

When Religion Meets Development:
Christian Faith-Based Organizations and Social Capital in Haiti

By
Christina K. Wheeler

A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Bachelor of Arts (Honours) Degree in International Development Studies.

May, 2014, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Copyright Christina K. Wheeler, 2014

Approved: Dr. Anne Marie Dalton
Supervisor

Approved: Dr. Anthony O'Malley
Reader

Date: May 1, 2014

When Religion Meets Development:

Christian Faith-Based Organizations and Social Capital in Haiti

by Christina K. Wheeler

ABSTRACT

Until recently, the intersection between religion and development has been widely neglected in international development studies resulting in a need for further research on how the two are related. This thesis illuminates some aspects of this relationship by examining Christian faith-based organizations (CFBOs), as a type of religious group, and their involvement in the formation of social capital, as a form of development. To investigate the role of CFBOs in social capital formation and for an empirical focus I conduct research using secondary sources as well as a case study on Christian Aid, one CFBO working in Haiti. I carry out a thematic analysis on the data using the bonding-bridging-linking conceptualization of social capital (Gilchrist 2004). The research demonstrates that Christian Aid and CFBOs in general contribute to social capital formation in many ways, with their strongest impact being the creation of linking social capital as well as the enhancement of resources within existing social connections. My main argument is that all development-oriented groups, whether faith-based or secular, can work best if they partner with one another based on their common ground because they can take advantage of the many resources available in a wide range of social networks.

May 1, 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	1
I. Introduction.....	3
II. Review of the Literature.....	14
Religion and Development.....	14
Christian FBOs and Social Capital.....	19
CFBOs and Social Capital in Haiti.....	26
III. Empirical Research.....	30
Religion and Development.....	30
CFBOs and Social Capital Formation.....	32
The Haitian Situation.....	38
Case Study: Christian Aid.....	44
About Christian Aid.....	44
Christian Aid in Haiti.....	46
IV. Analysis and Discussion.....	53
Initial Observations.....	53
CFBOs and Social Capital.....	54
Thematic Analysis of Christian Aid in Haiti.....	60
V. Conclusions and Recommendations.....	73
CFBOs and Social Capital.....	73
Wielding “Social Capital”.....	77
CFBOs and Development.....	78
Religion and Development.....	79
Future Research.....	79
Closing Words.....	80
VI. Bibliography.....	82
Appendices.....	91
Appendix A: Basic Ways of Working in Christian Aid.....	91
Appendix B: Christian Aid’s Haiti Partnerships.....	92

I. INTRODUCTION

Religion carries an important presence across all planes of society – from the individual, family, and community levels all the way to the national and international levels. Religion has even found its way into academia, having recently become more accepted as an important part of international development. Despite its historical and present pervasiveness, this has not been the case since the dominant line of thought in development, as well as the rest of the social sciences, emerged from Enlightenment thinking. The Enlightenment fed the widespread Western assumption that, as societies modernize, they become more rational and come to rely more on science rather than the supernatural to explain life’s ultimate questions (Deneulin and Bano 2009). For this reason, the popular academic prediction has been that, as societies become more “modern”, religion will fade from the public sphere into the private sphere while even losing significance to the individual within their own private consciousness. This has commonly been referred to as the secularization thesis or theory. Many scholars assert that this assumption has not become an empirical reality: religion still plays a prominent part in the public life of both developing and developed countries today, contradicting this theory in how it is actually still highly relevant in our vastly modernized world.

The collection of issues academics considering the intersection of religion and development seek to analyze and understand are well summarized by Sabina Alkire (2006). The following key concerns have mainly been taken from either her list or from Deneulin and Bano’s (2009) book. Some issues are: how secular and religious development groups complement and contradict each other in their methods and goals, the role of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in development practices and outcomes, and

whether the secularization thesis is myth or reality. Other issues being studied are: interactions between groups of different faiths for development purposes, religious groups as part of civil society, and extreme and/or violent religious groups.

The specialized focus of this thesis is found within one of Alkire's (2006) categories: FBO involvement in development processes and outcomes. I have narrowed the focus within this category in two ways. First, instead of addressing all FBOs, I am specifically interested in Christian faith-based organizations (CFBOs). When I say "Christian" I am referring to any organization whose original inspiration came from their desire to follow the teachings of Jesus Christ. This means I look at groups affiliated with any or no denomination, including Catholic and Protestant. Secondly, to assess their impact on "development" in general falls far outside the scope of this research so I have narrowed that as well. I assess their role in a specific type of development: social capital formation. I examine whether or not CFBOs contribute to the development of healthy or unhealthy forms of social capital, whether they contribute to the formation of social capital at all, or if they actually deteriorate social capital. The conceptualization of social capital used in the research will be briefly explained later in this section and then further elaborated upon during the "Review of the Literature".

There are two ways in which one can think about religion in relation to International Development Studies: as spirituality or socially organized religion. Spirituality, or religious sentiments, and its significance to development is a fascinating area but will not be the focus of my research as I will primarily be examining the intersection of socially organized religion and development. Even so, it should be noted that the complete separation of these two avenues of thought is impossible since religious

sentiments are certainly present in many ways within organized religious groups; they may be behind an individual's motivation to be involved in development work or perhaps were a deciding factor as to the project pursued by a group. Nevertheless, these feelings will not be the express focus of this research.

As for the importance of socially organized religion to development, it could be said that missionaries working on behalf of a religious group were the first to practice development. Bartolomé de Las Casas, the son of colonizers in South America, became a friar in the Dominican order as well as the first historical figure to promote human rights when he dedicated his life to fight the colonial disrespect for Indians in the early 1500s (Deneulin and Bano 2009:76). Some argue that religious groups were involved in development-types of work well before international development became a popular and secular field of study. Historically, religious groups have in fact been involved in diverse forms of development initiatives. They were among the first to offer Western education in the Global South, particularly promoting literacy so people could read the Bible, while later becoming involved in antislavery and civil rights movements often connected to colonization. Today they take part in a huge range of development projects: from fighting injustice and building communities to poverty reduction and sustainable livelihoods.

Despite this apparent importance and positive contribution of religion to development, the relationship between the two should not be viewed with rose-tinted glasses. It must be recognized that religion has negatively impacted development in many ways. Historically and presently, world religions have been primary culprits behind multiple injustices against humanity. For example, religious teachings and interpretations have often been used to justify the horrific treatment of various groups. Women are a

demographic whose rights are very often mentioned as violated by religious principals. Furthermore, hatred sparked by the knowledge of religious differences and then fed through justification by religious beliefs has been the cause of innumerable religious wars with devastating effects on those involved. Aside from its involvement in dramatic violence, religious groups have also been accused of impeding development by clinging to the past and, in some other cases, being so focused on what comes after this life that they fail to see the value of working to improve the present physical world. Moving forward in full awareness that religion's relationship with development has been, still is, and likely will continue to be flawed, I argue that religion is still pivotal to the success of developmental endeavors. Following are further reasons as to why religion continues to hold importance for international development.

In light of the post-modern movement and the increasing appreciation for cultural diversity within this academic and practical discipline, taking religious groups into account should be an obvious necessity in order to make development culturally respectful and relevant. Although Westerners live in a prominently secular society where religious identity tends to carry minimal significance, membership to a religious group is a central part of life for a large portion of those living in the Global South. Today, 83.7% of the world's population are affiliated to a religious group (Pew Research 2012). These groups often play important roles within communities, such as being a point of community solidarity or by providing social or health services in areas with weak government. To disregard the importance of religious groups when doing development projects is not only culturally insensitive and outdated as an approach but can also be detrimental rather than beneficial to an area's development. Projects which ignore and

consequently destroy existing religious structures can result in new forms of underdevelopment within communities due to the loss of traditional social resources previously offered by religious organizations.

It is important to realize that seriously considering the role of religious groups in development could threaten the hegemony of traditional Western priorities and policies in development work (Tomalin 2008). Depending on your personal point of view, this may or may not be a positive contribution to development. Personally, I see great potential benefits in considering alternative ideas from religious groups when seeking to remedy development problems. Dominant approaches, highly influenced by Modernization theory and neo-liberalism, have had their chance to prove their worth and their achievements have been highly criticised. Socially organized religion could have untapped stores of valuable resources for development strategies if scholars and practitioners were to take their potential seriously.

Here is an example of the potential contained within the world's most widespread religion: two core commands of Christianity are (paraphrased): 'love others as you love yourself' and 'take care of those who cannot take care of themselves' (based on Matthew 22:39 & 19:21). If these commands were to become official social policies, would they not require the owners of capital, who are popularly characterized as the self-centered and stone-hearted "1%", to share their colossal wealth with those who need it? If these people care for themselves enough to buy their own food and medical care, these two policies would require them to purchase food and medical care for someone who cannot do so for themselves, especially if they have the means to do so. This could be a solution to the dilemma so many development thinkers and workers cannot overcome: where to find the

means to help struggling people when most resources are tied up in the capitalist cycle that only allows a small number of owners control over most of the resources. Presently it seems that the owners of capital do not care how their wealth is multiplied inside the “Black Box”¹ of production as long as more wealth appears out the other end in order to be re-invested once again and to earn them profit. But if capitalists were required by policy to put as much of their resources into meeting the needs of those who cannot survive on their own as they put into meeting their own needs, the problem of unavailable resources could be greatly reduced. I am aware that this idea of taking values from an organized world religion and incorporating them into social policy, as I have done here, is highly idealistic and would certainly come with its own suite of complications but it is still an example of what religious organizations could potentially offer those who want to consider all possible strategies when addressing development problems.

A form of development that Christianity holds significant potential to impact is the formation of social capital. This is the specific type of development I assess in this research. My chosen definition of social capital is very broad as well as basic and consistent with other definitions of social capital found in the literature: “the resources embedded in social relations and social networks” (Lin and Erickson 2008:4). Healthy social capital formation is an important indicator of the effectiveness of development projects because it demonstrates a more holistic benefit to those impacted. For example, if a community garden project led to improved access to resources but deteriorated a

¹ The term “Black Box” is used by Richard H. Robbins (1999) to refer to the way investors and people in general see the capitalist process as a metaphorical black box into which money is invested and more money “magically” comes out the other end, making the point that what goes on within is unseen and considered insignificant.

community's social connections by causing conflict over traditional access to land and rights to the produce, did it really improve those community members' quality of life? According to Deepa Narayan (2001), poor people tend to define true well-being more holistically and she also specifically mentions "belonging to a community" as a key component to completing this whole (40). The best development work is that which takes into account the wellbeing of the whole person, including their needs as a social being. Focusing on a specific type of project is a legitimate strategy, whether that be improved access to resources, healthcare, education, microfinance, or what have you, but that project should not jeopardize other beneficial aspects of life already in existence within communities such as healthy social connections.

Social capital alone is a very important asset in a developmental sense. Narayan (2001) reports that poor people are now realizing that their lack of connections is one of the major factors hindering them from taking advantage of any new opportunities. This is particularly relevant to the work of CFBOs because at the heart of what it means to be a Christian is the requirement to live in cooperative and supportive Christ-centered community, a calling that is enforced by one of the two most important divine commandments to love others (Matthew 22:35-40). It is impossible to love others if you are disconnected from people. For this reason it will be interesting to see how organized Christian groups, who *should* place significant value on healthy community, actually impact the social resources of the local communities in which they work. This is why the area of specialization for this research is the role of CFBOs in social capital formation.

To more closely examine this relationship, a large portion of my research is focused on the Republic of Haiti. My research question for this investigation is: *What role have*

Christian faith-based organizations played in the formation of social capital in Haiti?

This country, particularly its capital city, Port-au-Prince, was devastated by a 7.0 magnitude earthquake on January 12, 2010. This catastrophe undoubtedly shook much of the social capital present in the already fragile nation but also triggered a sharp increase in activity by foreign entities, including CFBOs, within the country; both of these effects have likely had noteworthy implications for Haitian social capital. One of the many CFBOs working in Haiti is the United Kingdom-based organization, Christian Aid. In this thesis, I conduct a case study on Christian Aid in order to offer more depth to my response to the research question. Also, since the earthquake had such major ramifications for Haiti's development, most of my information on the country and on Christian Aid's work in Haiti is concerned with post-earthquake data.

Following is a short discussion of case studies as a methodology and an explanation of the specifics of the case study for this particular research. Feagin et al. (1991) define a case study as "an in-depth, multifaceted investigation, using qualitative research methods, of a single social phenomenon" (2). They add to this definition by noting that some researchers combine both quantitative and qualitative methods when conducting case studies. Case studies offer a particular type of contribution to theoretical knowledge. According to Feagin et al. (1991), case studies are usually considered to be one micro-level example of some macro-level phenomenon. Sumner and Tribe (2008), on the other hand, argue that case studies are limited in how well they lend themselves to the drawing of broad generalizations about larger scale patterns and point out that results are often less statistically significant than the results of other research methods. They do agree with Feagin et al. however in that case studies allow for the collection of in-depth data on the

particular research subject(s). I have chosen to conduct a case study on Christian Aid in Haiti in the hopes that it will allow me to draw some broadly applicable conclusions about the involvement of CFBOs in social capital formation while bearing in mind Sumner and Tribe's warning against making generalizations of too wide a reach from too little information.

Case studies as a method actually involve the use of multiple research methods and sources to obtain data (Franklin and Osborne 1971; Feagin et al. 1991). Foreman (1971) designates three broad categories of common study materials for case studies: Personal Documents, Participant Observation Records, and Third Person Reports (188). Of these three categories, I will primarily be assessing documents akin to Third Person Reports, which are reports written by CFBO workers about the happening within communities in which they are working, by studying the contents of the Christian Aid website (Home Page). There certainly are many other research methods and sources possible for case studies but, due to the restrictions of this research, this case study is far more limited than most. All primary sources, such as interviews, surveys, etc, will not be used and the data will be wholly extracted from secondary sources. The main challenge of conducting research through the case approach actually arises from one of its main strengths: the possibility of using so many different research strategies. The challenge is for the researcher to be consistently methodical in data collection despite the significant flexibility of the approach (Franklin and Osborne 1971). Given the limited nature of this specific research, this challenge is less significant.

The main data-collection method is an examination of relevant online publications by Christian Aid in search of clues that indicate some form of involvement in social capital

formation (or deterioration). It should be noted that, in light of the limited timeframe of this research and the logistical limitations that entails, this is the most practical method with which to address the question if not the ideal. Granted, two weaknesses of this method are 1) it does not provide as conclusive an answer to the research question as would speaking to primary sources through interviews in Haiti and 2) Christian Aid's publications are also most likely positively biased. Nevertheless, this method does supply indications of whether or not they play any roles in the formation of social capital as well as hints as to what those roles are likely to be. Since this is the issue under investigation for this thesis, the method does allow me to draw answers to the research question as well as arguments. This thesis demonstrates that CFBOs have contributed to social capital formation in many ways, with a particularly strong impact on linking social capital and the enhancement of resources within existing social connections. For this reason I argue that CFBOs should be taken into account by other development workers and researchers as potential partners in international development, especially if groups have shared values and goals.

With an idea of the methods employed in the research, following is an outline of the content of each section of this paper. Section II, the "Review of the Literature", is an overview of the issues, debates, and contesting theoretical frameworks meant to situate the reader as to where this research fits in the wider world of research. This section outlines the most important issues along with which scholars are involved in the discussions. This section begins with the debates most relevant to the broadest area of focus, religion and development, followed by those concerned with the specialist focus, CFBOs and social capital, and, finally, with a summary of the most discussed relevant

topics at the empirical level of Haiti. It is in this section that I hope to not only make clear what my research will contribute to the existing body of knowledge but also provide further clarification about certain definitions of terms used, especially the term social capital which is of so much importance to this research. Section III, “Empirical Research”, presents the data collected to answer the research question. The methodology used to obtain this information has already been briefly outlined. This third section will include background information about religion with a particular focus on Christianity, CFBOs and social capital around the world, contextual information about Haiti, and an overview of the CFBO, Christian Aid, and their work in Haiti.

The fourth section of this thesis is the “Discussion & Analysis”. The empirical data collected is discussed and analyzed in light of the issues and analytical concepts presented in the literature review of Section II. It will be seen that the research supports the ideas of certain researchers but not those of others. This is also where I consider certain generalizations that can be made from the data collected as well as where I explore the possible lessons these generalizations have for international development. The fifth and final section of this thesis is “Conclusions and Recommendations”. This is where I summarize the major conclusions of the research drawn from the discussion and analysis as well as draw out the major implications for international development. It is now time to proceed with section II in which I lay the foundation of this investigation by presenting the most important issues and discussions found within the literature.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT

Essentially all authors discussing religion and development agree that religion has been neglected in dominant development discourse until recently. According to Clarke (2008), this is why present academic understanding of the positive and negative impacts of religious groups on developmental is limited. There is a general consensus among authors writing on this subject that religion should be taken into account in development but for a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways. I agree that religion should be taken into account, hence the existence of this research. The past neglect of the subject resulting in a lack of understanding about the relationship between religion and development also justifies this research that seeks to shed further light on the connection between the two.

Many authors explore the reasons behind the growing recognition that religion is relevant to the development discourse. The most common reason given is common dissatisfaction with dominant development methods (Alkire 2006; Haynes 2007; Hefferan 2009; Tsele 2001; Tyndale 2011). For example, Haynes (2007) says that a general recognition of the failure of technology and science to fix pressing world problems is one reason religion is now being considered. Tsele (2001) adds exclusively economic endeavors to the list of failing dominant development models that have proven unsuccessful alone and he argues that the religious dimension has been the missing piece needed to making these projects effective. As can be seen, several core values of the Enlightenment which highly influenced dominant development work, such as an emphasis on science, technology and material wellbeing, are now under attack for their

underwhelming success while religion represents a “new” means with which to address development problems.

A related discussion is why religion is important to development at all. Many authors see religion as essential because of how intricately connected it is to development. All of the different contributors to the Clarke and Jennings (2008) volume argue that religion has both deeply influenced development discourse and has in turn been influenced by development. Alkire (2006) agrees that religion and development have historically been intricately interwoven. Religious groups were involved in development-types of work well before international development became a popular and secular field of study (Manji and O’Coill 2002). Tomalin (2008) goes so far as to argue that disregarding religion when doing development work could actually be damaging to the development process.

Until now, I have been discussing religion in its broadest sense, which includes spirituality and organized religion. This distinction is not often explicitly made in the literature; many times authors are addressing both religious beliefs along with socially organized religion when they use the word while some may only be referring to one or the other. A probable reason for this lack of distinction is because of the intricate connection between spirituality and religious groups which makes it difficult to clearly divide the two. Members of religious organizations will almost definitely be strongly influenced by religious beliefs and feelings and, consequently, these will influence their organizations. Nevertheless, this thesis is focused primarily on organized religion although I do recognize that spirituality cannot be completely removed from this subject. Throughout this literature review I will do my best to discuss issues which are above all relevant to socially organized religion but when an issue is important and spirituality and organized

religion cannot be separated without losing the true sense of the issue it will be discussed in regards to both.

Now to narrow the focus to faith-based organizations (FBOs), a common reason as to why these organizations are important to development is because they often hold the trust of society members. Religion is a source of morality; therefore, members of the same religious group will often trust others of the same faith because they believe that they share similar morals. Citizens of the Global South often have higher trust levels for FBOs than they do for secular organizations (Haynes 2007; Narayan 2001; Tyndale 2011). Narayan (2001) argues that this is why religious organizations should be taken seriously in regards to development. These FBOs are often considered the most significant of community organizations and are highly supported by the poor (Haynes 2007; Clarke 2008).

How religion should be conceptualized in development is the largest area of debate among religion and development scholars. The instrumental or additive approach is one of the most criticised of the main two conceptualizations. Those who take this approach see religion as something to be considered as *part* of development but not vital to development. One such author is Sherman (1997) who takes a reductionist approach to the topic by saying if an aspect of a religion does not help development it should simply be changed. Berger (2009) takes a similar standpoint as he thinks religion should be taken into account for development when it is relevant and disregarded when irrelevant. Some simply see religious membership as what motivates religious development professionals (Alkire 2006). Tomalin (2008) says that religion should be used (instrumentally) in order to better understand the social world.

There are others who argue religion is actually integral to development, some of whom quite strongly critique the instrumental/additive approach. Among the strongest proponents of this side are Deneulin and Bano (2009) who argue that there is no separation between religion and development for religious people and, for this reason, religions need to be studied and understood in their entirety. They are highly critical of the instrumental approach in how it only addresses the aspects of religion that are easily helpful to or compatible with development because, according to them, religious people participate in development out of who they understand themselves to be as faithful people. Clarke and Jennings (2008) make a similar point but in relation to FBOs: they say faith is not an extra reason to do development but is *the* reason to do it at all for these groups. Gooren (2011) argues along a similar line saying one cannot only use parts of religion that are useful to development but must interact with it as a whole, directly criticising Sherman's (1997) utilitarian approach. Contributors to Ter Haar's (2011) volume also argue against instrumentalists by saying religion should not be considered as just another tool in the Western toolbox for development work. My specific stance for this research is that religion is integral to development because the religious groups I will assess are most likely not involved in development because of development itself but out of who they are as a religious group.

As one could predict, another area of debate is whether or not religious groups are good or bad for development. Kolade (2001) seems to see the Church as a purely positive development actor because of its key role in training leaders of integrity and because it can be a place which connects servant-leaders and followers to work together to fight corruption in Africa. As for religious groups as negative forces in development, the vast

majority of authors writing in this field recognize that religion can be detrimental to development, particularly because of extreme or violent groups, and also because some groups can be highly exclusive and selective in nature. Most authors, however, do not take hard and fast sides about religion's usefulness for development but seem to be realistically aware of the dual relationship that exists between the two. Haynes (2007) says religion can be both constructive, as it contributes to the reconciliation of conflict, and destructive, as it can also fuel conflict. Alkire (2006) sees religion as having components that complement and motivate development but also others that can hinder development. Narayan (2001) speaks to FBOs in particular saying they can be very effective or they can lead to division in communities. Gooren (2011) agrees with her and adds that FBOs are in danger of reinforcing differences in communities by selectively giving aid based on religious affiliation. Despite the evident awareness among authors of the drawbacks to involving religion in development, most who write on the subject do so because they argue that religion is important to include in development discourse.

Many authors have different ideas about what should be done by religious actors. Clarke and Jennings (2008) call for FBOs to work to improve governance and accountability and to become more politically engaged. Tyndale (2011) encourages religious groups to critically evaluate themselves and to refocus on the basics of their faith, discarding adopted cultural beliefs which inhibit effectiveness. Some call for churches and other development groups to collaborate on their common ground (Oladipo 2001; Linden 2008). Oladipo (2001) also wants Christian denominations and Christian NGOs to consolidate their development information so they are all aware of what the others are doing. He also thinks Churches should approach big businesses in local

communities to encourage them to give back to the places in which they are located. In sections IV and V of this thesis I contribute a little bit to this body of literature with my own recommendations for development work and religious groups, particularly CFBOs.

CHRISTIAN FBOS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

There are many ways to investigate the role of religious groups in development but this particular thesis is above all interested in Christian faith-based organizations. Since issues about Christian groups and development are embedded within the broader discussions about religion and development, the key scholarly issues for Christianity are very similar to those of religion in general, yet there are a few that I would like to highlight for Christian groups specifically.

One of these specifics is concerned with the *Christian perspective* since its implications for development are of particular importance to the research question. First, interpretations of core Christian teachings are greatly varied and therefore believers act in a wide variety of ways (Deneulin 2013). Second, in order for these believers to truly live as followers of Jesus, they must become development agents in at least some way because Christianity means revealing God's glory in words and actions that impact not only individuals but economics, society, and politics (Tsele 2001; Deneulin 2013; Miller and Yamamori 2007). The dominant author researching the Christian perspective and development is Séverine Deneulin (2013), a strong proponent of the integral approach discussed earlier, who points out that the Christian perspective is very similar to the Human Development Paradigm. It is similar in how this development paradigm sometimes includes a spiritual dimension but Deneulin clarifies that the Christian perspective is differentiated from this largely secular approach in how it argues that to be

a whole person one must know God eternally. She explains that this Christian perspective opposes the secular perspective because it attributes negative realities, such as injustice, to sin (i.e. turning away from God) and places great value on solidarity and the common good as opposed to individualism emphasized by many Western actors. She also says the Christian perspective sees development as integral because it requires simultaneous changes in large structures as well as in the human heart. The Christian perspective's connection to development is important to keep in mind for this thesis because Christian Aid, the case study CFBO for this research, most likely comes from a perspective very similar to this one presented by Deneulin (2013).

An important connection to development for CFBOs is their impact on social capital formation, the type of development this thesis seeks to analyze. Theoretically, CFBOs should contribute to healthy social capital because building intimate and mutually-helpful communities is a core aspect of what it means to be a Christian. How social capital intersects with religion is commonly discussed in the literature. The two are often seen as mutually relevant although in different ways depending on the researcher. Furbey et al. (2006) point out that a potential incompatibility between social capital and religion is how a key influence of social capital theory is rational choice theory, which emphasizes self-interest while faith emphasizes selflessness, though interestingly the authors point out that they can still be compatible because altruistic behavior is accepted in rational choice theory. De Jong (2011) says that religious activities can form networks useful for economic activity and therefore lead to economic growth. He also says that those who were raised having taken part in religious activities tend to have high amounts of trust in government institutions and are more compliant with institutional laws.

According to Furbey et al. (2006), FBOs often already represent good bonding social capital themselves but it is the linking and bridging types where they are not always as strong. Yet, they still argue that FBOs are important contributors to these two farther-reaching types of social capital even though it is not their strong suit. It is important to remember that religious groups, especially Christian ones, are not homogenous and therefore have a variety of implications for social capital.

Another debate is whether CFBOs have good or bad outcomes for social capital. Some argue that Christian groups are very good at building social capital (De Jong 2011; Jones 2012). Others say they have both good and bad outcomes for social capital, harkening back again to the dual impact of religion on development (Furbey et al. 2006; Hauck 2010). Hauck (2010) explains how churches have comparative advantages in building social capital in Papua New Guinea but also limitations. There are divisions between different churches that hinder their capabilities but they have had some success at bridging these gaps. There are also certain traits of many different faith traditions that facilitate the formation of social capital. For instance, they often share common beliefs that cross cultural and ethnic boundaries (McTernan 2003). Furthermore, all of the major world faiths have founding principles very useful to the formation of bridging and linking social capital (Furbey et al. 2006). Candland (2000) says that faith alone can be a type of social capital because members of the same faith trust one another even without knowing the other well.

I will now present a brief discussion of the concept of “social capital” in order to situate the reader as to what I am referring to when I use the term in this thesis. This is especially important for this particular term because it is surrounded by significant

conceptual uncertainty. The difficulty this term presents is made especially evident in section IV during the Analysis and Discussion yet, as will also be seen in this fourth section, it still proved itself useful.

Likely one of the most problematic factors in the literature is simply how to define social capital. This discussion will be far from comprehensive but it will provide at least an idea of the nature of the definitions that have been proposed. Putnam and Goss (2002) define social capital as social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness connected to those social networks, all of which change over time. All of Robert D. Putnam's work on social capital is likely the most referenced, analyzed, critiqued, tweaked, and added onto of the definitions of social capital. According to Smidt (2003), and likely many other scholars, it is Putnam's (2000) work on social capital in the USA which made the term so popular. The work of Pierre Bourdieu is a source commonly credited with bringing the term into academic popularity as well. He defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986:248). His may be the most detailed of the definitions I present. Halpern's (2005) definition is similar to Putnam and Goss' but has been slightly adjusted: "social networks, norms and sanctions that facilitate co-operative action among individuals and communities" (38-39). Smidt (2003) defines social capital in his volume as: "any facet of social relations that serve to enable members of society to work together to accomplish collective goals" (2). Lin and Erickson (2008) come up with what appears to be a simplified version of Bourdieu's definition and one which they regard as basic and consistent with other social capital definitions: "the resources embedded in social

relations and social networks” (4). Field (2003) sums up what he calls the core argument of social capital as: relationship matters.

Although there are certainly common patterns among these definitions, there are also significant differences. For example, Bourdieu’s (1986) definition contains details which make his concept of social capital more specific than other definitions such as Lin and Erickson’s which is intentionally broader. The question which arises from differences such as this is: which definition should be used? Due to discrepancies of this type there are some who are critical of the usefulness of social capital for scholarly endeavors (Portes 1998; Durlauf 2002; Fine 2006). Portes (1998) and Durlauf (2002) both admit that the term has been used so widely that it has become very weak as an academic concept, although neither write as scathingly or critically as Ben Fine (2006) who deems it remarkable that those writing about social capital believe themselves to be discussing the same topic. In contrast to Fine’s argument, I, along with most social capital scholars, see the similarities between the above definitions as evidence that one unifying and useful concept exists somewhere.

The above discussion is meant to offer a basic idea of some of the difficulties of defining social capital. Schuller et al. (2000) characterize social capital in a compelling fashion when they describe it as having “several adolescent characteristics: it is neither tidy nor mature; it can be abused, analytically and politically; its future is unpredictable; but it offers much promise” (35). This characterization is accurate. I embrace the central argument of the term that relationships matter and use the concept of social capital as an academic way to assess relationships. The concept is especially relevant for CFBOs since a huge calling of Christians is to foster Christ-centered community. For the purposes of

this thesis I use the above mentioned Lin and Erickson (2008) definition: “the resources embedded in social relations and social networks” (4). This definition is useful to this thesis because it contains broad concepts that span several of the other definitions, such as social relations and social networks, as well as the word “resources” which denotes the practical aspect of the term. The definition leaves significant room for empirical exploration because the number of possible embedded resources could be almost infinite depending on the scope of analysis. These resources could be material (ex: having use of space in a church building), occupational (ex: finding employment through another congregation member’s connection), practical (ex: having a group of volunteers from your church to help you move), and so on; any resource found through social relations could be considered a form of social capital. The purpose of this research will be to look for indications of impacts on social capital by Christian Aid in Haiti.

Another issue which scholars approach in various ways is how to create useful subcategories within social capital. Furbey et al. (2006) say that there has been consensus among many researches that three analytically useful categories are bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. These categories are originally suggested by Woolcock (2001), although Furbey et al. actually use Gilchrist’s (2004) descriptions of each type in their work (Furbey et al. 2006:7). Hauck (2010) uses this three-fold conceptualization to analyze the Churches’ impact on social capital in Papua New Guinea in a convincing manner, therefore, I will use the three categories as an analytical tool as well by applying them as a thematic analysis to Christian Aid’s work in Haiti. The three categories are distinguished as follows: bonding social capital exists among people whose relationship is defined by multiple different social connections and, as a result, is usually more durable;

bridging connects those from somewhat different groups but who share certain common interest(s); and linking is that which connects people across all different levels of identity and society (Gilchrist 2004).

Before moving on, there are a few other ways that social capital can cause analytical strife as well that must be mentioned. Several authors argue against using quantitative numbers to measure social capital, as many have done, and stress the importance of qualitative observations in assessment (Putnam and Goss 2002; Halpern 2005; Schuller et al. 2000). Silverman (2004) discusses the debate about what level those analysing social capital should examine: macro- or micro-level. He integrates these two approaches into a multi-level approach by being aware of the social networks within social structures while simultaneously focusing on developing social capital in local communities. Halpern (2005) uses the multi-level conceptualization as well. Onyx and Bullen (2000), on the other hand, argue that social capital only relates to the immediate and personal connections between people and events and not to formal relationships with entities such as governments, arguing for micro-level analysis. As for practical methods of analysis, Halpern (2005) says questionnaires about societal trust are surprisingly useful in assessing social capital although he would more strongly recommend using a multi-faceted model. Lin and Erickson (2008) are strong proponents of using the “position generator” which assesses access to social positions most commonly through occupational social links (9-10). Onyx and Bullen (2000:39) identify three central conceptual elements of social capital confirmed by their empirical work: “participation in networks, trust and social proactivity”. Due to the nature of Christian Aid’s work in Haiti, I take more of a multi-level approach and use mainly qualitative analysis.

This discussion has made it clear that conceptualizing social capital is not easy but hopefully the outcomes of analysis will demonstrate that social capital is still important enough to power through the theoretical headache. There is some debate around whether or not social capital is a good thing to have in society but most researchers believe that it is important. Much literature and research shows social capital is actually more crucial to people's subjective wellbeing (that is happiness) than financial capital (Putnam and Goss 2002). Some cautioning against negative impacts of social capital does exist. Strong social capital can have negative impacts such as excluding others, perpetuating stereotypes, oppressing and punishing members of groups, and inhibiting healthy change and interactions (Gilchrist 2004). Many are aware that social capital can be both positive and negative (Furbey et al. 2006; Putnam and Goss 2002). Formation of social capital can cause cohesion and fragmentation depending on its form (Hauck 2010). Even so, I agree with Furbey et al. (2006) that it is a useful concept as well as a useful resource in communities. I will also guess that social capital is most often a positive resource in any society but will consider both healthy and unhealthy implications in this research regardless. My hope is that CFBOs contribute to the formation of good social capital wherever they are working but as to whether this hope is fulfilled is the subject of the "Analysis & Discussion".

CFBOS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN HAITI

As established above, this thesis explores the link between CFBOs and social capital formation. This connection will be examined within the Republic of Haiti but first, relevant issues within Haiti must be outlined. Simply whether or not CFBOs have had positive or negative impacts in Haiti is an important issue. Hefferan (2009) is critical of

the ways in which Catholic parishes from the USA “twinning” with parishes in Haiti are going about becoming an alternative *to* development. Hefferan says they are really only acting as another form of development in how they resolutely follow dominant development models inspired by neoliberalism that emphasize outside control rather than real partnership. Lawless (2002) is also critical of the involvement of religious groups in national affairs of the country as he predicts that Protestant, Catholic, and Vodouist groups will very soon break into violent competition with one another for political control, interestingly dividing the two branches of Christianity which are being regarded as one in this research. Similarly, Löwy (1996) also links association with a Christian group to significant political violence in Haiti in his case with liberation theology and the famous priest who became president, Aristide. To assess whether CFBOs have been good or bad for Haiti in general is far too great a task for this thesis but it will attempt to shed some light on how they, and Christian Aid especially, impact social capital.

What forms of social capital exist in Haiti is also a relevant issue to this thesis. Gammage (2004) discusses an important form of social capital that extends beyond the borders of Haiti: it is very common for Haitians who have immigrated elsewhere to send financial gifts back to support those they know still living in Haiti. This form of social capital is interestingly both bonding and linking, as the people involved are likely connected by several different bonds but they are also linked across borders. Wall and Reader (2011) report a similar form of social capital that was not destroyed by the 2010 earthquake but was actually used by Haitians to take some responsibility for their situation: the use of phones and internet by most Haitians to communicate with those outside the country.

The situation around forming (or deteriorating) social capital in Haiti is also important to this thesis. Sheller (2013) argues that logistical relief efforts by many foreigners seeking to help Haiti after the earthquake actually resulted in the loss of connections and capabilities for Haitians themselves. Yet, on a more positive note, Zanotti (2010) argues that, since the earthquake, there are particular types of NGOs that have effectively contributed to the formation of social capital in Haitian communities: those which are accountable to local communities, are propelled by actual needs, and have diverse connections to funding from all over the world.

A final important debate is whether CFBOs have good or bad impacts for social capital in Haiti. The work of some scholars shows that they are successful at forming social capital. The hierarchical structure of some Protestant religions that have come into Haiti could potentially become important links between different levels of society, from local to national levels, representing linking social capital (Conway 1980). Conway (1980) says that local Pentecostal churches started by Haitians have also become connected to global Pentecostalism by having foreign pastors as their leaders. Although outside the country of Haiti, Brodwin (2003) discusses how Haitians living in Guadeloupe have used Pentecostalism to construct their own community and recreate their identity in Guadeloupe society; these can be considered forms of bonding and bridging social capital. According to Corten (2001), the Catholic Charismatic Renewal can also lead to the formation of social capital in how it is a way for social cohesion to be regenerated in Haiti, implying that it had previously deteriorated. Others do not see the presence of CFBOs as particularly healthy for Haitian social capital. Smucker (1984) says the lack of unity between Protestant groups means these churches tend toward divisive

actions such as church splits, which actually represent the breaking down of social capital. He also argues that the linking social capital Haitian Protestant churches do have with churches from other countries is unhealthy because it encourages dependence on foreign donations.

There is also recognition of the dual impact of Christian groups on social capital formation which is consistent with the relationship between religion and development in general. Although they do create linking social capital with the USA, they do not necessarily do so in a healthy way: Pentecostal preachers teach Haitians that they are poor because Haitian people are sinful and the USA is rich because they are religiously devout, a teaching that may be less than encouraging (Conway 1980). Furthermore, the bonding social capital between Pentecostals has so far only led to cooperation on religious activities but Conway (1980) predicts that these networks could eventually lead to congregation members helping each other with tasks outside of church such as economic endeavors or farming. Hefferan's (2009) analysis of "twinning" Catholic American and Haitian parishes also demonstrates this dual impact in how the connection is a form of linking social capital yet it is marked by a great amount of mistrust, particularly from the American priests toward the Haitian priests; this is not perfectly healthy social capital yet could still be helpful.

At this point it should be clear where this thesis stands in the theoretical landscape which means it is now possible to examine the empirical situation. To repeat, the research question for this thesis is: what role have CFBOs played in the formation of social capital in Haiti? The following section presents how the situation on the ground responds to this question.

III. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

This section is devoted to informing the reader about the situation in the world and in Haiti related to the research question. In this way this thesis will respond to the question in a way that is both grounded in the existing literature (see section II) as well as in empirical data (this section). This section begins with an overview of the broader global context surrounding religion, with a particular focus on CFBOs and development, followed by some discussion of connections with social capital formation. This is still background information that does not directly answer the research question but will help further situate this research in its empirical surroundings. This data is mainly from secondary online sources such as the Berkley Centre, the Pew Forum (and its associated Pew Research Center), the CIA World Factbook, the World Bank, and CFBO websites. Following this contextual overview is the information intended to directly respond to the big question of this project. Most of this data is concerned with the very small Republic of Haiti and, specifically, with one CFBO working in Haiti: Christian Aid. A case study of this CFBO is done by examining the contents of their official website.

RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT

According to the Berkley Center, the world religions with the most adherents today are Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Of these top religions, Buddhism has the fewest adherents, which is still approximately 470 million people, while Christianity has by far the most with about 2.3 billion (Berkley Center: “Buddhism” & “Christianity”). Islam has the second most devotees but still trails Christianity by 0.8 billion (Berkley Center: “Islam”). This means that Christians make up almost one third of the entire global population. The Berkley Center reports that, although the developed

world has indeed recently become more secular, the rise of Christianity in the less developed world has made it so Christianity is still growing in its number of followers (“Christianity”). Particularly relevant to development work, a study by Pew Research (2011), which is part of the Pew Forum, found that 61% of Christians live in the Global South, making it a religion primarily held by the poor. Even with decreasing numbers in Europe, Christianity is still their dominant religion as it is in North and South America, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Australia (Berkley Center: “Christianity”). The Pew Forum shows that Christianity is so widely and evenly dispersed across the global that no one geographical area can be considered its religious center (Pew Research 2011). The only major region in which Christianity is underrepresented is in the chiefly Islamic Middle East and North Africa (Pew Research 2012).

In relation to the importance of religion to development, another Pew Research (2012) study found that only 16.3% of the world population in 2010 was unaffiliated with any world religion. This is likely a major reason why there are now a few different groups taking an interest in the empirical connection between religion and development. Two, to which I have already referred, are the Berkley Centre and the Pew Forum (especially its research branch: the Pew Research Center. Other examples are the Joshua Project which is part of US World Mission, the Religion and Development Research Program at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom, the Knowledge Centre on Religion and Development in Amsterdam, the World Faiths Development Dialogue initiated by Lord George Carey and former World Bank president John Wolfensohn, and several other NGOs (see Dalton 2013:166 for an extended list).

Of the great mass of religious people living in this world, much of their development activities are done through faith-based organizations (FBOs). According to Anne Marie Dalton (2013), a significant portion of their actions can be summed up as “charitable donations; overseas service; refugee sponsoring and support; and political advocacy” (166). Deneulin and Bano (2009) place extra emphasize on one aspect of this involvement: political advocacy, listing social justice, radical political activism, and the leading of campaigns to change problematic structures as common FBO activities. They also report that FBOs provide huge amounts of basic social services to those who governments cannot support. In sub-Saharan Africa, FBOs supply approximately half of all health and education services and in India the Catholic Church, which makes up a very small portion of the national population (2%), is the greatest provider of these types of services after the government (Deneulin and Bano 2009:84). One might argue that FBOs and governments could do great things if they were to cooperate with one another; Deneulin and Bano (2009) report that some government-FBO partnerships exist but secular governments tend to be very selective in the religious groups they choose to support, preferring those less explicitly involved in religious missionizing work.

CFBOS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION

We will now turn our attention to the type of FBOs that are the focus of this research, Christian FBOs. An exact number of groups or people involved in CFBOs is difficult to deduce. Robert Wuthnow (2009) found that there are about 118 000 full-time and part-time missionaries from the USA alone serving all around the world (148). So who are the major players in the world of CFBOs? Kendrick Storm (2012) wrote an informative article about this topic for the Christian resource website AboutMissions.org

entitled: “What is the Largest Mission Organization?” The purpose of this website is to supply Christians with the information they need to become effectively involved in global missions and draws much of its information from the research initiative, the Joshua Project. In the article, Storm (2012) points out that choosing the largest or best CFBO is a challenge because the choice depends on how one decides to measure: is the assessment based on manpower, budget, or global reach? If counting manpower, does this include indigenous/local missionaries or only missionaries sent from one country to another, volunteers or paid employees, full-time or part-time workers, etc?

Due to the development focus of this thesis, those CFBOs whose focus is primarily on spiritual development, such as training ministers and sharing the Gospel, will be excluded for this overview. Two of the most well-known and widespread examples of these spiritually-focused CFBOs are Gospel for Asia and Cru (2014) – which is the new name of the organization formerly known as Campus Crusade for Christ. I am interested in those organizations which not only emphasize spiritual development but also development in the ways considered by secular groups as well: through education, food-security, economic opportunities, community building, etc. Within these parameters I will describe just a few examples in order to offer an idea of the variety of development-oriented CFBOs in existence.

There are quite a few very large and well-known CFBOs of this type such as:

- World Vision (2014): this group works in almost 100 different countries. They are involved in emergency response, long-term community development and poverty alleviation, and advocacy. They are also well-known for their child sponsorship programs.

- Compassion International (2014): This is another slightly smaller but still prominent CFBO that works in communities primarily through child sponsorship programs.
- Samaritan’s Purse (2014): This CFBO may be best known for *Operation Christmas Child* in which they send shoeboxes full of gifts to children all over the Global South although this is only one of their many projects. Working in over 100 countries, they are also involved in medicine, disaster relief, and working with vulnerable children beyond the delivery of a shoebox.²

There are many other CFBOs of slightly smaller size and scope that are still well-known and involved in development. One such example is:

- Mennonite Central Committee (2014): This CFBO works in 56 countries “to carry out disaster relief, sustainable community development and justice and peace-building work in the name of Christ. MCC also seeks to build bridges to connect people and ideas across cultural, political and economic divides”.

There are also countless smaller scale CFBOs working in basically every country. These can be founded by locals or foreigners and can focus on only one area, one country, or be international in scope even though they are small. It is also common for the various denominations (and there are well over 30 000 Christian denominations in existence today) to have a “mission branch”. One such example is:

- Global Partners (2014): This is the mission arm for the Wesleyan Church. In their self-description they say, “Global Partners serves more than 90 countries with 230

² Larger CFBOs often separate development work from religious work, sometimes organizing themselves into two different branches. One such example is World Vision. By creating a none-religious branch, Christian groups are more likely to attract secular and/or governmental partners and funding.

missionaries. The mission to exalt Jesus Christ by calling and mobilizing believers to global ministries of evangelism, church planting, leadership development and ministries of compassion is strong.” Their “ministries of compassion” and leadership development are the projects with particular relevance to development. This is very far from a comprehensive overview of the development-oriented CFBOs working around the world today but it should provide at least an idea of the vast variety that exists in this category of FBO in their sizes, focuses, and projects.

The specific descriptions of the organizations above provide an idea of what CFBOs are doing around the world but following is a little more of a general overview of their development activities from Elizabeth Ferris (2005). She reports that Christian groups often have the goal “to assist those in need regardless of their religious affiliation” (317). She reports that the World Council of Churches channels more than one billion dollars US towards relief and development (Ferris 2005:313). She also tells of the existence of some government-CFBO partnerships in which certain European governments have worked through church groups for a long time. Apparently these church-based organizations hold reputations as effective channels for humanitarian relief even in highly secularized European countries (324). As for where they are working, Ferris (2005) says that “Christian NGOs are active in virtually every country in the world” (317). To summarize answers to questions of who the CFBOs are, what are they doing, and where they are working: CFBOs comprise a wide range of organization types involved in all different forms of development projects and can be found all over the world.

An important aspect of their involvement in development, especially for this research, is how CFBOs are involved in social capital formation. Since I am using the bonding, bridging, and linking model to analyze data from the case study, I will do similarly for an overview of CFBOs and social capital. As is the case with the profile of CFBOs today, this is far from comprehensive and is only meant to offer the reader an idea of how CFBOs are involved in the formation of social capital. An example provided by Wuthnow (2009) is a story of a young American man who helped build a Bible school in Mexico where indigenous pastors would be trained (165). This is an example of physical social capital that will allow for the possibility of *both* bridging social capital (by connecting pastors from different areas) while also being a form of bonding social capital (because it will help link people from a similar demographic).

Linking social capital, that which connects people from significantly different places, demographics, etc, is arguably the form of social capital in which CFBOs are the most involved. Since CFBOs are so often started by Christian groups in one nation and end up working all over the world in different countries, they can be, in and of themselves, a form of linking social capital. For example, there is a significant body of Wesleyan Church-goers in Atlantic Canada who are connected to people in Haiti through the mission branch of the denomination mentioned earlier: Global Partners. This international social connection grants Haitians access to a number of resources such as school supplies, international donors/funding, employment opportunities, a hospital, and rafts of enthusiastic part-time volunteers (both skilled and unskilled). Another example of a resource available to Haitians through this group is how Global Partners makes a point of employing locals to facilitate their many projects: there are women hired as cooks at

the various mission compounds and guesthouses, men hired to drive mission teams around the country, and others hired to do various other jobs such as translate. One of the hired locals I met while in Haiti is Madame Samie; she was my team's cook for the week. Her earnings from her work at the La Gonave Wesleyan Compound allow her to support her family. These are only examples of social capital available in the link between Global Partners and Haiti; there are far more countries to which they are also connected.

To elaborate on the importance of the connection between CFBOs and linking social capital, Robert Wuthnow (2009) has an entire chapter about "Bridging Borders" between American churches and the developing world (140-187). An example contained within is: "four Catholics in ten say their congregation has an offering for overseas hunger or relief at least once a month, compared with about a quarter of Protestants" in the USA (142). Another example is a Southern Baptist church in North Carolina which raised funds to support 500 orphans in a Zimbabwe community (143). Access to foreign funds is a key form of linking social capital available to developing countries through CFBOs. Another example given by Wuthnow (2009) is a case of international connections resulting in the sending of other resources aside from money: a large Illinois congregation sent computers and sewing machines to select Central American congregations. The above examples are meant to demonstrate the significance of connections between CFBOs and social capital for communities.

The cases presented thus far have shown only positive impacts of CFBOs on social capital formation. But, as always, it should be noted that some have had and will continue to have unhealthy impacts on social capital. The following example shows that there are exceptions to the trend, pointed out earlier by Ferris (2005), of CFBOs helping

anyone regardless of religious affiliation: poor people themselves cited a specific problem with church and FBO involvement in their lives as “[they] sow seeds of disunity by reaching out only to ‘their flock’” (Narayan 2001:45). Another author, Samson (2008), argues that evangelical pluralism exists among Protestants working for democracy in Latin America in how they do not agree about the United Nations’ Children and Youth Code; this disagreement between Protestant groups does not inspire much faith in their ability to effectively build healthy social connections. Those are only two examples but there are certainly other cases of CFBOs disrupting healthy social capital.

THE HAITIAN SITUATION

With an understanding of the greater global context in which this research is situated, I will now outline Haiti’s national context which is where the main investigation of this thesis takes place. The following information has been largely gleaned from the World Bank Haiti Overview (2014) or the Central Intelligence Agency’s (CIA’s) World Factbook (2014) about Haiti (hereafter referred to simply as the World Factbook).

Haiti occupies the western third of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola; an island shared with the Dominican Republic (World Factbook 2014). The tropical country is made up of primarily rough, mountainous terrain. The nation had a surprisingly promising beginning: as a French colony it was among the Caribbean’s wealthiest places. It is also the world’s first country in which African slaves successfully overthrew their colonizers to the point of becoming the first fully black-led independent country in 1804.

Unfortunately, the national wealth based on forestry and sugar-cane farming severely depleted the country’s natural resources and left what used to be a paradise in a severely degraded condition. Deforestation continues to be a problem as more forests are cleared

for fuel and agriculture. Despite the promise of such revolutionary accomplishments, the country has a long history of political instability, experiencing phases of both extreme isolation as well as exceptional levels of foreign interference (Conway 1980). The periods of isolation mainly followed their independence from Europe while high levels of external involvement are what characterize most of Haiti's recent history. It has even become popular to refer to the country as the "Republic of NGOs". A telling example of these high levels of interference can be seen in a report published by the Guardian on data posted by the US Agency for International Development (USAid) which shows that the large majority of financial resources given to Haiti by this organization did not go to national organizations but actually went instead to foreign groups working within the country (Provost & Dzimwasha 2014).

The most infamous date in recent Haitian history is the 7.0 magnitude earthquake that struck very near the heart of the capital city, Port-au-Prince, on January 12, 2010 (World Factbook 2014). The natural disaster became yet another developmental stumbling block for a country that was already the poorest in the Western Hemisphere. Although the nation has been and continues to struggle, the developmental situation in Haiti is not completely hopeless. According to the World Bank (2014), significant progress has been made over the past four years to mend the major problems inflicted by the earthquake: 1.3 million of the 1.5 million Haitians who were displaced by the devastation and had to live in huge temporary homes such as "tent cities" have been relocated, most roads have been cleared of ruined buildings, and the government has responded with some initiatives to help the most vulnerable. Updates such as these are encouraging but the country still has much ground to travel in its development.

Interestingly, on paper, Haiti appears to conform to what Western actors typically prescribe for successful development: they are a free market economy and presently have a democratically elected President, Michel Martelly, with his chosen Prime Minister, Laurent Lamothe. According to the CIA World Factbook's (2014) Economy Overview, the country "enjoys the advantages of" being a free market economy, although it seems the country has yet to see much evidence of these advantages. A conspicuous 80% of the population lives below the poverty line, surviving on less than 2\$ per day (World Bank 2014). Haiti continues to be the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere with some of the world's highest rates of inequality. The Martelly government is presently working toward economic development by attempting to attract foreign investment but this is proving to be a challenge (World Factbook 2014). Foreign investors tend not to be drawn to a country with such weak internal infrastructure and one which cannot even supply its residents with consistent electricity. What minimal economic growth that has happened is attributed to agriculture and the textile industry (World Bank 2014). The World Factbook (2014) designates a few key factors which continue to hamper Haiti's economic growth: poverty, corruption, vulnerability to natural disasters, and a minimally educated population. Literacy for the total population is less than 50%. Corruption has characterized Haitian government and impeded Haiti's development throughout its history. Yet, the World Bank (2014) reports that the current government may be a more promising institution in how they are now "relatively stable" and working toward improving social services.

Aside from political and economic struggles, there are several other developmental problems currently plaguing Haiti. According to Christian Aid, violence

towards females has increased since the earthquake, particularly sexual violence in tent cities (“Christian Aid in Haiti”). The major environmental problems they presently face are deforestation, soil erosion, and insufficient potable water (World Factbook 2014). Associated with water problems, the country is also considered a high risk location for infectious diseases, particularly cholera. This may be one of the major reasons Haitians tend to die younger than most of the world: of 223 countries, Haiti's life expectancy ranks 186th with an expected age of about 63 years old. The median age for the country is about 22 years old which is substantially lower than most developed countries and signifies that the majority of the population is very young; in fact, 34.6% of Haitians in 2013 belonged within the 0-14 age range. A huge portion of Haiti's population of nearly 10 million (9,893,934 - estimate from July 2013) are black (95%) with only 5% being of mixed race or white. Haiti has two official languages: French and Creole.

Officially, religious affiliations in the country are 80% Roman Catholic, 16% Protestant, and 4% none or other (World Factbook 2014). The CIA World Factbook estimates that about half of Haitians also practice Vodou, although debatably the proportion may be even higher. The reason for discrepancies is those who practice Vodou often also simultaneously practice portions of other religions as well; this happens most often with Catholicism. All CFBOs working in the Haitian context must figure out how to interact with Vodou. Smucker (1984) says an understanding of Vodou is essential to understanding the situation around Christianity. It is the religion of a huge majority of Haitians (Lawless 2002; Rubin 1980). Vodou is a relatively young religion which originated in Haiti among African slaves by combining aspects of their various indigenous beliefs and mixing them with the French Catholicism of the colonizers to

create a completely new syncretic religion (Rubin 1980). In this way, Catholicism is intimately connected to this religion as part of its very roots and the two have uneasily coexisted even before Haitian independence (Smucker 1984). Yet, since independence, Catholicism has competed with and threatened the existence of Vodou through various efforts (Laguerre 1989). Protestants, especially Pentecostals, have a more recent presence in the country and are vehemently against the practice of Vodou (Butler 2008). In general, authors demonstrate that Christian groups in Haiti are opposed to Vodou while those with a Pentecostal bent tend to be the most aggressively anti-Vodou. The Christianity-Vodou relationship can have interesting implications for social capital as is seen in section IV.

This is the national context in which this research takes place. One more piece of the puzzle must be assembled before we can begin the case study: a brief profile of CFBOs working in Haiti. A report by NBC News reporter, Kari Huus, published January 10, 2010 (less than a month after the earthquake), offers an informative snapshot of CFBO involvement in Haiti both before and just after the earthquake. She points out that Christian missionaries have been drawn to Haiti ever since its national independence in 1804. To give at least an idea of the number of CFBOs in Haiti, she reports a statement from the spokesperson of the International Missions Board, Wendy Norvelle: “Every church and mission group has a presence in Haiti. It’s very, very, very saturated with those who would want to go and share God’s love and do hands-on ministries providing humanitarian relief.” She says a precise number is impossible to offer because the involvement of Christian missionaries is vast and ever-shifting. She learned from a research associate from the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, Bert Hickman, that there were 1700

full-time, professional missionaries *before* the earthquake, a number which has no doubt increased since. In addition, there are countless shorter-term missionaries coming into and leaving the country on a regular basis through churches, organizations, or even independently.

This variety is characteristic of CFBOs around the world. The types of activities in which they are involved in Haiti are also typical of global activities of CFBOs. Huus (2010) reports a range of missions: from pure proselytization to demonstrations of faith through more practical development-oriented projects. There is significant CFBO involvement in development work such as education, construction, and health services, with a particular passion to help vulnerable children. She says the Christian group, Partners in Health, has Haiti's biggest medical complex. CFBOs as significant providers of healthcare is characteristic of their contribution around the world. Her article is a helpful depiction of CFBO involvement because it does not report only the positive information. Having been published shortly after the incident in which foreign Baptists attempted to illegally smuggle Haitian children across the Dominican Republic border, she also reports negative and even illegal practices. A few examples are CFBO missionaries involved in illegal adoptions and even some participating in crimes of sexual abuse and human trafficking. She also draws attention to the lack of unity between Christian groups, particularly pointing out the rivalry of Protestant groups attempting to steal converts from Catholic ones. This is particularly important to this thesis because that rivalry is a clear example of how CFBO community involvement could actually break down existing social connections and therefore contribute to the deterioration of social capital rather than the formation.

CASE STUDY: CHRISTIAN AID

Much information has been covered to arrive at this point. It is now time to address the case study intended to shed the most light on an answer to the research question. To reiterate: what role have CFBOs played in the formation of social capital in Haiti? The organization examined is Christian Aid. We will begin with a basic overview of this CFBO followed by an outline of their specific work in Haiti.

ABOUT CHRISTIAN AID

Christian Aid is a CFBO that originated in and continues to be based out of the United Kingdom (Christian Aid: “About Us”). It was founded during the 1940s in response to a need to help the many World War II refugees in Europe. Over the past 60 years the group has significantly expanded from their original form in several ways: their annual income is much higher, they now work in about 50 different countries, and they have about 650 partners working with them around the world. Their directors and board are made up of individuals with a range of professional qualifications: from law, anthropology, and business to religious leaders such as a former Archbishop of Canterbury and other ministers. The CFBO is connected to a variety of Christian churches from the United Kingdom (Christian Aid: “Our sponsoring churches”). Their website lists 41 different sponsors, none of which are individual churches but rather 41 different unions of all different Christian denominations. These sponsors have a range of denominational associations; they include various types of Baptists, a few Orthodox groups, churches from each country of the United Kingdom, several Methodist groups, Presbyterians, and many other more or less well-known denominational unions.

To offer a precise size of this group would be difficult given the large number partners and variety of ways for individuals to be involved with Christian Aid. The CFBO offers employment opportunities, volunteer opportunities, fundraising/campaigning opportunities, and puts on various events all over the UK. As for financial size, their total annual income is about 95.4 million pounds (Christian Aid: “Institutional funding”). Most of these funds come from large institutional groups funding specific Christian Aid projects, such as USAid funds going toward security projects. They work in countries throughout the major regions of the developing world: Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Middle East (Christian Aid: “What we do”).

Instead of creating my own summary of Christian Aid’s goals I have provided below excerpts from their website which summarize what they do in their own words:

Our vision

Poverty is an outrage against humanity. It robs people of dignity, freedom and hope, of power over their own lives. Christian Aid has a vision - an end to poverty - and we believe that vision can become a reality. (...)

Our essential purpose

- to expose the scandal of poverty
- to help in practical ways to root it out from the world
- to challenge and change structures and systems that favour the rich and powerful over the poor and marginalised

Our mandate

We are an agency of our churches in Britain and Ireland and are mandated to work on relief, development and advocacy for poverty eradication. Christian Aid’s

work is founded on Christian faith, inspired by hope and acts to change an unjust world through charity – a practical love and care for our neighbours.

(Christian Aid: “Our aims and values”)

Finally, their values are love and solidarity, dignity and respect, justice and equality, cooperation and partnership, and accountability and stewardship (Christian Aid: “Our aims and values”).

The above vision, purpose, mandate, and values offer an idea of Christian Aid’s foundational motivations, ideology, and goals but how does Christian Aid go about accomplishing their objectives? Their ten “Basic ways of working in Christian Aid” could be summarized as *inclusive cooperation to address complex problems* (Christian Aid: “Our aims and values”). For the complete list of these 10 ways of working please refer to Appendix A. Christian Aid recognize that poverty is an extremely complicated issue that requires multiple methods done by many groups of people. Most of their basic ways of working speak to partnering with any group that shares their values, be it churches, groups of a different faith, secular groups, governments, businesses, local NGOs, and so on. They also work to strengthen the poverty eradication movement through networks with groups away from the Global South such as local churches and communities in the West. Aside from not discriminating among their partners, they profess help anyone in need without prejudice or bias. These are the main ways Christian Aid works to see their values and goals become reality.

CHRISTIAN AID IN HAITI

Now with an understanding of Christian Aid as an organization, it is time to examine their specific work in Haiti. Although they have been present in the country

since the 1980s, they officially opened an office in the capital city in 1997 (Christian Aid: “Christian Aid in Haiti”). Their present national headquarters is now found in Petion-Ville which is considered a suburban portion of Port-au-Prince. Their general strategy to sustainably reduce poverty in Haiti is to focus on combating inequality and vulnerability by setting their sights on building national resilience and empowering the people. They do not approach the nation as a single country but take what they refer to as a “bi-national approach” in which their action plan addresses the Dominican Republic and Haiti simultaneously. The reason they give for this is, aside from sharing an island, these two countries are intimately connected in an economic, social, political, and environmental sense. Although they have a presence in both countries, most of their partners and projects are located on the Haitian portion of the island and can be found in almost all 10 departments (Christian Aid: “Christian Aid Haiti and...”).

Christian Aid focuses on countering the corruption in the Haitian political system along with the complications associated with foreign interference (Christian Aid: “Christian Aid in Haiti”). Inequality, as mentioned earlier, is a major problem in Haiti perpetuated by the fact that most resources and power are held by either local elites or foreign entities. Their strategy to address inequality is twofold: to mobilize both the government and the people. First, they want the government to make social welfare investments a priority by putting more funds toward education, food security, healthcare, agriculture, and general security. They emphasize the need for new policies and laws which decrease corruption in the governmental tax and social spending systems while also fighting human rights offenses. Second, they want to encourage Haitians to hold their own government accountable to improve institutions, human rights conditions, and reduce

sexual violence toward females. They strongly encourage the formation and action of civil society actors to create their own socially-oriented proposals to present to the government. In these ways, they aim to put pressure on the Haitian government to take social action from both external sources (Christian Aid and partners) and internal sources (Haitians and partners). The other main problem they seek to address is environmental by working to enhance the resilience of communities to natural disasters, particularly floods and dry spells. In addressing these environmental challenges, they commit to having Haitians themselves play a strong “participatory” role. They hope to do this by, again, encouraging local participation and action to speak out against human rights offenses and also by preparing people in tangible ways for future natural disasters by building strong houses and training Haitians to be skilled at building.

Projects in which they have been and are involved are concerned with agriculture, health, human rights, and more recently have expanded to address the environment, prisoner rights, financial affairs, and corruption (Christian Aid: “Christian Aid in Haiti”). They are committed to helping “the most poor and marginalised, regardless of race, nationality or gender” (see “Our work” tab at Christian Aid: “Christian Aid in Haiti”). They are not only intentionally inclusive of those they help but also of those with whom they work. Christian Aid partners with people and groups working at the local level in order to stay in touch with what is truly needed. Their goal is to help partners collaborate, offer their partners tools, and encourage political action.

Christian Aid has thirteen different partnerships in Haiti, some of which are described below as examples. A complete list, including the location and a brief description of each partner, can be found in Appendix B. Christian Aid highlights, under

“Partners and successes” (see “Our work” tab at Christian Aid: “Christian Aid in Haiti”), the work of several partners. First, they draw attention to the groups KORAL, GARR, and Haiti Survie. These groups are involved in longer-term reconstruction projects and in constructing disaster resistant houses for displaced people and the families hosting these displaced people. The goal of these projects is to make communities more resilient while also redeveloping livelihoods lost from the earthquake. Haiti Survie works towards these goals largely through ecosystem restoration projects such as reforestation and promoting sustainable agriculture. Christian Aid supports KORAL’s (Konbit pou Ranfose Aksyon Lakay) project that works with farmers to help them re-plant crops in an area with especially bad food security because of high food costs, high living costs, and many tropical storms. GARR (Groupe d’Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés) works with a slightly different group of displaced people: Haitians who have been expelled from the Dominican Republic and need to establish themselves in communities along the border.

The second group they single out is GRAMIR (Groupe de Recherche et d’Appui en Milieu Rural), a group which focuses its efforts on farming in two ways. First, they work with groups of farmers in two locations on the southern peninsula by supporting seed production, helping improve technical skills of crop processing, and teaching marketing skills so farmers can sell crops on the market. This is important because it makes Haiti slightly less dependent on the volatile global market for imported food. Second, they also helped the many individuals who took part in the great urban-to-rural migration which followed the earthquake by providing them with farming supplies at the beginning of planting season. They also have the goal of empowering local community-based organisations by helping them develop sustainable small economic enterprises. The

last group Christian Aid highlights is the National Network for the Defence of Human Rights whose study of the Haitian tax system they are supporting in order to better understand and therefore improve the national financial system.

I would like to highlight one more group because it is the one engaged in Christian Aid's distinctive bi-national strategy: Solidarite Fwontalye (Christian Aid: "Christian Aid Haiti and..."). It is also known as Solidaridad Fronteriza in the Dominican Republic. This major bi-national initiative takes place on the border with the goal of improving livelihoods for rural people. The specific project Christian aid supports attempts to promote "sustainable and equitable agro-ecology and agroforestry". They work with farmer groups and community groups by providing education about the environment, fuel-efficient stoves, and training in sustainable practices such as sustainable charcoal production, ecosystem restoration, and natural resources management.

Aside from partnering with different groups, Christian Aid supports special initiatives. One example that is of particular interest to an investigation on social capital took place in 2001 on the Dominican-Haiti border where the foundation called the Jano Sikse Border Network united NGOs, civil society, and church networks from both sides (there were two partners from Haiti and two partners from the Dominican) of the border to fight together against human rights abuses in that area (Christian Aid 2012). According to the European Union, it is one of the most successful projects in maintaining peace between the two countries. This foundation has not yet finished their work: they still aim to motivate the government to better manage border affairs, especially in the bi-national markets.

What progress and outcomes has Christian Aid achieved through their various partnerships and projects? The following information is from an update posted during January 2014 that reports on what Christian Aid and their partners have accomplished since the January 2010 earthquake (Christian Aid 2014). It reports on the outcomes of the four-year-long Christian Aid Haiti Earthquake Appeal programme which is scheduled to end in March 2014. The programme was initially focused on meeting immediate needs following the disaster but by 6 months in they had turned their attention to rural areas where 600 000 former residents of the urban capital had fled to stay with their families or with their other rural connections. The programme's accomplishments in rural areas are as follows: 1) 511 disaster-resistant houses built which involved training Haitian masons in improved techniques, 2) 35 155 people trained in disaster risk reduction through the development of emergency plans, school drills, and the provision of equipment such as flashlights and megaphones (apparently this training was useful when Hurricane Sandy hit), 3) 32 710 people have been assisted in rebuilding livelihoods mainly through the providing of supplies, training in agriculture, gifts of livestock, and cash grants for businesses, 4) 7000 people now have access to clean water because of filters, purification tables, and water points, and 5) they have planted about 248 000 trees. Overall, Christian Aid reports that the programme has increased the capacity of their partners.

This marks the end of the empirical situation's input on the research question. The information provided above outlines the present global situation surrounding religion, CFBOs, and development as well as CFBO connections to social capital formation. It also offers an overview of the Haitian context in which the case study on Christian Aid takes place. And finally, it presents details about Christian Aid and their involvement in Haiti.

The next section contains an analysis and discussion of the implications for the research question in light of the theoretical and empirical landscapes.

IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Up until this point I have presented information in two separate sections that each speak to the research question from a slightly different standpoint: more theoretically in section II and then more empirically in the previous section. What this research seeks to discover is what role, if any, Christian faith-based organizations have played in the formation of social capital in the Republic of Haiti. In pursuit of an answer, I have conducted a case study of one CFBO, Christian Aid, and their work in this country. The purpose of this section is to explore what meanings can be drawn and what answers can be deduced by considering the theoretical and empirical information together. As mentioned earlier, I am using Lin and Erickson's (2008) definition of social capital which is "the resources embedded in social relations and social networks" (4). It is also in this section that I use Gilchrist's (2004) bonding, bridging, and linking conceptualization to conduct a thematic analysis on the case study about Christian Aid in Haiti. These three categories are distinguished as follows: bonding social capital exists between people who share multiple different connections and, therefore, have a more complex and durable relationship; bridging exists between people with only a few traits or activities in common; and linking is that which connects people across all different levels of identity, society, geography, etc (Furbey et al. 2006). This section also analyzes the many debates found in the review of the literature in light of the empirical evidence to illuminate which scholars this research does and does not support.

INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

Before beginning the thematic analysis, a few initial observations must be mentioned. It is immediately obvious from the previous section that religion continues to

carry significant importance in our world today. Although this paper already stands on the side of the debate that argues religion is important to development, the global situation further supports this argument in how only 16.3% of the global population in 2010 were unaffiliated to any religion. Granted, this statistic does not reveal how important religious affiliations are to self-identified religious people, and there are no doubt people for whom their religious connections have little to no impact on their day-to-day life, but there is certainly still a large portion of religious people for whom their faith is of the utmost importance to how they understand and interact with the world around them. Aside from the pervasiveness of religion, it is clear that of all the major world religions Christianity is a massive force to be reckoned with in the developing world. Not only do Christians make up almost a third of the global population, making them the world's most widely-held religion, but 61% of them lived in the Global South in 2011, making Christianity particularly relevant to international development. This shows that Christianity has officially become a religion of the poorer portion of the globe despite its Western origins. For this reason, it is culturally insensitive for development initiatives to disregard such a pervasive factor in the lives of residents of the Global South if they are truly seeking to improve lives in ways that are locally relevant. The data also demonstrate that, whether secular groups and governments like it or not, faith-based groups are highly involved in diverse development initiatives and, as a result, must be engaged with.

CFBOS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

In regards to what the empirical research evidenced about one of the major focuses of this research, CFBOS, is that they are a highly varied type of organization even though they are all united by their affiliation with Christianity. Whether they are huge and

well-known like World Vision or small and relatively unheard of like Global Partners, they are operating all over the world engaging in both spiritual and practical (or developmental) missionary work to all different capacities. The examples from section III show that their global involvement has major implications for social capital as well. This gives a partial response to the research question because I can now reply, yes, CFBOs play a role in social capital formation. The cases presented in the “CFBOs and Social Capital Formation” segment of the previous section reveal that their connection to social capital formation is extensive but, unfortunately, not unvaryingly positive. The discussion about which of the three social capital categories different examples belong has already begun in the previous section but directly following I will take the conversation further by elaborating on why those cases belong in each category.

Wuthnow’s (2009) account of a young man from a church in Ohio is an example of how a CFBO potentially contributed to the formation of all three types of social capital. The young man went to Mexico for a short-term mission trip with the CFBO, Teen Missions International (TMI), to help build facilities where local pastors would be trained. This project could be bonding in how it likely added an extra social connection between people who were already connected in several different ways as strongly spiritual people from the same area by giving them one more piece of common ground through the new training facility and programs. It could also build bridging social capital if pastors only had one or less previous connections before coming to the school, such as if they came from more distant areas or from different demographics and only came to know one other once attending the new school. The project is, without a doubt, also, a form of linking social capital because TMI’s connection to that Mexican community

brought in volunteers from places and demographics that were significantly different from the locals to build this pastor-training school.

Based on the examples of CFBOs' global activities, linking social capital, that which connects people from completely different places and situations, is the form on which they have the most natural and obvious impact. Many CFBOs, especially the larger ones but still many of the smaller ones as well, function as a form of linking social capital in and of themselves. In other words, the ways they work as organizations make them a channel for the movement of resources from one place and demographic to another completely distinct from the first. To be a form of linking social capital is often one of the explicit goals of CFBOs. For example, Mennonite Central Committee (2014) deliberately says that "MCC ... seeks to build bridges to connect people and ideas across cultural, political and economic divides". Although they use the word "bridges" here they are actually describing exactly what *linking* social capital does using the terms of this analysis. All of the examples of CFBOs given in the previous section actively seek to channel resources from more prosperous parts of the world, be that financial, educational, health, or human resources such as expertise or even just willing volunteers, to those places that are in need. Since all of these resources come through people, they are also automatically social relations and connections which makes them an exemplary case of social capital according to Lin and Erickson's definition. I could go on about all the examples of CFBOs involvement in linking social capital but I hope I have explained enough to make it clear that they are highly involved in the development of this specific form.

I also presented examples of cases where CFBOs had mixed or even negative contributions to social capital formation. The feedback received by Narayan (2001) from the poor about CFBOs in their communities is that churches contributed to the breaking down of connections by only building into their own group. This is interesting in regards to social capital because, although churches may actually be enhancing the internal bonding social capital by working to build up their own congregations, they may simultaneously be deteriorating previously established bonds or bridges within the community by standing in the way of other traditionally existent social ties. Generally, Christian groups tend to create strong bonding ties within their own groups by offering multiple avenues for people to connect (ex: Bible studies, potlucks, church boards, etc) but there are also examples of disagreements from inside. One example, presented previously by Samson (2008), was the Protestant groups involved in the promotion of Latin American democracy that could not come to a unified view of the United Nation's Children and Youth Code. The impact disagreements like this one could have on social capital may be negative in how it causes bridged groups to segregate or it may have no affect if the groups decide that their differences are over nonessential points and they can continue to cooperate regardless. The fact that CFBOs have played varied yet influential roles in social capital (de)formation almost exactly mirrors the manner that religion is connected to development in the broadest sense. That the parallel persists from the widest conceptual scope of religion and development to the more narrow scope of CFBOs and social capital formation warns that the high potential for mixed relations should be kept in mind whenever development workers engage religious groups of any kind.

At this point in the analysis, it would seem that CFBOs have nearly unlimited potential in what resources they *could* offer communities because of their natural strength at building linking and bonding social capital, but one must also be alert that there are some tendencies in certain CFBOs that can jeopardize existing healthy social capital. I have already presented examples of their positive contributions followed by examples of varying positive roles. Examples of practices that generally have very negative impacts on social capital are pushing divisive teachings like “only people from our church are going to heaven” or “if you do not speak in tongues you do not really have salvation”. There are likely even some who believe they cannot associate with people who are not brothers and sisters in the faith because they believe the call to be holy means they must be completely separate from the world which would obviously break certain social ties.

Fortunately, many CFBOs, such as Christian Aid, purposely say in their mission statements that they seek to help anyone in need regardless of their personal beliefs. They follow one of the teachings by the founder of their faith, Jesus, to clothe the naked and feed the hungry, not clothe the naked or feed the hungry only if the naked or hungry person believes in the same details of doctrine as themselves (Matthew 25:35-36). Throughout the biblical letters written by a foundational Christian evangelist and teacher, Paul of Tarsus, the command is repeated time and again to avoid creating disunity. A way that CFBOs can avoid the tendency to create divisions is by staying true to their original scriptural teachings and not distorting, undermining, or adding onto them with cultural understandings. This is why Tyndale (2011) argues all FBOs should continually re-evaluate themselves in light of their foundational scriptures and I argue that she is right; this reflective practice can be conducive to healthy social capital formation, especially for

a religion like Christianity in which their basic teachings so strongly advocate perfect community among all people (and God).

This being said, remaining true to the basic teachings of the faith will not guarantee that social capital will remain intact. Sometimes staying true to these teachings will require groups to break some social connections in order to fully follow certain central commandments and, therefore, will deteriorate social capital. As a hypothetical example, there could be a case in Haiti where one person converts to Pentecostalism and begins to refuse to take part in traditional ritual practices with their family because of the nonnegotiable Christian commandment against idolatry that requires them to cease worshipping the spirits of Vodou. This refusal to participate with their family in traditional religious practices could definitely damage that social bond, perhaps even to the extreme that the family or the convert decides to cut all social ties and, in that way, lose whatever resources they had in that social relation. Interestingly, in a case like this, since that convert loses resources in their family connections they will become even more dependent on their new group of fellow Christians which will likely enhance or create bonding social capital and connect them even more securely to a whole new assortment of potential resources in their new congregation. This hypothetical example is meant to show that even some of the best ways for CFBOs to avoid deteriorating social capital will still sometimes result in the breaking of some social bonds. Yet, remaining true to the dual relationship between religion and development, this involvement can simultaneously enhance or create other social connections. It confirms once again that the connection between a religious group and a variety of development like social capital formation is

never going to be straightforward nor allow for simple conclusions to be drawn. It brings to light just how complicated the connection between the two can be.

Until this point I have been highlighting lessons from broader-level data first concerning religion and development followed by CFBOs and their connection with social capital. Several important implications for the research question as well as for development in general have been unearthed but even more answers are found through the upcoming thematic analysis of Christian Aid's work in Haiti. In the following section I examine Christian Aid's role in social capital formation by discussing their impacts in light of the three categories: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital.

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF CHRISTIAN AID IN HAITI

Before I apply these categories to this CFBO, it is of particular importance to this research to highlight the social connections that Christian Aid brings to Haiti. After all, there can be no resources found in social connections if there are no social connections in the first place. Christian Aid has turned out to be an especially appropriate choice for a case study on social capital because their entire strategy functions almost exclusively through partnerships with other groups. They certainly recognize that the more connections they have the more resources are available to them. This is apparent in their ten basic ways of doing things mentioned in the previous section and available in their entirety in Appendix A. Every connection with each individual partner represents a social connection with its own array of possible resources or, in other words, potential social capital. By focusing their efforts on collaborating with groups based on their common ground, Christian Aid is working in precisely the way prescribed by both Oladipo (2001) and Linden (2008).

Christian Aid has quite a number of connections in relation to Haiti. From the partner descriptions alone, which can be seen in Appendix B, this CFBO is connected to displaced families (urban-rural migrants), the hosts of these displaced families, farmer organizations, young people and families in slums, vulnerable groups, local civil society groups, women, young mothers, rural communities, local community-based organizations (also referred to in the descriptions as grassroots organizations, peasant groups, or popular groups), and expelled Haitians on the border. As for connections based on where their workers or partners are from, one partner is a Jesuit group which is a branch of the Catholic Church. Two other links from partner associations are a network of Haitian Protestant churches and another group that is part of Transparency International. They also have connections through their varying sources of funding and support which are primarily from institutional donors and Western church communities. For example, the European Union supports their bi-national project at the border. Finally, considering where their group is originally based out of, they connect Haiti with the UK. With those social relations in mind, the thematic analysis follows:

Bonding social capital exists among people of similar groups who are engaged in complex long-term relationships; this will most often be found among friends or family. For example, a group of friends can be connected in a number of different ways such as through growing up in the same neighborhood, membership in a certain book club, taking the same yoga class, and so on. As has been seen, one of Christian Aid's major strategies in Haiti is to encourage the formation of civil society groups. If these groups are made up of people who were already close and they decide to start lobbying the government to improve health care because of Christian Aid's encouragement and support, then

Christian Aid is strengthening existing bonds by adding yet another facet by which these friends are connected. Strengthening already existing bonding connections is a positive contribution to social capital.

Bridging social capital is found among people connected by similar interests but with less complex connections than those in the bonding category. Bridging social capital often exists between co-workers, neighbours, or other groups based on mutual interest. A newly planted church can be a powerful way to create new bridges in how it can unite all different groups of people in an area through their church membership and often through basic agreement about their religious beliefs. Christian Aid's general Haiti strategy that focuses on encouraging the formation of civil society groups can not only represent bonding social capital but, depending on who becomes involved in each group, could alternatively be a form of bridging social capital. If a civil society group is composed of people who traditionally would not have interacted on a regular basis but who are united within the group by their shared passion for a certain cause, this becomes a new source of bridging social capital.

Before continuing with the discussion of evidence related to social capital and Christian Aid, I need to clarify something about what Gilchrist (2004) calls the two horizontal forms of social capital. Determining whether groups are made of bonds or bridges is difficult for this research because the Christian Aid website does not contain detailed information about the nature of the relationships between the people they impact. All I am able to do in this analysis is make educated guesses about these connections and therefore which category is most appropriate. In addition, the two are difficult to separate because it is likely that each group is not composed entirely of one type of relationship. In

reality, every person in a group has a different relationship with each other member and these relationships will exist on a continuum of complexity.

As a demonstration of this continuum of complexity, consider the relationships within a single imaginary civil society group. The first type of relationship could be between two people who only know each other by membership in the group while a second type of relationship could exist between two other individuals who are very close friends and are not only connected by this group but because they take turns caring for one another's children, they work for the same company, and their spouses are friends. There could also be a third relationship between group members with a complexity that falls somewhere in between the previous two examples in how they know each other from the civil society group and perhaps also from a class at school. The way I am using these two concepts in this research says the first relationship is clearly bridging while the second one is bonding. The third one, however, could be considered either or neither type depending on how many different connections one decides must exist between people for them to fall into each category. If bonding social capital must be two or more different connections, then the third relationship would be bonding. But if bonding social capital must be three or more, then the third relationship would represent bridging social capital. Future research that employs the bonding-bridging-linking conceptualization may find it helpful to specify a certain number of social connections to differentiate bonding and bridging. Given that the difference between the two can be somewhat artificial, it may even be beneficial to combine bonding and bridging social capital and only conduct an analysis that divides horizontal (bonding and bridging) and vertical (linking) social capital.

For the sake of discussion about social capital, a term that stays true to the exceedingly complicated social realities it represents, I discuss the two terms, bonding and bridging, side by side, making judgements about which type is reflected for each case. I admit that I am speaking in highly simplified terms and conceptualizations. What I decide is a group composed of complex bonds someone else may convincingly argue is mainly made up of simpler bridges. In reality, these two categories are not mutually exclusive. The purpose of using these invented categorizations is not to make high theoretical, irrelevant arguments about these specific types of social capital but is meant to help us determine whether or not Christian Aid has played any role in the formation of social capital in Haiti. The three terms are simply tools by which we can discern whether or not they have an impact and understand something about the nature of that impact.

One of the most striking ways that Christian Aid contributes to bonding and bridging social capital is not so much by creating new bonds or bridges as I would have predicted but by enhancing the resources available in already existing relationships. There were many mentions of their supporting civil society groups. In some cases the people in these groups were already formed into a civil society group but Christian Aid helped enhance their abilities by, for example, supporting La Fondation Heritage pour Haiti who translated government documents into Creole for their information and use. A second example of their enhancing resources rather than creating new connections is how, with Service Chretien d'Haiti, they gave rural communities the means to identify their own problems and contribute to solutions themselves. In this case, if these rural communities were small, they probably already had considerable bonding social capital through the multi-faceted relationships established when living in a small community, so Christian

Aid's activity simply helped them harness the resources already available within their group by helping them think about problems and create their own solutions. Another project that is involved in this enhancement is done with KORAL where they support grassroots initiatives in vulnerable communities by designing and assisting in implementing income generating/livelihood initiatives. These grassroots initiatives could be made up of either bonding or bridging connections and it is more than likely that they contain both.

There are even more examples of this resource-enhancement impact on social capital by Christian Aid. Their major bi-national project also seeks to further equip already established farmer groups and other community groups by educating them in a variety of useful practices related to sustainably managing their natural environment. These farmer and community groups could be made up of either bonds or bridges. I would guess, if these are smaller communities, those who decided to make farmer groups were probably already connected in diverse ways before they decided to make themselves into farmer groups and so share bonding social capital. GRAMIR also seeks to supply local community-based organizations with further resources by helping them develop sustainable small economic enterprises. In these ways, Christian Aid is actually injecting more resources into existing bonded or bridged groups making more resources available within those social relations and connections. This means they are still contributing positively to social capital but not in the way that I was expecting. Before gathering the bulk of this data, I assumed the way any group would contribute to social capital would be mainly by creating new social relations which would hold new resources but it seems

that Christian Aid is actually contributing by enhancing the resources within existing social relationships.

Aside from this unforeseen contribution, there are some hints that Christian Aid could be assisting the formation of new bonding and bridging social capital as well. For example, GARR works to encourage Haitians who have been expelled from the Dominican Republic to form community organizations in two different border communities. It does not say whether or not they have been successful but this is in the very least an example of the potential formation of new bonding or bridging social capital. Since these expelled Haitians are living in the same communities along the border, helping them connect with one another into community organizations could lead to the formation of bonding social capital because of the many mutual interests in their shared struggle to improve livelihoods. POZ promotes the importance of community support for families impacted by HIV/AIDS in Port-au-Prince. These families are already a type of bonding social capital but by encouraging different groups in the community to support these family groups they are encouraging bridging social capital within the poorer areas. Part of Christian Aid's overall approach in Haiti is not only to support existing civil society groups but is also to strongly encourage the formation of new civil society groups who will put even more internal pressure on the government to take social action. This is observed from their overall national strategy and it does not say for certain if they have successfully sparked any new groups into being but it is, again, at the very least a way that this CFBO has strong potential to contribute to the formation of new social capital that could be of either the bonding or bridging type.

The third form of social capital is linking which we have seen tends to be the type on which CFBOs generally have the greatest impact just by virtue of how they are inclined to function. Linking social capital connects people across national, cultural, racial, ethnic, educational, economic, and political boundaries, those who find themselves in vastly different social circles on a regular basis. There are so many different ways that Christian Aid's activities fall into this category that I will not present an exhaustive list but rather highlight a few of their actions as examples. With linking relationships, it appears Christian Aid has made different types of resources or services available at two different levels within Haiti: at the national level and at the community level. An example of one of their projects at the national level is the one they are involved in through National Network for the Defence of Human Rights (NNDHR) which is a study to better understand and therefore improve the Haitian tax system. If successful, this country's connection with the NNDHR will provide the resource of functional knowledge to the entire country, especially civil society groups. Another example of a resource offered at a national level through a social link is from the Centre de Recherche, de Réflexion, de Formation et d'Action Sociale which monitors and researches government actions in order to improve accountability. This means they are working in the very way Clarke and Jennings (2008) argued FBOs should work, by seeking to improve governance and accountability.

A community level example is how their Haiti Earthquake Appeal programme enhanced local masons' skills by providing them with hands-on training in how to build disaster-resistant houses. VETERIMED offers linking social capital to rural Ouest Haiti communities by educating them about livestock health and production. In this case, the

group is not only enhancing the resources already available in the community's knowledge, which means they have enhanced what is likely bonding social capital, but are in and of themselves a form of linking social capital. Christian Aid's bi-national project at the border, Solidarite Fwontalye, is clearly linking social capital because it forges a relationship between itself, which is an international organization, and with the communities on both sides of the border. It could also be linking in how it may unite communities from both countries but the success of this part of the endeavor is yet to be confirmed.

Christian Aid acts as a form of linking social capital not only to Haitian communities but also to all of its different partners by aiming to unite as well as enhance the capacity of everyone with whom they work. According to the 2014 report on the outcomes of the Haiti Earthquake Appeal programme, Christian Aid has been successful in increasing their partners' capacities. The Jano Sikse Border Network is another case where Christian Aid united NGOs, civil society, and church networks from both sides of the border to corporately fight human rights abuses near the political boundary. Forging these connections between partners could be seen as linking social capital in how it is connecting distinct groups. By pursuing this, Christian Aid is helping groups realize how intimately linked their goals and values are and, as a result, is encouraging cooperation which benefits everyone; not only the subjects of projects like poor rural Haitians but even the partners gain access to more resources with every new connection they make. This strategy in Haiti is connected to Christian Aid's international basic ways of working in how they focus on uniting their efforts with virtually any other groups who share their

values and goals, which suggests strong potential capacity for their contribution to social capital in this way.

Comparing these findings with those of Furbey et al. (2006) is interesting in how they found that religious groups often represent good bonding social capital but are weaker in their contributions to the bridging and linking types while this research demonstrates that the strongest contribution to social capital by CFBOs in general and by Christian Aid specifically is to the linking type. It also shows that, given the difficulty of knowing the nature of all relationships within groups to differentiate the bridging and bonding types, Christian Aid could potentially contribute significantly to both of these two categories as well. Therefore, my conclusion is much more confident than Furbey et al.'s in the positive contribution to social capital by CFBOs as religious organizations. This difference in conclusion could come from the differences in our sources of information, in how my information about CFBOs is entirely secondary and my data on Christian Aid is admittedly likely positively biased. Another possibility for this difference could be that they examine religious groups from multiple faiths and I focus only on Christianity. This could show that organized Christian groups contribute more positively to the formation of all three types of social capital than other religions but this suggestion could only become a conclusion if a comparative study of religions and social capital discovered the same thing.

As always, abstract categories created for the purposes of academic discussion struggle to contain that which reality presents them and this bonding-bridging-linking conceptualization is no exception. There are several ways that Christian Aid almost certainly contributes to social capital formation in how they are forging social

connections and relations full of resources but they often do so in ways that will not be confined to one of these three categories. The lack of clarity in the differences between both bonding and bridging demonstrate Schuller et al.'s (2000) compelling portrayal of social capital as a term with adolescent characteristics. Despite its imperfections, this model has been useful for the sake of discussion and for determining whether or not Christian Aid and CFBOs in general have contributed to social capital formation. With a theoretical concept as slippery and debated as social capital, some form of conceptual restraint is required to contain and wield its analytical power. Therefore, in full knowledge of its faults, I contend that this conceptualization is still useful if only to offer a probable response to the question at the heart of this research.

There is one last way Christian Aid may be connected to social capital in Haiti. Based on their stated strategies, they intend to both fight social capital deterioration and manage troublesome social connections. Something that can easily deteriorate social capital is if Christian groups teach exclusivity and selectivity that leads to the breaking down of traditional family and community bonds and bridges. Christian Aid states first in their 10 basic ways of working and then again in their Haiti-specific strategy that they are committed to helping anyone in severe need without any consideration of identifiers like ethnicity or gender. By committing themselves to this mindset they are attempting to prevent themselves from weakening social capital in this way, a way that CFBOs and other types of development organizations for that matter can have a tendency to affect social capital. Interestingly, Christian Aid actually conforms closely to what Zanotti (2010) identifies as the characteristics of the NGOs that have been the most successful in Haiti which may offer some hope that they will be successful in their endeavors within

the country. Christian Aid also indicates that they are working to counter the complications associated with foreign interference although they do not specify how they are doing this or whether or not they have been successful. In this way they are trying to be involved in managing the linking social capital within the “Republic of NGOs”, an aspiration with great potential value for this country. Too much uncoordinated foreign interference has been a problem in Haiti for a long time and it is clear that although everyone is allegedly working towards a similar goal of improving Haiti they are not seeing dramatic results. High-level management through a group like Christian Aid could be a solution to the lack of coordination and cooperation between foreign forces within the country and maybe even one day contribute to the development of a nationally-cohesive action plan among the many entities at work within Haiti.

Despite its conceptual challenges, this thematic analysis demonstrates that Christian Aid believes in the importance of social capital. They have based their entire official strategy on networks and partnerships which shows they certainly believe that valuable resources are found in diverse social connections. It is unlikely that other CFBOs’ strategies are as explicitly based on social capital values as Christian Aid’s partnership model but it is likely that they carry some similarities. For example, Global Partners in Haiti works closely with West Indies Self Help (WISH) and their compounds are located side by side on the island of La Gonave. They also partner with Mme. Soliette at Okipe Orphanage on the island to assist her in her mission to provide about 70 children with a healthy home. These affiliations may not be part of their official strategy like partnerships are for Christian Aid but I would guess that partnerships such as these exist for most CFBOs. Aside from the social capital benefits of CFBOs having partners, often

groups are required to have a certain number of partnerships in order to receive funding.

Logically, having connections with other groups makes sense; why work alone when your basic values and goals are the same? Christian Aid's basic ways of working make it clear that they have grasped the truth and the power of this perspective.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has explored the role of Christian faith-based organizations in the formation of social capital with an empirical focus in the Republic of Haiti. I examined the work of one specific CFBO at work in this country, Christian Aid, using the bonding-bridging-linking conceptualization of social capital to conduct a thematic analysis. I also engaged in a more general overview of CFBOs and social capital around the world. In the following final paragraphs I will summarize the conclusions of this research alongside some development implications and policy recommendations. This is concluded with suggestions for future research.

CFBOS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

So what *is* the role of CFBOs in social capital formation in Haiti? In response to this research question, the thematic analysis of Christian Aid found that they hold strong potential to contribute to the formation and enhancement of healthy social capital of all three types in Haiti. I discovered that Christian Aid's general strategy, as well as their Haiti-specific strategy, is one of the strongest indicators of this potential. Based on these tactics, one of the most significant ways they are likely to build social capital at a national level is by contributing to the formation of new social connections between their partner NGOs because of their dedication to partnerships as well as their commitment to connecting different groups who are working towards similar goals. Their most significant contribution to social capital at the community level is likely by increasing the resources in pre-existing social networks by equipping community members with new training and resources. This was one of the more unexpected discoveries of my research in how Christian Aid may not exclusively contribute to social capital in Haiti by creating

new social relations among Haitians but also by enhancing the resources available in already existing social connections. Through the provision of different forms of training and equipment, they have and will likely continue to inject existing networks of people with more resources and therefore more social capital.

Given the great potential held by Christian Aid as a representative of CFBOs as well as the evidence of CFBO involvement in social capital discovered by this research, I argue that CFBOs can likely have a strong positive impact on social capital formation. Granted, other CFBOs may not be as obviously and enthusiastically engaged in the formation of social capital as Christian Aid with their foundational partnership strategy but it is more than likely that many are still engaged in partnerships to some degree nonetheless. In light of the benefits of partnerships, which have been considered through the lens of social capital in this research, I recommend that all development organizations, whether they are Christian, of a different faith, or secular, make an effort to engage in cooperative work with CFBOs, especially if groups are working towards very similar goals with comparable strategies.

The common contribution to social capital uncovered by this research for both Christian Aid and CFBOs in general is that they tend to most strongly contribute to linking social capital, that which connects people from all different parts of the world and society, due to their basic ways of functioning. I showed that they very often act as a social connection between traditionally separated people, especially between the more affluent and the less affluent, and this connection holds many new potential resources for all participating parties. It is highly likely that many other FBOs and NGOs naturally contribute to linking social capital in similar ways as Christian Aid and CFBOs. Given

the likelihood of shared abilities related to social capital formation, I recommend that all development organizations make an effort to partner with one another in the interest of avoiding redundancy in their work by coordinating their similar development efforts. By making an effort to communicate and cooperate with one another, CFBOs, FBOs, and NGOs may be able to more efficiently and effectively address the numerous and enormous development problems facing our world today.

I must make a cautionary remark for this recommendation in that I also found that CFBOs can have mixed or even negative effects on social capital formation in particular ways. These simultaneously helpful and harmful contributions to social capital present a clear parallel to the commonly observed relationship between religion and development at the broadest level. A possible solution to this predicament is that religious groups need to remain alert to their own intentions and effects in all their work while other groups seeking to engage with religious organizations should also be on guard for these negative effects. Similar accountability is needed for secular groups as well although religious groups can have some distinctive negative impacts on social capital. For example, this research found that CFBOs can cause divisions in relationships over spiritual matters like conversion which is a negative effect that is characteristic of some religious efforts and is virtually unseen in secular groups. By being wary of this potential flaw, development-oriented groups of any or no faith-base can act as accountability partners as they work together.

A reason the contribution CFBOs to social capital is so important to international development is because it speaks to the dissatisfaction with dominant development models which have traditionally ignored both the religious and even sometimes the social

dimensions that are relevant to people's lives and, therefore, development. This observed inadequacy of dominant approaches is one of the commonly-cited reasons that religion is now being taken into account in development work. Social capital formation through religious groups, of which CFBOs are one type, is a way of contributing to a more holistic type of development than certain other more traditional models that focus(ed) mainly on material progress, especially economic progress. Although social capital is formed in a myriad of ways, religion has an important role to play if not only because of its pervasiveness throughout the Global South but also because of its tendency to concern itself with human relationships, a central part of social capital theory. Contributions from CFBOs like Christian Aid that build into resources found in social relations contribute not only to the physical or material wellbeing of an individual but also to the development of a person as a whole because the resources can also be emotional, spiritual, and relational. It is vital for development researchers and workers to recognize the importance of the many facets to healthy human development other than the material side.

This is not to say that material development is unimportant. As De Jong (2011) argues, religious activities can contribute to material forms of development in how they contribute to the formation of social networks that are very useful for economic activity and, therefore, can lead to economic growth. And as Tsele (2001) says, the missing religious dimension is what has prevented the success of economic projects. Yet, one reason social capital is such an important aspect of life to be considered is because it recognizes that valuable "capital" can be more than an economic resource in the capitalist market. Many engaged with development today recognize that our present system has inherent tragic flaws but often struggle to conjure viable alternatives. This makes social

capital a liberating idea because it is a form of legitimate development that is not necessarily tied to the capitalist global system. If people can rely on their social relations and connections with other humans rather than on an impersonal market system, humanity may be better off. To return this discussion to the heart of this research, if social capital is so important to development and CFBOs are making major contributions to social capital, CFBOs must be taken into account in development work.

WIELDING “SOCIAL CAPITAL”

An important discovery about the reality of attempting to place actual relationships within the bonding-bridging-linking model of social capital was that social reality refuses to complacently be confined to neat and tidy categories. The inadequacy of the terms that became particularly apparent during the “Analysis and Discussion” when I sought to differentiate bonding and bridging social capital, which are the two horizontal types, was that these conceptualizations assume that social relations can be easily divided into different categories. My analytical struggle led to the proposal that relationships actually exist on a continuum of complexity that makes it challenging to draw distinct divisions between types of social connections. I suggested that this difficulty may be avoided if a specific number of connections are designated in the definitions of bonding and bridging social capital in future research that employs this model. It may even be beneficial, depending on the nature of the research, to weld these two together as horizontal social capital and conduct the analysis using only two categories, horizontal and vertical (which would be the same concept as *linking* social capital used in this research). This model is not alone in its weakness; many conceptualizations invented by researchers attempting to make sense of social phenomena struggle to contain the mind-

bending jumble that is real life. Despite this limitation, the terms applied in this research were still useful in revealing the part Christian Aid and CFBOs played in social capital formation. They allowed me to conclude that CFBOs do play a role in social capital formation, an important enough conclusion, and still offered some hints as to the nature of that role.

CFBOS AND DEVELOPMENT

Another reason CFBOs must be considered in international development brought to light by this research is simply the extent to which they are involved in international development work. We saw that CFBOs are engaged in not only spiritual/religious work but in many different forms of practical development projects. They encompass a diverse bundle of organizations of a great variety of sizes as well as focuses in their work. Often their only uniting feature is their association with Jesus Christ. The development implications of this finding indicate that, although it is important for development workers to engage with CFBOs, how this engagement happens will likely have to be customized to the nature of the specific partnering groups. One of the only implications I can make as a generalization is a truth that Christian Aid is already working to reveal to the world: many groups could unite under the banner of their common goals and values that are often shared by all different types of development organizations, whether they are secular, a government, or religious. The development implication is that there may be more potential for cooperation between international development groups than has been recognized. I am adding my voice to the choir that is already calling religious and non-religious groups to collaborate on their common ground. This places a shared

responsibility not only on secular groups to begin working with religious ones but on religious groups to cooperate with secular ones as well.

RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT

My discoveries about the strong role CFBOs have to play in the development process through social capital formation supports the argument that religion is important to development. The huge majority of people on our planet are religious. An obvious development implication of this finding is development workers, given that they work in the largely religious Global South, are more than likely to become involved with religious groups in some way and, for that reason, should make an effort to understand and take into account the religious beliefs of those with whom they are working. This is especially true for Christianity in how it is the world's most widespread religion with its largest portion of adherents living in the Global South. It is especially beneficial for development workers to consider the role of Christianity and religious groups in general because, first, it will help make their projects and their organizations more culturally relevant and, second, it may offer them some previously unknown ideas, strategies, and resources to be employed in development processes. In order to understand one another and cooperate as I recommend will require all groups, faith-based or secular, to make an effort to understand the point of view of other groups while also seeking out any potential common ground on which they can unite.

FUTURE RESEARCH

A task for future research in pursuit of a more conclusive response to this research question would be to conduct research on the ground in Haiti by interviewing Christian Aid workers, their partners, and members of the communities in which they are working.

In this way a more in-depth and well-rounded understanding of their role in relation to social capital can be gained. An interesting way in which this research could be expanded even further would be to examine more than one CFBO, perhaps comparing CFBOs in different countries or those involved in different types of development work, to gain more insight into the role of CFBOs in social capital formation in general. At an even more general level, research on the connection between religious groups from other world religions and social capital formation would offer important insights about the ways religious groups in general contribute to social capital formation and would allow for discussion as to whether or not certain religions are better at contributing to healthy social capital than others. Although this thesis primarily focused on work related to social capital formation, comparative research on groups affiliated with different religions may also offer further information about common causes beyond those related to social capital for which groups of different faiths may be able to work together as I have recommended. A final potential area for future research would be to compare the role of CFBOs, or even other FBOs, in social capital formation to that of secular NGOs to discover any common or contrasting impacts between religious and secular organizations.

CLOSING WORDS

These investigations are worth pursuing as it becomes more and more clear that religion will not allow itself to be separated from development. Like it or not, religious groups, especially Christian faith-based organizations as this research has shown, are involved in development work. Their involvement in social capital formation is only one way that these groups are involved in development. International development workers and researchers would do well to consider the potential held in partnering with these

groups in order to address the expansive problems facing our world today. These problems are so huge that working together is one of the smartest decisions any of us can make. As social capital theory argues, relationships matter. They matter because we can accomplish so much more together than we can alone. Moving forward, it is wise to consider the contributions that everyone can make, including religious groups, to the improvement of the world.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alkire, Sabina
2006 Religion and Development. *In* The Elgar Companion to Development Studies. David Alexander Clark, ed. Pp. 502-510. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Berger, Peter L.
2009 Faith and Development. *Society* 46(1):69-75.
- Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs
N. d. Buddhism. Washington, DC: Georgetown University. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/traditions/buddhism>
- Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs
N. d. Christianity. Washington, DC: Georgetown University. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/traditions/christianity>
- Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs
N. d. Islam. Washington, DC: Georgetown University. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/traditions/islam>
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1986 The Forms of Capital. *In* Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. John G. Richardson, ed. Pp. 241-258. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Brodwin, Paul
2003 Pentecostalism in Translation: Religion and the Production of Community in the Haitian Diaspora. *American Ethnologist* 30(1):85-101.
- Butler, Melvin L.
2008 The Weapons of our Warfare: Music, Positionality, and Transcendence among Haitian Pentecostals. *Caribbean Studies* 36(2):23-64.
- Candland, Christopher
2000 Faith as Social Capital: Religion and Community Development in Southern Asia. *Policy Sciences* 33(3/4):355-374.
- Christian Aid
2014 Haiti earthquake: four years on. January. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/emergencies/current/haiti-earthquake-appeal/four-years-on.aspx>

Christian Aid

2012 EU praises Christian Aid human rights project. December. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/whatwedo/partnerfocus/EU-highlights-successful-Christian-Aid-human-rights-project.aspx>

Christian Aid

N. d. About Us. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/>

Christian Aid

N. d. Christian Aid Haiti and Dominican Republic - where we work and who we work with. Accessed February 28, 2014.
<https://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?msid=201920666288785823289.0004e4618e1775d30fa3a&msa=0&ll=18.604601,-71.191406&spn=8.063311,9.382324&dg=feature>

Christian Aid

N. d. Christian Aid in Haiti. Accessed February 28, 2014.
<http://www.christianaid.org.uk/whatwedo/the-americas/haiti.aspx>

Christian Aid

N. d. Home Page. Accessed April 15, 2014. <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/>

Christian Aid

N. d. Institutional funding. Accessed February 28, 2014.
<http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/institutional-funding/institutional-funding.aspx>

Christian Aid

N. d. Our aims and values. Accessed February 28, 2014.
http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/who/aims/our_aims.aspx?Page=2

Christian Aid

N. d. Our sponsoring churches. Accessed February 28, 2014.
http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/who/aims/sponsoring_churches/index.aspx

Christian Aid

N. d. What we do. Accessed February 28, 2014.
<http://www.christianaid.org.uk/whatwedo/>

Clarke, Gerard

2008 Faith-Based Organizations and International Development: An Overview. *In* Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular. Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, eds. Pp. 17-45. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Clarke, Gerard and Michael Jennings, eds.
2008 *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Compassion International
2014 Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://www.compassion.com/>
- Conway, Frederick J.
1980 *Pentecostalism in Haiti: Healing and Hierarchy*. In *Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America*. Stephen D. Glazier, ed. Pp. 7-26. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Corten, André
2001 *Misère, Religion et Politique en Haïti : Diabolisation et Mal Politique*. Paris: Karthala.
- Cru
2014 Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://www.cru.org/>
- Dalton, Anne Marie
2013 *Beyond functionality: Religion and international development*. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 34 (2): 158-174.
- De Jong, Eelke
2011 *Religious Values and Economic Growth: A Review and Assessment of Recent Studies*. In *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*. Gerrie ter Haar, ed. Pp. 111-140. London: Hurst & Company.
- Deneulin, Séverine
2013 *Christianity and International Development*. In *Handbook of Research on Development and Religion*. Matthew Clarke, ed. Pp. 51-65. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Deneulin, Séverine, and Masooda Bano
2009 *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Durlauf, S. N.
2002 *Bowling Alone: A Review Essay*. *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organization* 47(3):259-273.
- Feagin, Joe R., Anthony M. Orum, and Gideon Sjoberg, eds.
1991 *A Case for the Case Study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

- Ferris, Elizabeth
2005 Faith-based and Secular Humanitarian Organizations. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 87(858):311-325.
- Huus, Kari
2010 Haiti awash in Christian aid, evangelism. NBCNews.com, February 9. Accessed February 12, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/35262608/ns/world_news_haiti_earthquake/#.Uvt8ArTuDKc .
- Field, John
2003 *Social Capital*. London: Routledge.
- Fine, Ben
2006 *Social Capital*. In *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*. David Alexander Clark, ed. Pp. 559-563. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Foreman, Paul B.
1971 The Theory of Case Studies. In *Research Methods: Issues and Insights*. Billy J. Franklin and Harold W. Osborne, eds. Pp. 187-205. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Franklin, Billy J., and Harold W. Osborne, eds.
1971 *Research Methods: Issues and Insights*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Furbey, Robert, Adam Dinham, Richard Farnell, Doreen Finneron and Guy Wilkinson, with Catherine Howarth, Dilwar Hussain, and Sharon Palmer
2006 *Faith as Social Capital: Connecting or Dividing?* UK: The Policy Press.
- Gammage, Sarah
2004 Exercising Exit, Voice and Loyalty: A Gender Perspective on Transnationalism in Haiti. *Development and Change* 35(4):743-771.
- Germain, Felix
2011 The Earthquake, the Missionaries, and the Future of Vodou. *Journal of Black Studies* 42(2):247-263.
- Gilchrist, Alison
2004 *The Well-connected Community: A Networking Approach to Community Development*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Global Partners

2014 About Global Partners. The Wesleyan Church. Accessed March 2, 2014.
<http://www.wesleyan.org/gp/about>

Gooren, Henri

2011 Religion and Development Revisited: Some Lessons from Guatemalan Micro Entrepreneurs. *In Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*. Gerrie ter Haar, ed. Pp. 141-157. London: Hurst & Company.

Gospel for Asia

N. d. What We Do. Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://www.gfa.ca/about/what-we-do/>

Halpern, David

2005 Social Capital. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hauck, Volker A.

2010 The role of churches in creating social capital and improving governance in Papua New Guinea: Lessons for working in fragile situations. *Public Administration and Development* 30(1):49-65.

Haynes, Jeffrey

2007 Religion and Development: Conflict or Cooperation? Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Hefferan, Tara

2009 Encouraging Development “Alternatives”: Grassroots Church Partnering in the U.S. and Haiti. *In Bridging the Gaps: Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Tara Hefferan, Julia Adkins, and Laurie Occhipinti, eds. Pp. 69-82. Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Jones, Ben

2012 Pentecostalism, Development NGOs and Meaning in Eastern Uganda. *In Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa*. Dena Freeman, ed. Pp. 181-202. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Kolade, Christopher

2001 Corruption in Africa: Causes, Effects, and Counter-Measures. *In Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa*. Deryke Belshaw, Robert Calderisi, and Chris Sugden, eds. Pp. 79-87. Oxford, UK: World Bank and Regnum Books International.

Laguerre, Michel S.

1989 Voodoo and Politics in Haiti. London: MacMillan Press.

Lawless, Robert

2002 Haiti: Voodoo, Christianity, and Politics. *In Religion and Politics in the Developing World: Explosive Interactions*. Rolin G. Mainuddin, ed. Pp. 39-49. England & USA: Ashgate Publishing.

Lin, Nan, and Bonnie H. Erickson, eds.

2008 Theory, Measurement, and the Research Enterprise on Social Capital. *In Social Capital: An International Research Program*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Linden, Ian

2008 The Language of Development: What are International Development Agencies Talking About? *In Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*. Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, eds. Pp. 72-93. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Löwy, Michael

1996 The War of Gods: Religion and Politics in Latin America. London, UK: Verso.

Manji, F. and C. O'Coill

2002 The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa. *International Affairs* 78(3):567-583.

McTernan, Oliver

2003 Violence in God's Name: Religion in an Age of Conflict. London: Darton, Longman and Todd.

Mennonite Central Committee

2014 What we do. Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://www.mcc.org/whatwedo>

Miller, Donald E. and Tetsunao Yamamori

2007 Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Narayan, Deepa

2001 Voices of the Poor. *In Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa*. Deryke Belshaw, Robert Calderisi, and Chris Sugden, eds. Pp. 39-48. Oxford, UK: World Bank and Regnum Books International.

Oladipo, Julius

2001 The Role of the Church in Poverty Alleviation in Africa. *In Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa*. Deryke Belshaw, Robert Calderisi, and Chris Sugden, eds. Pp. 219-236. Oxford, UK: World Bank and Regnum Books International.

Onyx, Jenny, and Paul Bullen

2000 Measuring Social Capital in Five Communities. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 36(1):23-42.

Pew Research: Religion & Public Life Project

2012 The Global Religious Landscape. Pew Forum, December 18. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec/>

Pew Research: Religion & Public Life Project

2011 Global Christianity – A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World’s Christian Population. Pew Forum, December 19. Accessed February 28, 2014. <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec/>

Portes, Alejandro

1998 Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24(1):1-24.

Provost, Claire, and Taku Dzimwasha

2014 Haiti earthquake: where is US aid money going? Get the data. *The Guardian*, January 10. Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/datablog/2014/jan/10/haiti-earthquake-us-aid-funding-data>

Putnam, Robert D.

2000 *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Putnam, Robert D., and Kristin A. Goss

2002 Introduction. *In Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*. Robert D. Putnam, ed. Pp. 3-19. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rubin, Vera

1980 Foreword. *In Voodoo Heritage*. Michel S. Laguerre, ed. Pp. 11-15. California & London: Sage Publications.

Samaritan’s Purse

2014 Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://www.samaritanspurse.org/>

Samson, C. Mathews

2008 From War to Reconciliation: Guatemalan Evangelicals and the Transition to Democracy, 1982-2001. *In Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Latin America*. Paul Freston, ed. Pp. 63-96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Schuller, Tom, Stephen Baron, and John Field, eds.
2000 Social Capital: A Review and Critique. *In Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Stephen Baron, John Field, and Tom Schuller, eds. Pp. 1-38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sheller, Mimi
2013 The Islanding Effect: Post-disaster Mobility Systems and Humanitarian Logistics in Haiti. *Cultural Geographies* 20(2):185-204.
- Sherman, Amy L.
1997 *The Soul of Development: Biblical Christianity and Economic Transformation in Guatemala*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverman, Robert Mark, ed.
2004 *Community-Based Organizations: The Intersection of Social Capital and Local Context in Contemporary Urban Society*. Michigan: Wayne State University Press.
- Smidt, Corwin E.
2003 *Religion as Social Capital Producing the Common Good*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.
- Smucker, Glenn R.
1984 The Social Character of Religion in Rural Haiti. *In Haiti-Today and Tomorrow: An Interdisciplinary Study*. Charles R. Foster and Albert Valdman, eds. Pp. 35-56. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Storm, Kendrick
2012 What is the Largest Missions Organization? Aboutmission.org, September 5. Accessed March 2, 2014. <http://blog.aboutmissions.org/2012/09/what-is-largest-missions-organization.html>
- Sumner, Andy, and Michael Tribe
2008 *International Development Studies: Theories and Methods in Research and Practice*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Ter Haar, Gerrie
2011 *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Tomalin, Emma
2008 Faith and Development. *In The Companion to Development Studies*. 2nd edition. Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, eds. Pp. 485-489. Great Britain: Hodder Education.

Tsele, Molefe

2001 The Role of the Christian Faith in Development. *In Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa*. Deryke Belshaw, Robert Calderisi, and Chris Sugden, eds. Pp. 203-218. Oxford, UK: World Bank and Regnum Books International.

Tyndale, Wendy

2011 Religions and the Millennium Development Goals: Whose Agenda? *In Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*. Gerrie ter Haar, ed. Pp. 207-229. London: Hurst & Company.

Wall, Imogen, and Sharon Reader

2011 Citizen initiatives in Haiti. *Forced Migration Review* (38):4-6.

Woolcock, Michael

2001 The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. *Isuma: Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2(1):1-17.

World Bank

2014 Haiti Overview. The World Bank Group. Accessed March 2, 2014.
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/haiti/overview>

World Factbook

2014 The World Factbook: Haiti. United States of America: Central Intelligence Agency. Last updated February 26. Accessed March 2, 2014.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html>

World Vision

2014 Who We Are. Accessed March 2, 2014.
<http://www.worldvision.org/aboutus/who-we-are>

Wuthnow, Robert

2009 *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Zanotti, Laura

2010 Cacophonies of Aid, Failed State Building and NGOs in Haiti: Setting the Stage for Disaster, Envisioning the Future. *Third World Quarterly* 31(5):755-771.

APPENDIX A

Basic Ways of Working in Christian Aid

Source: Christian Aid: “Our aims and values”

1. Christian Aid exists to help those in need – regardless of religion, ethnicity or nationality.
2. Christian Aid works with and through partners overseas: churches, ecumenical bodies, local NGOs and movements who have common values and competence in poverty eradication.
3. Christian Aid engages and serves churches, supporters, volunteers and the wider community to strengthen the movement to eradicate poverty and social injustice.
4. Christian Aid recognises the complex nature and causes of poverty. Yet poverty is about disempowerment and the fundamental cause is the misuse and inequality of power.
5. Christian Aid is a faith based organisation and takes seriously its commitment to work with people and organisations of other faiths in the belief that people of faith can make a positive contribution to public debate, policy and action on issues of poverty eradication. Inter-faith dialogue and cooperation is important to Christian Aid.
6. Working with others: Christian Aid recognises that it cannot eradicate poverty by itself. It participates in and promotes alliances, networks, coalitions and cooperation in poverty eradication.
7. A wider movement for change and social justice requires the combined efforts of governments, businesses, faith communities, civil society working together.
8. Christian Aid has an integrated approach to poverty eradication – working on humanitarian relief, long term development, specific advocacy issues and campaigns for change and influence.
9. Christian Aid takes seriously its commitment to measuring impact, making a difference and having leverage for greater results.
10. Christian Aid wants to be a leading force against global poverty that is a well managed, flexible and professional organisation that is accountable to a variety of key stakeholders.

APPENDIX B

Christian Aid's Haiti Partnerships Listed by Location

Source: Christian Aid: "Christian Aid Haiti and..."

Port-au-Price:

- Association pour la Promotions de la Santé Intégrale de la Famille: They provide health and education services for young people and families in Carrefour Feuilles slums.
- Centre de Recherche, de Réflexion, de Formation et d'Action Sociale: A Jesuit group that works with the most vulnerable members of society through training, by supporting civil society groups, and by conducting research/monitoring efforts to improve government accountability.
- La Fondation Héritage pour Haiti: This group is part of Transparency International. It monitors corruption all over country through activities such as monitoring post-earthquake aid and translating documents into Creole for local civil society groups.
- Mission Sociale des Églises Haïtiennes: This is a network of Haitian protestant churches working in development and relief.
- National Network for the Defence of Human Rights: Christian Aid is now supporting their study of the Haitian tax system in order to better understand and therefore improve the national financial system.
- Promoteur Objectif Zero-Sida (POZ): Christian Aid supports one of their projects that targets HIV/AIDS by teaching young people, specifically women and young mothers, about safe sexual practices and the importance of community support for families with HIV/AIDS.
- Service Chrétien d'Haiti: Their goal is to make Haiti into a more "friendly" economic, social, spiritual, and moral society by getting rural communities involved in their own development. They do this by having communities identify their own problems and by helping them fix these problems themselves.

Ouest:

- VETERIMED: This is a national NGO created by Haitian professionals that focuses on livestock health and livestock production in rural areas as a way to support development.

Nippes:

- Groupe de Recherche et d'Appui en Milieu Rural (GRAMIR): This group focuses its efforts on farming in two ways. First, by working with groups of farmers in two locations on the southern peninsula; they support both seed production, the processing of crops (technical skills), and teach marketing skills so farmers can sell fresh crops on the market. This is important because it makes Haiti slightly less dependent on the volatile global market for imported food. Second, they also helped the many individuals who took part in the great urban-to-rural migration which followed the earthquake by providing them with farming supplies at the beginning of planting season. They also have the goal of empowering local community-based organisations by helping them develop sustainable small economic enterprises.

Fort Liberte:

-Haiti Survie: This environmental organization promotes sustainable agriculture and works to remedy already damaged ecosystems. They work with peasant and “popular” groups all over Haiti.

Nord Ouest:

- Konbit pou Ranfose Aksyon Lakay (KORAL): KORAL designs and implements income generating/livelihood initiatives for grassroots organizations in vulnerable communities. Christian Aid specifically supports their project that works with farmers to help them re-plant in an area with especially bad food insecurity because of high food costs, high living costs, and many tropical storms.

Lascahobas & Belladère:

- Groupe d’Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés (GARR): This group works in these two locations on the Haitian border with the Dominican Republic trying to form community organizations to meet the needs of Haitians who have experienced expulsion from the Dominican Republic.

Montrouis:

- POZ: see description above.

Ouanaminthe:

- Solidarite Fwontalye (or Solidaridad Fronteriza in the Dominican): This is the major binational initiative that takes place on the border with the goal of improving livelihoods for rural people. The specific project Christian aid supports attempts to promote “sustainable and equitable agro-ecology and agroforestry”. They work with farmer groups and community groups by providing education about the environmental, fuel-efficient stoves, training in sustainable practices such as sustainable charcoal production, ecosystem restoration, and natural resources management.

Thiotte:

-Haiti Survie: see description above. In this specific area Christian Aid assists with projects that build disaster resistant housing, plant trees as a reforestation effort, and develop new income sources.