficiaries in the crowd that they should take care of their homes and not let it go into disarray by keeping it clean. I wondered why this was relevant, so I asked my coordinator why the idea of orderliness and cleanliness was important. She said, "it's important to keep these villages clean and orderly; otherwise, they will revert to their old bad habits (*ugali*)." Through the selection process based on specific criteria that I mentioned in the previous chapter, beneficiaries are generally poor, and the assumption is made that they possess undesirable squatter-like habits. In my coordinator's statement, she relates cleanliness and orderliness to being of good character. Anything short of that would be wrong and would reflect poorly on a person and, subsequently, on ANCOP. By

looking at this example, it demonstrates how CFC/ANCOP believes that regulated and clean and orderly landscapes can alter the behaviour of people within them. The house's appearance is connected to a beneficiary's traits, so enforcing a particular image of space thus enforces a specific set of subjectivities on the beneficiaries. As stated by my coordinator, a poor village environment could result in beneficiaries reverting to their 'old bad habits,' potentially putting their programs in jeopardy. They seek to mould their beneficiaries in a certain way and is one of the many tools used to control individuals living in their villages. I had initially thought that this example was insignificant and was reluctant to pursue it. However, I realized that it shows how control over conduct makes its way down to the minute things, and governance is achieved in everyday nuances, demonstrating CFC/ANCOP thoroughness. Moving forward in this chapter, there are many more evident examples of control over conduct in the village.

6.3 Godliness and Religiosity

In many other ways, governmentality is present in ANCOP villages, and I provided a subtle example of this when governing their beneficiaries. To further elaborate on governmentality and the control over conduct in the villages, I outline the foundational religious teachings taught when becoming a beneficiary. These foundational religious teachings are taught in the Christian Life Program (CLP) and are required for people who want to become CFC members and, subsequently, beneficiaries of ANCOP.

Listed below are some of the essential prerequisites of the program:

1) The CLP is open to all Christian couples who are validly married. There are, however, exceptions to this general rule, to wit:

a) Unmarried couples who have no impediment to becoming validly married may attend. However, after Module One, they must signify their intention to get married in Church at the soonest possible time.

c) The CLP is for Christians, and thus, non-Christians are not to be invited. However, in case of a mixed marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian, where the non-Christian is willing to try the program, such a couple may be invited. After Module One, they may continue only if the non-Christian signifies his openness to become a Christian. And they may join CFC only if the non-Christian actually begins the process of becoming a Christian.

(Christian Life Program: The Complete Set of Manuals, 2014, 119).

Through my discussions with various CFC and ANCOP personnel, they have indicated that a person of any religion can be invited to attend the CLP, provided they eventually become Christians.

Me: Is anybody eligible for the program? For example, people who are Muslim or Iglesia? [12]

Interviewee 18: Yes, they are welcome regardless of their background. However, as long as they are willing to renounce their faith during the baptism. Then, you are welcome to become Catholic. As much as possible here in ANCOP, there is nobody that is not a Catholic.

[12] Iglesia refers to the Church of Christ in the Philippines, classified as a different sect of Christianity.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

The primary goals of the CLP are to establish Christian doctrines in an individual's life. These goals are in the organization's literature:

1. For the individual, it brings a person into a stronger relationship with God by discovering and living more fully the power and gifts he or she received through the Holy Spirit.
2. For the family, it brings married couples to a renewed commitment to Christian family life, and it starts to build up a community of committed Christian families.
3. For the Church, it brings people within a particular parish to a fuller experience of life in the Spirit. Consequently, it strengthens and revitalizes community life in the parish.

(Christian Life Program: The Complete Set of Manuals, 2014, 119).

The CLP goals are further reflected in the interviews I conducted with CFC personnel overseeing an ANCOP village, emphasizing Christianity's fundamental dogmas.

Interviewee 19: The CLP is a 12-talk seminar program that is intended for couples. The CLP is the basic dogma about Christianity, who is Jesus Christ, God's love, how to be a good husband/wife. The strategy for evangelizing the family is through a series of seminars, teachings and events. So, we invite them to join CFC. Once they are with CFC, we have continuous teachings for five-plus years after that.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

Through the CLP, CFC fulfills its mandate of 'renewing the face of the earth' through the process of (re)evangelizing beneficiaries that are Christian and non-Christian. Governmentality operates within the organization as it seeks to transform individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour, laying down a foundation of Catholic doctrine, which is transferred into their daily lives, especially for those who become ANCOP beneficiaries. These values are reinforced throughout their tenure in ANCOP villages through different control methods to maintain this Catholic doctrine. One way includes 'values formation,' which is part of the introduction into CFC that teaches ethics such as being good to others in their community and other Christian-related values. A definition of values formation is found within an interview I conducted with ANCOP personnel in Canada.

Me: Earlier, you said values formation, what's the difference between that and the CLP?

Interviewee 19: The CLP is more spiritual. Values formation is communal. The CLP talks more about loving God. The values are about cleanliness, beautification, helping one another and we have a program and a module for this. It's more about building up the community and putting value into what they have right now.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Original English version

– Excerpt from an interview conducted over the phone

According to ANCOP staff, values formation focuses on the communal aspects of living in the village; however, it still incorporates Christian ideas, like helping one another, similar to loving thy neighbour in the bible. Yet, when I spoke to beneficiaries in the villages, some have a different interpretation of values formation. According to them, values formation is never-ending and continuous throughout their lives by attending certain events. For example, during my stay at the Vancouver Homes village, I was invited by an elder to participate in an event called 're-echo'. It was held at Tarlac State University, about a half-hour drive from the village and open to all CFC members in the Tarlac region. The purpose of the retreat was to renew and strengthen faith in the Lord, the event was free to all participants, and the local CFC chapter rented several jeepneys to transport members to the event. I overheard local elders telling beneficiaries in the village that since it was during the weekend and transportation was free, there was no excuse not to attend. The jeepney arrived at the event, where a long line of people waited to sign in for attendance near the entrance, reminding me of how behaviour is closely monitored. Before the event started, we received name cards to familiarize ourselves and socialize with other Tarlac region members. My host introduced me to several members as a visiting non-member in the community, and they invited me to other CFC events in the future. When everybody settled in and got acquainted with one another, the keynote speaker started with the usual Hail Mary prayer with everybody reciting it in unison. Soon after, the atmosphere erupted as they began to sing hymns of praise, which resembles the format of most prayer meetings that I attended in the villages. The audience was asked to reflect on three questions during the presentation.

1) What are my personal darknesses in life?
2) How can I bring light to this darkness?
3) How can I encourage others to live as children of the light?

When the event concluded, one of the speakers encouraged the crowd and asked, 'Can we do it?' The crowd chanted, 'Yes we can!', which brought much enthusiasm. It seems that the goal of re-energizing, renewing and strengthening faith was successful, given the enthusiastic and cheerful atmosphere. After attending this event, I began to think about their idea of values formation. I realized that many of the things discussed at this event were echoes of the doctrines taught during the initial indoctrination period. It seemed that this event helped maintain Christian values in the community, hence *continuous* values formation. Another important theme of this event was the family, which I discuss in more detail in the next section.

Aside from this annual event, everyday religiosity and reinforcement of faith and religious practice are evident in the village's day-to-day life. I use my experience with the family that I stayed with during fieldwork at the Vancouver Homes village. Every morning before the children went to school, we would have breakfast together. Everybody would either be encouraged to say a personal prayer acknowledging the blessing of food, or one person, typically the 'head of the house' (the father), would recite a prayer that blessed the food, followed by the sign of the cross, which repeats throughout the day before every meal. These practices were also standard within the Mississauga-West village, where we would pray as a group to bless the food before eating. Some beneficiaries, when travelling to other towns for work, would lead a prayer before leaving. Although such *personal prayers* are not monitored or enforced through rules,

CFC/ANCOP leaders often encouraged them. Other forms of religiosity were expressed by the beneficiaries I spoke to through the attendance of activities and events indicated in this interview:

Me: How often do you attend religious activities like mass?

Interviewee 20: Sometimes, a priest comes here to conduct mass.

Me: But if they don't come, do you go outside to go to church?

Interviewee 20: Yes, the big church in the town. We go every week on Sunday.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

Attending mass every Sunday is a common practice for beneficiaries. Although attendance is taken for religious activities that occur within the village when Priests conduct a mass, outside activities such as attending mass at the local church are not recorded. This indicates that beneficiaries are motivated to attend these activities for their own spiritual needs outside the watchful eyes of ANCOP, demonstrating how governmentality can (re)evangelize ANCOP beneficiaries. In the Vancouver Homes Village, I would also notice the local music group practicing religious hymns who sang at religious events. On one occasion, I was invited to a funeral where the music group performed hymns for a member who passed away in their community. These examples demonstrate the various religious practices that reinforced Christian ideals in these beneficiaries' everyday lives, showing that, for the most part, ANCOP is

successful in maintaining religious values - both when leaders are watching, and when they are not.

6.4 Family Life

The importance of family is often emphasized as an essential part of a person's membership within CFC. For evangelization, CFC starts with the family, as it is considered the first place to start to 'renew the face of the earth.' This idea was brought up several times during my interviews, noting the importance of the family within Catholic beliefs.

Me: When you say renewing the family, how do you renew the family?

Interviewee 21: We start with the family because the family is the smallest society. It's the basic society, and we can't renew the world if we don't start with the family. So, CFC starts with couples but then, later on, created other family ministries. Family ministries include couples, kids, youth, singles, handmaids and servants of the lord. If the whole family is involved with all these things, it would radiate to all of the neighbourhood, until the whole community is part of it.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Original English Version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

Going back to the re-echo event I discussed in the previous section, there was a series of themed talks, where an individual from the CFC community shared their experiences. For example, the first session was called 'Darkness in the home: As the family goes, so does the nation and then the world.' This speaker reiterated some of CFC's fundamental doctrines, such as the home as being the central unit, and to renew the face of the earth by evangelizing, you must first start at

the family level. They showed church attendance statistics in decline in the Philippines and attributed it to a lack of evangelization in the family, resulting in a decrease in society's spirituality. Other speakers followed, who shared personal stories in their lives to help relate more to the audience and shared information on how they encouraged family members to go to church and how their lives changed for the better. In addition to renewing one's faith, the re-echo event also tries to reinforce the idea of family. Within CFC, for example, all members of the family are integrated into a system called the 'family ministries,' like Kids for Christ, Youth for Christ, Singles for Christ, and Handmaids of the Lord/Servants of the Lord (widowed/separated) (Fig 14).

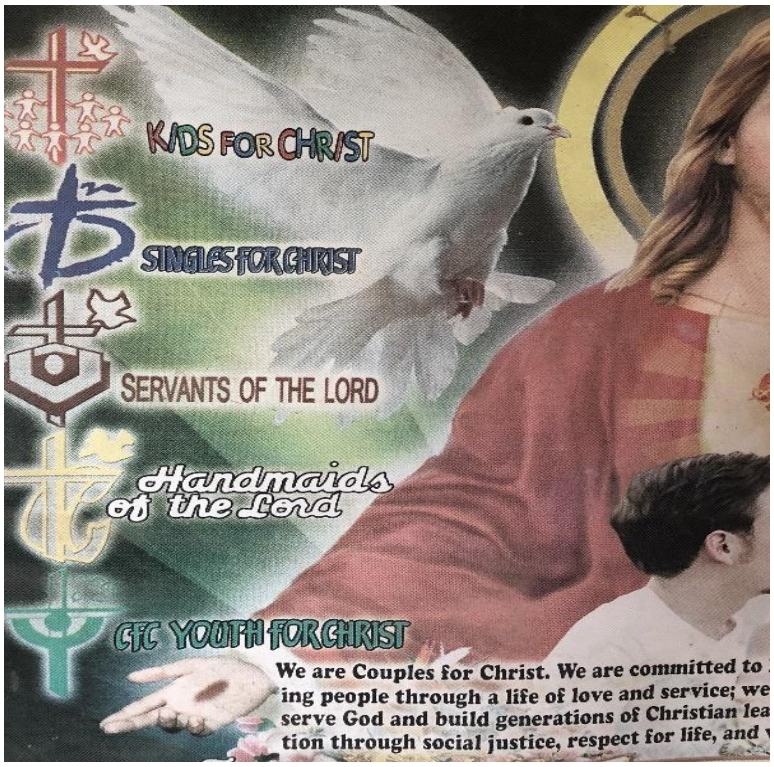

Figure 14 The different family ministries (groups) within CFC

The institution of a Christian family is quite evident within the CLP manual and through events and activities. In one interview conducted, it shows how the theme of the family is

materialized in everyday lives. This interview revealed that there were gendered and structured hierarchies within the family unit.

Interviewee 22: The husband and the wife are household leaders.

Me: In their roles as household leaders, do they have the same responsibilities?

Interviewee 22: No, they have different roles. The husband is the head, and the wife is more of a support to the husband.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

These family values are also found within the CFC CLP manuals:

a) Parents, especially the fathers, are to be the priests in their families. They present God to their families – by their example of living Christianity, by diligently teaching Scripture, by the use of symbols. They present their families to God – by family prayer, by blessing the children.

(Christian Life Program: The Complete Set of Manuals, 2014, 59).

During fieldwork, especially my visits to the Vancouver Homes village, they utilized a practice called '*household meetings,'* where family values became more evident (I discuss the purpose of household meetings in more detail regarding governance in a later section in this chapter). Every week beneficiaries gather in a house for the household meeting. It is expected that the home's

father would lead the weekly meeting, beginning with a prayer. I recall attending several household meetings within the village, where the husband or the head of the household, would lead the prayer and sometimes require their wife's assistance in reciting certain things. In this sense, the family institution is quite patriarchal, where there is a clear division of roles based on gender. As shown in the CLP manual, this structured familial institution is imposed and considered a religious value. In Mississauga-West village, these family values were not as evident, as household meetings were not yet being utilized due to the village's infancy and, therefore, could not be observed. However, it is a safe assumption that as time progresses, the Mississauga-West village will eventually adopt the same familial practices and values utilized in the Vancouver Homes village. That is not to say that these family values are completely non-existent, as beneficiaries in the Mississauga-West village undergo the same indoctrination that draws from the standard CLP manuals.

6.5 Civic Engagement and Participation

Many of the CFC events that I attended were led by CFC members who were not beneficiaries of ANCOP. Although beneficiaries of ANCOP are also considered *regular* CFC members, they seem to fall into an informally lower category of membership, where they receive less privilege than their middle-class counterparts. For example, beneficiaries must attend events (prayer meetings and other evangelical events); otherwise, they would receive warnings and eventually reprimanded. One beneficiary I interviewed stated that attending events was mandatory, and not doing so would constitute breaking the rules.

Me: What would you like to see different in the village?

Interviewee 23: For me, I hope they are fair. For example, there are rules to attend events. Not all the time I can go, because my body is not in the best condition. I'm old, and maybe later they will want me to attend a service, but I can't go because of my old condition. They were asking me why I was not attending these events.

Me: So, you do not go to these events?

Interviewee 23: Only some of them. Also, because I have no budget, I have no money to go anywhere and no money for food.

Me: And if you don't go, you'll get a memo (warning)?

Interviewee 23: Yes, that is what would happen.

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

As shown in this interview, failure to attend events could get them into trouble. So, control over conduct is maintained through a system of governance and discipline where a refusal to abide by the directions set out by CFC/ANCOP could mean losing their right to live in the village. After the interview, the beneficiary I spoke to indicated their fear of being removed, as they could not always follow the rules in attending events and have already received warnings by local leaders. Through organized hierarchies in the village, CFC/ANCOP can enforce behavioural standards that are religiously rooted. To explain how control over conduct is achieved, it is essential to elaborate on the politics present in these villages. Control is manifested differently in these villages, depending on the organization of governance in each village. Political power in the village is an important aspect when analyzing how control over conduct is manifested. An

example of political power includes the top-down organizational structure, which has elected individuals that maintain village standards. For instance, in this top-down structure, low-level household leaders monitor behaviour and religious practices, like prayer meetings. My interview with a beneficiary of the village discusses the purpose of household meetings.

Me: Can you explain the household meetings?

Interviewee 24: Household meetings are a group meeting, and you will have a household head. One group is composed of 4 to 5 couples. And then every week, depending on everybody's schedule, you go to a house, which alternates weekly. Sometimes it will be my house, the next time it can be the other person's house. It is like a bible study; we read the bible, pray and worship. After the worship, we share. Sharing is about sharing our problems in our life with the others in the group to help alleviate burdens in our lives.

Me: The local activities here, like household meetings, are they important?

Interviewee 24: Yes, household is very important, because if you do not do household, how will you nourish yourself spiritually? Like gardening, if you don't water it, how will it grow? Then what is in your garden will not grow, and it will die. That is why household is so important for us members. That's where you get your knowledge of spirituality. That's why it is the most important thing in our community. If you do not do household, then you will be just like an outsider. The Lord won't be with you.

Me: Are household meetings mandatory?

Interviewee 24: Yes, it is mandatory.

Me: Do they take attendance?

Interviewee 24: Yes, there is attendance. If you are absent three consecutive times, you will receive a warning.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Original English Version
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

In this interview, he noted that these weekly household meetings are like bible studies that reinforce Catholic doctrines. Additionally, through this household system, these household leaders are responsible for monitoring the families' behaviour within their group while ensuring they are knowledgeable of religious practices, such as praying, reading the bible, and singing hymns. To help maintain proper CFC standards, these leaders undergo special seminars to learn leadership and biblical training skills. Outside weekly household meetings, however, they are also responsible for enforcing rules in the village. If they suspect that beneficiaries under their group violate the rules in the *kasunduan* (agreement), such as failure to attend household meetings, they issue 'memos' or warnings and are reported to higher-level leaders, such as the President of the village. Lower-level household leaders act as agents in the community to monitor behaviour and enforce specific values. These household meetings are an essential tool that helps control conduct in the village, as CFC (through agents) can micromanage a village of approximately 100 people. A top-down approach is utilized, where enforcement of behaviour is successful through different levels of accountability as household leaders are responsible for beneficiaries within their group and subsequently, the President of the village is responsible for the household leaders beneath them. Through accountability, people in various positions are responsible for carrying out their duties, which are kept in check by people in higher positions above them. If a problem is not resolved, the President can escalate the issue to higher-level

leaders such as chapter heads, who are typically external to the village. CFC has developed an organizational chart that outlines the different positions and different levels of authority (Fig 15).

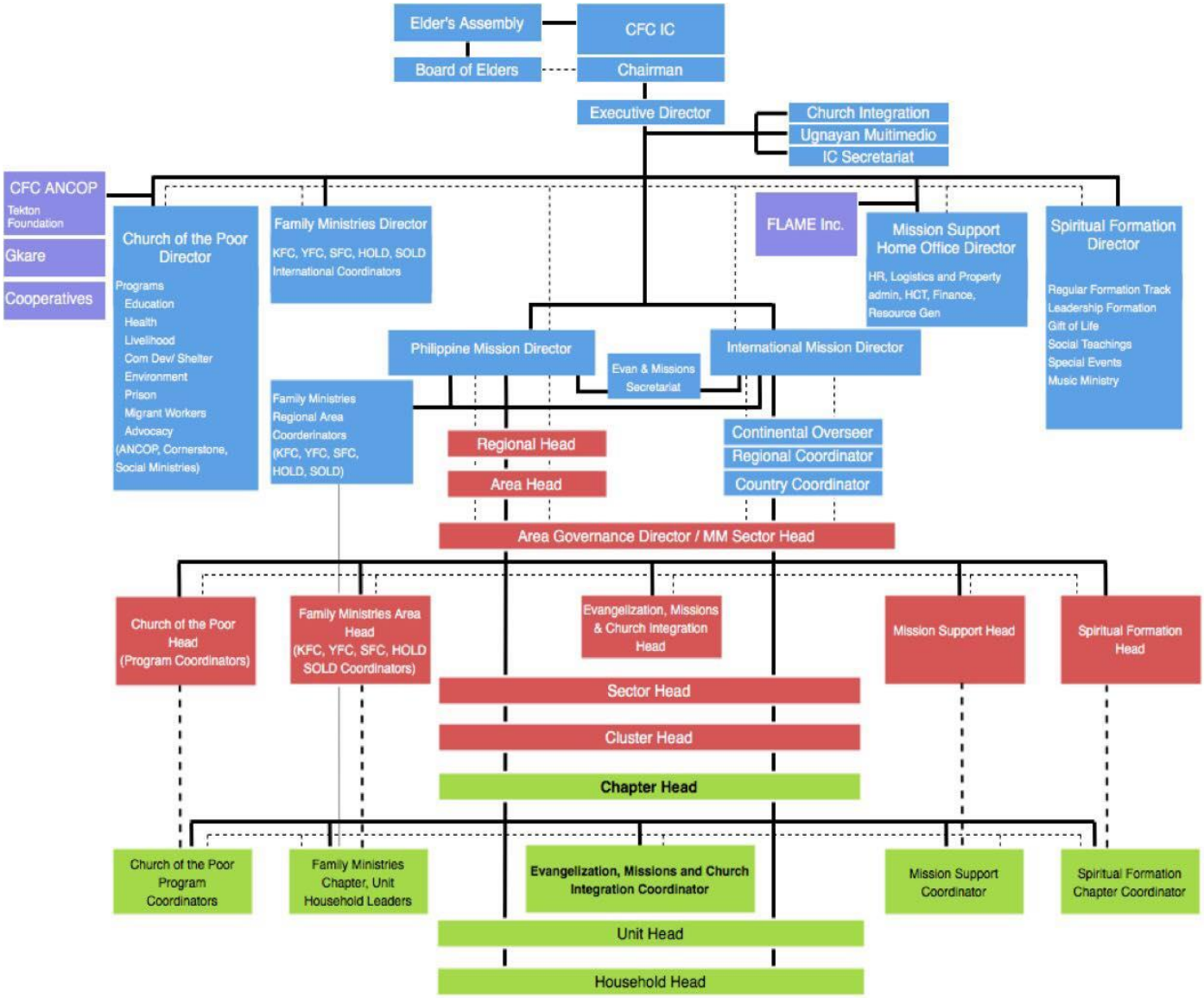

Figure 15 CFC organizational flowchart, with household leaders situated at the bottom. Regular ANCOP beneficiaries are not included in this diagram.

Vancouver Homes utilized a household system that allowed for governance and enforcement through regular encounters with trained leaders; however, this system was not fully implemented in the Mississauga-West village. Mississauga-West had utilized a similar system of weekly prayer meetings that involved the entire village, as opposed to smaller household meetings composed of four to five couples. Due to the sheer size of the meeting, not all members could read bible passages or lead prayers, which diminishes CFC's ability to reinforce Catholic doctrine on its beneficiaries. Furthermore, they did not have trained household leaders in the village, who are usually responsible for monitoring behaviour and administering religious practices, such as praying and reading the bible during household meetings, like the system found in Vancouver Homes. The absence of these household leaders within the village eliminated the pattern of accountability that helped ensure rules were followed. In essence, ANCOP relied on external CFC members to monitor behaviour within the Mississauga-West village, which was not always successful as they were not physically present in the village.

Me: What is your role in the organization in CFC?

Interviewee 25: I am the chapter head here.

Me: What are your responsibilities and duties?

Interviewee 25: Well, I oversee the chapter (including the village). My role here is to assist and supervise all CFC members in the chapter. The chapter is divided into several units wherein there is a unit leader. In the case of this village, Tita (aunt) is the unit leader here. A town will have about 4-5 units, and all of that is under the chapter. As a chapter head, I hold a prayer meeting to talk to unit leaders.

Me: And the unit leaders in this area, are they the ones who go to the village for the weekly prayer meetings?

Interviewee 25: Yes, to supervise them and lead them in the meantime. We envision that they (local beneficiaries) can have their prayer meetings by themselves without us. But since the village is still new (built in 2017), we would have to lead them until they can be their own community by themselves. For instance, they can pray by themselves, so it becomes a habit.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

Mississauga-West had established formal positions, such as President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and so on, but they did not utilize trained household leaders within the community to monitor behaviour. Reports of bad behaviour usually required word of mouth amongst beneficiaries, which typically went unnoticed or unreported. Several beneficiaries I spoke to in the village noted that specific rules were not followed, such as openly drinking liquor and failing to attend weekly prayer meetings. Additionally, during my interview with my ANCOP coordinator in Mississauga-West village, they indicated that there were not many CFC members in the area when compared to other more major urban regions such as Manila or Tarlac City. Mississauga-West is located in Buguey, a remote area of the Philippines, with far less CFC members. This resulted in less guidance and training for beneficiaries, demonstrating the importance of CFC/ANCOP externally. Due to the lack of available human resources, for the Mississauga-West village CFC/ANCOP could not carry out forms of control through household leaders, which meant a lack of support for any formal governance structures in the village. The example of

Mississauga-West is significant. It shows how the control over conduct is manifested differently in other ANCOP villages. From what I gathered during my immersion in this village, this manifestation resulted in a reduction of governance and control over conduct, as beneficiaries could not organize formal structures of power that helped enforce rules and regulations set out by CFC/ANCOP. However, as indicated in the interview with interviewee 25, the village is relatively new. As time progresses, Mississauga-West can create strict and formal governance structures that adhere to the Christian values CFC/ANCOP sets out, like the governance structures created in the Vancouver Homes villages made possible through guidance and training. For the time being, the Mississauga-West village relies heavily on limited external CFC governance in Buguey. Although limited, governmentality and the control over conduct are not entirely non-existent in Mississauga-West, as beneficiaries must occasionally attend events in line with religious teachings and complete the CLP that teaches Christian doctrine.

An important aspect to consider within civic engagement is the informal hierarchy in the Vancouver Homes village separate from the formal organizational structure. For example, residents called ‘elders’ situated closer to the village's front have lived there since its inception. Those closer to the back of the village belong to a newer set of beneficiaries. Although CFC terms ‘elders’ as senior-level personnel in CFC, older beneficiaries are often colloquially referred to as ‘elders’ in the village, who have somewhat more privilege than newer members. They possess an informal sense of higher authority, as they would assist newer members who are not entirely familiar with Catholic doctrines and rules within the village. For example, they would often remind them to attend prayer meetings, participate in events and avoid doing things against the rules like drinking and being too loud. These informal hierarchies are important to consider, as those within it have created a rapport for themselves, becoming trusted community

members. This informal hierarchy adds an extra layer of governance in the village, ensuring that the ideal religious village image is upheld and that all rules are followed. This informal hierarchy, however, was not present in the Mississauga-West village, as the village was new where most beneficiaries joined at the same time.

During my interviews and impromptu conversations with beneficiaries in Vancouver Homes, I asked about the process of assigning formal positions in the village, such as President, household leader, treasurer, etc. These positions form the 'neighbourhood association' that consists of members who are trained by CFC.

Me: Once these villages are established, who manages the village?

Interviewee 26: Well, it is still CFC who manages the village. We form a neighbourhood association in the village itself where they (beneficiaries) elect officers of the village. And they are trained to become responsible people who can manage their own affairs in the village. Once they are ready and are responsible and accountable, then we disengage CFC from them, and they run their own affairs.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

When I asked a community member about how they elect officers, he said they look for outstanding members, usually those who have lived in the village for a longer time. They could be trusted to hold these positions and know the rules and regulations in place. They mentioned that the duration of these positions is indefinite and they usually only end when the person

decides to step down or take up a different role. When a position is available, they have elections where individuals are voted by their peers for a village position, regardless of their interest in a position. And considering the informal hierarchies mentioned earlier, the elders are most likely to be chosen to hold a position, as they have an established rapport and are trusted members of the community, ensuring that standards are followed through.

Civic participation is also evident outside of the political structures within the ANCOP villages and can is found in the agreements signed between the beneficiaries and CFC/ANCOP. For example, civic participation is enforced through mandated activities like cleaning the village. The rules and regulations for the Mississauga-West village, for instance, state that violation of the rules includes:

Neighborhood Association Rules and Regulations (Mississauga-West Village)

2) The beneficiary is not properly maintaining the cleanliness of the units and its surroundings. (Sweat Equity)
21) Non-participation of families to send (1) member of each families in the cleaning of surroundings.

In these rules, beneficiaries must comply by performing ‘sweat equity’ by giving back to ANCOP through their labour to keep the village clean and orderly. Recalling fieldwork in the Mississauga-West village, the beneficiaries would sweep the streets every morning (most notably the women), and in the evening at the end of the day. This civic participation is not just limited to cleaning but can also be applied to regular financial contributions intended for the village's general well-being. Every month, beneficiaries must pay membership dues collected by the local

treasurer and gathered into a fund. I asked beneficiaries from both villages about membership dues, who stated that it was used for various reasons in the village.

Me: If the village needs money, where do they get it from? From the sponsors?

Interviewee 27: No, we share in the expenses. If something breaks, we collect from house to house. If something is 1000 pesos, we have 100 houses, then we only need to collect 10 pesos per house. We have a collector for that.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

Me: Do you pay for anything in the village?

Interviewee 28: Yes, we pay towards the fund. We would pay p20 per family per month. But CFC said that p20 was not enough, and we should increase it to 100. For now, we're paying p20 per month.

Me: What is the fund for?

Interviewee 28: They said that they would make a bank account so we can put the money away. The fund is for us. For anybody who needs the money, they can borrow it. The fund is for emergencies only.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

These are examples of how beneficiaries demonstrate civic participation in the village. Through the rules set out by CFC/ANCOP, they establish a sense of civic duty to the village, where the community's responsibility is to keep the village clean and orderly.

6.6 Livelihood and Work Ethic

Before the main portion of my fieldwork, I attended an orientation set up for me at the CFC headquarters in Manila. My coordinator in Toronto connected me with CFC staff in the Philippines, who showed me what CFC/ANCOP was about. The two-hour orientation was mostly dedicated to showing CFC/ANCOP's work, providing a broad overview of their operation through a PowerPoint presentation. They presented impressive programs within ANCOP, such as education, training and livelihood opportunities intended to help the beneficiaries who lived within their villages. ANCOP envisions its beneficiaries as independent and self-sufficient in terms of their livelihood to reduce their dependence on ANCOP. For example, the orientation provided an overview of some programs such as the Mobile Training Center (MTC), designed to provide free technical training and accreditation to beneficiaries, eliminating the need for them to pay tuition and travel to training centers. Once training is completed, beneficiaries could apply to jobs that provide them with a decent income. Other livelihood programs brought up were local livelihood projects within the ANCOP villages themselves. One example is a mushroom farming operation, designed to bring revenue into the village, where workers receive a portion of the revenue earned as income. ANCOP's vision of livelihood and work ethic for its beneficiaries is reflected by ANCOP staff in this interview:

Me: Does ANCOP have a vision for livelihood?

Interviewee 29: Yes, what we want to happen is total emancipation or total liberation from poverty, and for them to have a better life. These beneficiaries have work, but their income is very low. They work as tricycle drivers, security guards, farmers, fishermen, but the problem is that the income is not enough. So, we need to augment and improve their income capacity. So, we also look at what is a possible livelihood program that can be adopted in a particular village, and we continue to fund them with livelihood projects.

– Interview with CFC official, 2019
– Translated from Tagalog
– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

In this interview, he brings up ideas related to Liberation Theology, which I discussed in the conceptual chapter. Through Christian doctrine, social inequalities are addressed where humanity's responsibility is to assist people spiritually and materially. ANCOP's vision of livelihood and work is ambitious and optimistic and stems from its mission of building the 'Church of the Poor,' which comes from the religious teachings of the Church to love the poor as exemplified by important religious figures like Jesus Christ, according to CFC. However, the livelihood that CFC/ANCOP envisions is not materialized at the village level. After visiting several ANCOP villages, these programs are not as widely applied as I initially thought. Although a strong work ethic is evident, this work ethic is not gained through ANCOP's assistance, but through individual effort. In the Vancouver Homes village, beneficiaries relied on previous employment for livelihood, contrasting with proposed in-village livelihood opportunities. During my interviews, many beneficiaries indicated that their livelihoods had

remained the same, except for feeling more 'blessed' in their work (i.e. getting more income as a blessing) attributed to their closeness with God.

Me: And what about your livelihood? Has it changed since moving here, or has it remained the same?

Interviewee 30: My livelihood is the same. (The wife is an unpaid home caregiver, and her husband works as a labourer in construction).

Me: I see, but here in the village, don't they have livelihood programs?

Interviewee 30: The others have something.

Me: The others? What livelihood program do they have here?

Interviewee 30: Some have their sari-sari stores and sell things like candy and food from their homes. [13] (fig. 16).

Me: Oh, I see. But those livelihoods are created by the people themselves, right?

Interviewee 30: Yes, only they create it.

Me: I see. If there is someone who doesn't have a job in the village, are there any ANCOP programs that can offer people jobs?

Interviewee 30: There is none here in the village.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

[13] A Sari-Sari (meaning variety) store is an informal neighborhood store that is located in people's houses.

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

Figure 16 A local sari-sari store in the Vancouver Homes village

To confirm this vision of work and livelihood, I interviewed James, the CFC head of the Tarlac Region, to better understand their livelihood expectations in their villages.

Me: In each village, there should be a livelihood program. What kind of livelihood programs are in this village?

Interview 31: Once people qualify for the ANCOP community, they usually continue their hanap buhay (means of living). It would be well and good if the ANCOP community can establish their own livelihood and sustain it out of the help of another country (sponsoring community).

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines

In my interview with James, he stated that a beneficiary's prior means of living would continue, which contrasts with the in-village livelihood programs shown to me during my orientation in Manila. Furthermore, according to James, the establishment of a livelihood program is the village's responsibility, hopefully, accompanied by the assistance of the sponsoring community in Canada. When I asked local beneficiaries about their livelihood, they indicated that a livelihood plan was proposed in the village, but the project never came to light. The proposed plan was a furniture-making operation (Fig 17), where beneficiaries would collect bamboo and craft furniture. This operation was to be run by local ANCOP beneficiaries so that they could receive income and become a self-sustainable community. All the tools required for the operation were available. Still, the tools were left in disrepair in one of the vacant houses as the operation did not begin due to a lack of funds to secure materials and a lack of a customer base. They mentioned that a feasibility study needed to be conducted and marketing was required in the local town to drum up business. Local beneficiaries feared that they would lose money buying the materials because they were unsure that anybody would buy their products. For this reason, all the beneficiaries that I interviewed in Vancouver Homes relied on individual efforts to secure a means of living.

Figure 17 Furniture making equipment donated by the local government unit

Similarly, the beneficiaries of Mississauga-West village employed an independent work ethic as there were no livelihood opportunities available.

Me: What has changed about your life since moving to the village?

Interviewee 32: Since we moved here, our lives got better because it just feels easier and comfortable. But what we want is a boat we can use on the river for our livelihood. We would catch oysters and do oyster shucking so we could sell it.[14] *Usually we would have to borrow a boat, but when the owner is using it, we would have nothing to use.* [15] (Fig 18).

[14] Oyster shucking is the process of removing an oyster from its shell
[15] Additionally, harvesting oysters requires buying or renting an area on the river in Buguey, Cagayan.

– Interview with ANCOP beneficiary, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

Figure 18 An oyster fishing operation in Buguey, Cagayan.

Interview with an ANCOP coordinator in the Mississauga-West Village:

Me: What kind of livelihood opportunities are available here in the village?

Interviewee 33: We must ask for the assistance of Manila. The resources they have here are oysters, and they can sell it fresh for about 10 pesos per bottle. If you process it and make it into other things like bagoong (a Filipino condiment), *maybe it becomes 100 pesos. But here in the village, how can they process raw oysters? That is what we are trying to figure out and why we need the advice of CFC Manila.*

– Interview with CFC official, 2019

– Translated from Tagalog

– Excerpt from an interview conducted in Buguey, Cagayan, Philippines

These interviews from beneficiaries in both villages provide evidence that livelihood opportunities from ANCOP, for the most part, do not exist. When I finished the orientation in Manila, I had an optimistic view of the village as they provided homes to the poor and offered self-sustainability through means of livelihood, drawing many parallels with ideas consistent with Liberation Theology. The village program also drew parallels with BEC's as it formed communities that centred on the Catholic religion. Despite these similarities, when I visited the Vancouver Homes and Mississauga-West village, I was surprised that such efforts to improve economic conditions and livelihoods had been taken on by the beneficiaries themselves. The self-sufficiency of beneficiaries are somewhat of an expectation of CFC/ANCOP officials, as noted in my interview with James (see section 6.6 for interview). Initially I expected communal operations, such as mushroom farming to provide better income. Evidence suggests that livelihood is developed through their own individual efforts, such as utilizing past employment or through entrepreneurialism, such as operating a sari-sari store in their homes or harvesting oysters and selling them in the local market. The ANCOP orientation backs up the lack of livelihood opportunities presented to me during my orientation. The orientation PowerPoint indicated the distribution of donations to various ANCOP programs, where livelihood only draws 0.019 in funding (in million of Ph Pesos), compared to the shelter program drawing 36.82 and the educational sponsorship program drawing 116.14.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided a broad overview of practices conducted within ANCOP villages that control and shape beneficiaries' conduct. These practices are achieved through the dynamic of governmentality within the organization that monitors behaviour through a system of formal and informal organization and accountability. Through governance, CFC/ANCOP's vision can achieve (re)evangelization of their beneficiaries with Catholic doctrine, and emphasizes key themes like cleanliness and orderliness, godliness and religiosity, family life, civic engagement, livelihood, and work ethic. All of these values promulgate conduct that is acceptable and respectable in the eyes of middle-class donors as they move their beneficiaries away from what they see as the mentality and lifestyle of the poor.

Chapter Seven – Conclusion and Discussion

The Philippines is a country that has established ongoing connections with other countries to create ties between the Filipino diaspora and homeland. As I have shown in this thesis, in addition to the major impact of remittances on the economy as a whole, these ongoing connections can foster small-scale development in the Philippines. However, I have also shown that these connections can have specific outcomes, objectives and goals. The attitudes towards remittances are generally positive and optimistic, especially when we consider the narrative of *kababayans* (compatriots) contributing resources to the impoverished homeland and not considering what happens when they get to the other side. This narrative is accompanied by a strong desire to improve conditions in the Philippines. Through NGOs and POs in the Philippines, they have somewhat filled the void where the government has remained mostly inactive in addressing various social needs in the Philippines. Still, with the increasing number of NGOs, there is a greater need to be critical of the outcomes they entail. In this thesis, I have mapped the outcomes of a transnational religiously-inspired NGO that operates within Canada and the Philippines. Primarily, I analyzed Couples for Christ and their sub-organization, Answering the Cry of the Poor, to provide an insight into the outcomes of development practices.

To understand the development programs carried out in the Philippines, I provide a broad overview of development in Philippine society. I have tried to contextualize Philippine society by first looking at the historical process of colonial exploitation. A look into the literature reveals that the country has not healed from its colonial past and remains underdeveloped. This underdevelopment gave way to prominent sectors that currently operate in Philippine society, including civil society, religious organizations and the Filipino diaspora, that work to address broad ranges of social issues. Analyzing these sectors is important as they represent significant

organizations and institutions that can produce tangible change in Philippine society. Going back to my contextual chapter, I discussed the Philippine economy's weaknesses by highlighting research done by academics and institutions like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. They contended that a weak agricultural sector and low-quality jobs put many people at risk and creates 'missing links to higher shared prosperity.' These missing links to shared prosperity can be created, which is demonstrated through Philippine civil society that plays a vital role in addressing a broad range of social issues within the Philippines, especially those with the financial backing of diaspora communities that share the same improvement narratives. However, a closer look into Philippine civil society reveals that NGOs can have ulterior intentions that are guided by specific philosophies and agendas.

Using Foucauldian governmentality in this thesis as a guiding framework reveals that NGOs like CFC/ANCOP operating under the banner of development, can create beneficiaries with religious and middle-class subjectivities that are continuously reinforced during their tenure in ANCOP villages. Their development programs are guided in a religious discourse that draws some parallels to the liberation theology and basic ecclesial community movements, as ANCOP touts for a preferential treatment of the poor – a theme prevalent in Catholic doctrine. As pointed out earlier in this thesis, liberation theology became essential in addressing social inequalities that came out of Latin America, by radically questioning the structures in society that allowed poverty and injustice to exist. Similarly, basic ecclesial communities created large groups of organized communities that demanded change in society. ANCOP, while benevolent to the poor by improving standards of living in offering spiritual and material needs, have not questioned the fundamental structures of poverty. Given the governmentalizing power in their programs that

create religious and middle class subjectivities and individualizes the idea of improvement, the liberation theology and basic ecclesial movement can only go so far.

Based on the observations from two ANCOP villages located in two different regions of the Philippines, my research has identified practices in ANCOP villages with strong governmentalizing power over the beneficiaries who live within them. In the conceptual chapter, I discussed governmentality by looking at various literature that looked at development programs. Li and Rankin show that the idea of improvement is individualized, where individuals become responsible for their well-being through a shift in their behaviour. Therefore, in discussing the concept of governmentality, programs in Asia did not address the root causes of poverty but instead shifted to the individual's responsibility. Some parallels can be made in chapter six, where I discussed my empirical findings. The findings show the governmentalizing power behind the CFC/ANCOP's program. Despite their efforts, it did not significantly improve their beneficiaries' economic or livelihood outcomes. Instead, it resulted in the creation of religiously-centred communities and changed everyday behaviour, shifting towards a middle class model of behaviour and respectability. This is not to say that CFC/ANCOPs work has not had any positive impacts. They have successfully implemented spiritual and religious values that are important to some beneficiaries and increased living standards for some of the most needy in the Philippines and around the world.

Considering the limited time and resources for this research project, the thesis has primarily focused on the connections established between Canada and the Philippines. As CFC/ANCOP operates globally, it would be interesting to see how other ANCOP villages sponsored by different chapters worldwide with their own fundraising practices are materialized on the village level. Although considering the remittances inflows, chapters in Canada represent

the highest national contributor to CFC/ANCOP. It would be interesting to note the differences (if any) between the source countries for donations. Considering this, the analysis of CFC/ANCOP's development programs may be limited, as the processes leading to villages' development may be materialized in different ways. Also, for future research with this organization, or research analyzing outcomes of broader development programs, more time can be dedicated to researching in the field. As I mentioned in the methodology chapter of this thesis, data collection was not easy. It took time to create relationships with people in the communities, which had an atmosphere of caution. Spending more time in the field could reveal further nuances of everyday life in the village, or repeated trips could show temporal changes in governmentality and how it takes shape in the village over time.

Additionally, in the introduction of this thesis, I have mentioned that one of the motivating reasons for the research's formation was understanding the Philippines, a country I call my home away from home. However, in doing this research to know more about the Philippines, the knowledge attained is not only for me but can be beneficial to others as well, especially for those who share similar circumstances to me. Therefore, further collaboration with Philippine scholars can help provide unique insights into the Philippines, insights that I might not have considered as an outsider to the country. Other possible avenues can also be investigated, including a framework that considers the literature on alternative economies. Considering the alternative view would mean broadening the perspectives of the economy, where different kinds of transactions take place, with things having different registers of value and exchange negotiated in other ways outside of the monetary exchange and transaction. Initially, this thesis considered alternative economies in the framework but ran into limitations in analyzing ANCOP/CFC as alternative. However, throughout my fieldwork, there were instances where

villages could be situated as alternative, where the ethic of self-sufficiency is somewhat present, to collectively make living in the village work via alternative means.

The findings in this research suggest that development can come with certain strings attached. Primarily, my research fills a gap in the literature and looks at the role of transnational religious organizations contributing to the Philippines' development, which falls outside of well-known remittance practices. It is important to consider the outcomes of these processes, as they could lead to different effects depending on the discourses imposed by the organizations. As the literature in the conceptual framework has pointed out, the outcomes can lead to a change in attitudes and behaviour, which can be applied to other areas outside of the religious programs pointed out in this thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Questions for ANCOP beneficiaries.

A: Membership within CFC/ANCOP

1. Can you explain how you heard about CFC/ANCOP?
2. Can you describe why you decided to join and enroll in CFC programs, such as the Christian Life Program?
3. What were the steps involved in becoming a member of CFC and how long did it take?
4. How has CFC/ANCOP recruited you for membership into the organization?
5. In what ways has your life changed directly as a result of your membership with CFC/ANCOP?
6. When did you graduate from the CLP?

B: Residency in ANCOP Villages

1. Are there rules concerning your membership and residency with Couples for Christ and ANCOP villages? Please explain.
2. Are there people who used to live here (or near you) but who didn't join, or qualify for the housing program? Why?
3. Have people moved away from the village since it was built? If so, please explain why.
4. Were you required do help build your home when you moved in?
5. When you graduated from the CLP, did you already know of the community development program?
6. Do you ever plan on moving out?

C: Engagement with CFC/ANCOP

1. Are there ways in which CFC/ANCOP programs can be improved or made better? Please explain.
2. Can you describe how CFC/ANCOP continues to engage with your community? (activities, social events, mandated gatherings)
3. Can you explain why these activities may or may not be important to you and your community?
4. Have the sponsors of your community continued to engage with the village? If so, in what ways?
5. What roles, if any do you have in the village?
6. If yes, how did you get this role?
7. Do you contribute financially to the community? If so, in what ways?
8. Are there any other ways you contribute to the community?

D: Religious Involvement

1. How often do you attend religious activities in your community? (Mass, Eucharist, other evangelical activities)
2. Are these activities often hosted inside the village or outside?
3. What kind of religious activities are held in your village?
4. In what ways (if any) have these religious activities impacted your life?
5. Were you religiously involved prior to living in CFC/ANCOP communities and joining their organization?

E: Village and Livelihood

1. Can you explain how the CFC/ANCOP village compares to the place you lived prior to joining CFC/ANCOP?
2. In what ways has your life changed directly by living in ANCOP villages?
3. How has your livelihood changed since moving to your village?
4. What are things that can be improved in your CFC/ANCOP community? Please explain.
5. Do you have a job outside of the village?
6. What is your main source of income?
7. What livelihood opportunities are available here in the village?
8. Do you own a garden?
9. Are your children sponsored?
10. Do you participate in the oyster shelling?

Questions for CFC/ANCOP staff.

A: Information on Couples for Christ and Answering the Cry of the Poor

1. What are the primary goals for CFC and ANCOP?
2. How did CFC and ANCOP emerge in the Philippines?
3. What motivate CFC and ANCOP to assist the poor?
4. Can you explain the division between CFC/ANCOP and Gawad Kalinga?
5. Other than the Community Development Program, what other programs are CFC/ANCOP engaged with that seek to help the poor?
6. What is your role in the organization? Do you do it full time?
7. What is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal?

B: Donation Processes

1. How are monetary donations gathered and how do t get distributed amongst villages?
2. Who are the primary Canadian sponsors that contribute to the construction of ANCOP villages in the Philippines?
3. Which organizations in Canada help contribute to the monetary donations that are sent to the Philippines for the construction of villages?
4. Who are the actors involved in the Philippines that are responsible for coordinating the community?
5. Aside from monetary donations, how else can people/organizations contribute?

6. How are tithes collected and where do they go?
7. Are tithes required as a CFC member?

C: Community Development Program

1. Who is eligible to join your Community Development Program to receive housing?
2. How are beneficiaries recruited?
3. What kind of rules are present in these villages?
4. What is the motive/reason for the community development program?
5. Have there been any instances where residents moved out? Why?
6. How do you decide where to build your villages?
7. Where do the funds required to build these villages come from?
8. Who are the people involved in managing these villages?
9. What kinds of livelihood opportunities are made available in these villages?
10. Who builds the villages? Are the beneficiaries required to put in time in helping build their homes?
11. Why is it important to keep the village looking clean and orderly? For example, alterations are sometimes not allowed as it will change the look of a house and make it different from the others.
12. Who owns the land on which the village is built on?
13. Who are the ones that make the decision to give the land to CFC? The Barangay or the municipality?
14. Do you pay anything towards the governing authority of the land? Taxes, etc?
15. Who ensures that local leaders are meeting CFC standards in the village?

D: Christian Life Program

1. Can you explain what the purpose of the Christian Life Program?
2. Who is eligible for the Christian Life Program? Different denominations?
3. Can you explain the process of profiling potential beneficiaries?
4. Are all who finish the Christian Life Program eligible for housing in ANCOP villages?
5. How are Christian values maintained in the villages?
6. What is the outcome if an individual does not follow the rules?
7. Is there a difference between Values formation and the CLP?

E: Transnational Processes

1. Can you give me some background on the trips that you took with students to the Philippines?
2. What did the students do there?
3. Were these Canadian villages?
4. How often is the trip held?
5. Do you know if the students themselves had any association with CFC?
6. Do you know of any CFC members that went on any trips to the villages in the Philippines? What did they do?
7. Can you tell me more about full-time pastoral workers and how did you become one?
8. What are their roles, and do they have any responsibilities related to the ANCOP village in the Philippines?

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Date:

Study Name: The call to the Filipino diaspora: Local development through transnational practices.

Researcher name: Clarence Magpantay, Dept of Geography, York University

Purpose of the Research:

This study is about the work of CFC/ANCOP, and their Filipino-Canadian supporters, in promoting housing and development in the Philippines. The research will be conducted using observations and semi-structured interviews with research participants. The research will be presented in my master's thesis and in various conference presentations.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research:

You will be asked to participate in a 30-90 minute interview about your experiences as a member of Couples For Christ and your experiences living in an ANCOP village or working with the organization.

Risks and Discomforts: I do not expect that you will face any risks or discomforts as a result of participating in this interview.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: You will receive ₱200 as an appreciation for your participation. Your signature on this consent form also serves as acknowledgement of receipt of that gift.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff, or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

If you decide to stop participating, you may withdraw without penalty, financial or otherwise, and you will still receive the promised inducement.

In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Should you wish to withdraw after the study, you will have the option to also withdraw your data up until the analysis is complete.

Confidentiality: Your identity will be kept confidential. Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Data will be audio recorded and I may take notes. Your data will be safely stored in a password-protected file on a password-protected computer and will be deleted at the end of the research project. Only I (Clarence Magpantay) and my research supervisor and research assistant will

have access to this information. Recordings will be stored for a maximum of two years and will be destroyed after the study is complete. Digital files will be permanently deleted, and physical copies will be destroyed by a paper shredder. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor, Dr. Philip Kelly. You may also contact the graduate program in Geography.

This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics at York University.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I, _____, consent to participate in the research titled: "The call to the Filipino diaspora: Local development through transnational practices" conducted by Clarence Magpantay. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Participant

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Principal Investigator