# Resilient and Holistic Development in Haiti for Families At-Risk

Thesis

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## Introduction

It was a humid day to go to church. As a missionary working in Haiti, I decided I needed to go despite the heat. I walked into the orphanage-turned-church, a place I had served for years. Upon arrival, children with runny noses and tattered clothing jumped up and down in excitement to see us. For years, I had been overwhelmed with the amount of need in this little place. I could not believe that all of these children were without parents. These parents had either abandoned them or died. While it was heartbreaking for me, I did not ever consider how heart breaking it might be for the parents. It was that Sunday that I realized that the parents of these children were much closer than I thought. In fact, I noticed them sitting in the back row of the church, quietly singing a hymn and holding their little ones in their arms. These mothers and fathers were not who I thought they were; they were caring parents who felt they could not take care of their precious children. I wanted to learn more.

I have worked in Haiti since late 2010, the same year as the devastating earthquake on the island. Though there are many non-profits, missions, and governmental agencies on this small island nation, crippling poverty still exists. Many non-profits and missions aim to do what they perceive as "good" but inevitably do more harm as they don't consider the needs of their Haitian beneficiaries. They mismanage money, they create dependency, and contribute to the current economic and orphan crisis in Haiti. Instead, Haiti needs a resilient and effective approach to holistic development that promotes grassroots efforts led by Haitian nationals. Such development supports local cultural norms, family structure, and indigenous leadership. This can be accomplished through restoring culture, promoting stewardship of national resources, providing training for children and adolescents, and investing in holistic family care through training and job promotion. When practiced in collaboration with local leaders, these approaches can

empower families who are more equipped to take care of their children and help them contribute more to society.

Even before the earthquake in 2010, Haiti was known as the place where "nonprofits go to die." This phrase refers to the difficult ground these organizations had to cultivate. I recall a friend of mine who went to help a few days after the 7.0 magnitude earthquake that devastated the country. He remembered seeing a riot break out over a clean bottle of water. The situation became so bad that aid-workers resorted to throwing bottles of water out of helicopters to amassed crowds (Morris). For a group of humans to rely on hope in the form of water bottles dropping from the sky speaks to the level of indignity that Haitians have had to endure.

And who can forget the criticism of the American Red Cross for the last few years, especially concerning Haiti? NPR has reported that people donated $500 million in 2010 to Red Cross in their efforts to aid the victims of the earthquake. However, most of the money is unaccounted for by this agency (Sullivan). In addition to the atrocities from The American Red Cross, there have been other large organizations who have contributed to the exploitation and harm of Haitians. In February of 2018, Oxfam's Director of Operations in Haiti was outed for using prostitutes in Haiti, many of them underage. While Oxfam denies a cover up of the crime, they admit that several of their staff used these prostitutes. The Director of Operations, Roland Van Hauwermeiren, resigned and several other foreign staff members were fired ("Oxfam denies cover up over 'Haiti Prostitutes').

While countless large non-profits and missions have failed in Haiti, there are many positive Haitian-led movements that do not receive as much credit as they should. These are small, grassroots movements started in churches and little concrete huts. They have created community gardens and started water projects at schools. Some of them work well with

foreigners. These foreign allies are people who understand they are not the saviors of Haiti, and they focus on partnership between themselves and their Haitian counterparts. Haitian communities join together and feed one another, care for one another, and lift one another up. These are the same people who have endured immeasurable hardship, from earthquake to exploitation. In this paper, I propose that the effectiveness of local, Haitian-led development efforts can be engaged in a way that empowers, preserves, and creates resilience in the structure of families in Haiti.

While working in Haiti, I observed a number of Haitian-run programs in an area with many orphanages to see what kind of impact these made on family togetherness. I also interviewed parents who received these services and questioned the parents about the impact the services had on their family, specifically their ability to parent. My research has led me to conclude that the best option for children is to be raised in a loving home and not in institutionalized care. Practitioners must do more to encourage and inspire locally-led development for the benefit of communities and these families who are at-risk for placing their child in an institution.

## Holistic Development and Resilience

### What Development Means to Haitians: Defining "Development"

Haiti is known by many as the "republic of NGOs." On this island, Haitians are bombarded by non-profits and missions alike that solely provide immediate aid under the guise of community development. In Haiti, there is very little distinction between development and immediate aid, offering short-term immediate solutions to deeper issues that need long-term investment. Orphanages and food programs around Haiti boast that their aid efforts ae rooted in development, while the majority of foreigners only deliver hand-outs to Haitian communities. I

witnessed this in my own experiences over the last eight years and have often wondered what it meant for a Haitian to be a part of development in their country.

Konbit Haiti, an organization I co-founded, is a collaborative development initiative in Haiti. Our goal is to stand with local leaders to help them develop the skills and confidence they need to help their own communities thrive. In an interview with long-time Konbit Haiti partner, David Sanon, I asked him about his perception of development in Haiti. David is a young, capable Haitian man who is tri-lingual despite not having graduated from high school. He has worked with Konbit Haiti's water efforts since 2013 and has also served as a translator for many short-term groups. David is shy, but straightforward. As I assured him I would not be offended at anything he said during my interview, he grew more and more confident with his body language and eye contact. He spoke clearly when communicating his experience and understanding of development. He described a hindrance he has often experienced in his work with the international development community. It is all too common to see international development workers doing *for* Haitians versus teaching Haitians to do for themselves. He said, "When someone takes the time to teach me, I learn." Continuing, he reported, "If someone comes to build something for me, I can just stand back and say 'that's beautiful!' But, you know . . . there is no change in that" (D. Sanon). Sanon argued that in order for Haitians to be developed, they must be taught. He described it in this way: "[development practitioners] have to teach Haitians and let us lead. Even if that means they stand in the back."

I appreciate the idea of foreigners standing in the background of development work as a central component to the Haitian perspective on development. Many of my interviews attested to the education of community members as an important basis for development in Haiti. Even former Haitian President, René Préval has stated that "charity has never helped any country

escape underdevelopment" (Katz, *The Big Truck that Went By,* 10). This is an evident belief held by community members in Soubòy, the small village where I work. This dusty village of 10,000 people lacks sufficient water sources and job opportunities. Up the mountain from Soubòy, there is a small community with which no Haitian development practitioner wants to work. In this community, the Haitians' homes were built for them by a foreign mission and their water is delivered to them by an expat water group every week. Danilo Cyrius, Konbit Haiti's Director of Operations, says that this community is helpless because of their mentality. He argues that they cannot be developed in their current state because, "people have already given them everything they need, so they will not ever want to learn and do for themselves" (D. Cyrius).

**The Link Between Local Development and Family Preservation in Haiti**

Johnny Carr, author of *Orphan Justice,* writes that "[God] never intended for the growth, nurturing, and development of childhood to happen in an institution" (64). Yet, "churches and religious organizations spend six times as much on orphanages as they do on development" (*Lost Kites* 29:16-17). Despite this disconnect between development and care for at-risk children and families, these two are certainly interconnected. Developed communities create more prepared families. Without proper development practices, children are often abandoned into institutions. This is the reality for many children in orphanages today.

Even if an institution is doing its best to help children, there is the question of what happens to the thousands of children in orphanages once they reach the age of 18 and age out of the institution. The documentary, *Lost Kites,* investigates this question and shares that of the children growing up in institutions world-wide, "one third became homeless, one fifth became criminals, one seventh became prostitutes, one tenth committed suicide" upon aging out of the system (15:30-15:50). Such care does not only cause short-term harm in the development of

children and youth, but also long-term damage as it produces young adults who have no idea how to function in the world.

There is a direct link between poverty and abandoned children. However, job creation and availability of supportive resources has been overlooked as a way for institutions to come alongside parents who feel hopeless. Job creation is one of the ways people can fight for abandoned children. Konbit Haiti started a women's sewing co-op just over two years ago with fifteen women. Of these fifteen women, twelve of them are single mothers. When asked how this small job has helped them, over 90% said the job helped them provide stable income for their families. Additionally, many of them commented on the sense of community that had been formed through the cooperative's meeting times. One woman, Altina, said she "used to spend so much time sitting on my porch and asking for help. Now I have a job. My life is different."

Job creation is just one of the ways development and orphan care are linked. Transformational development, which seeks to infuse *shalom* within every person around the world, gives people the tools they need for a life worth living. Shalom, in its simplest form, "is the biblical ideal for human well-being or flourishing" (Myers Kindle Locations 96-97). Holistic and transformational development emphasizes that change must come from within communities. It is through helping facilitate right relationships with God, the environment, others, and the self, through holistically addressing all areas of development, that communities can change. Around the world, "millions [of] children are abandoned and in need of supportive living environments because their biological parents are not able to provide food, shelter, and safety" (Whetten, et. al). A job can help provide for some of these needs, but holistic development can provide even more than what a job can provide: skills to thrive and pursue *shalom* in their lives.

Craig Greenfield, the founder of Alongsider's International, said: "the gut response of many people [is] 'why don't we open an orphanage?' Let's bring in . . . thirty kids, really raise them in a fantastic way." However, he reported that "these children still have connection with their community, and we didn't want to take them away from everybody else they know and love" (*Lost Kites* 13:03-13:43). Many children who come from developing countries are a part of tribal systems that naturally champion taking care of one another. Orphanages in Haiti are often seen as a "place to help your child see America" (W. Louis). My research concluded that very few Haitians thought of orphanages as a place to abandon a child. Instead, this action was perceived as "good," since many Americans are the ones running orphanages and the United States is often viewed as the healthier place to raise a child. Supporting locally-led development can assist these families in holding on to their own cultural values of taking care of extended family members within their tribe.

**The Correlation Between Indigenous Development and Families Feeling Prepared**

This summer, I interviewed a woman who I have known for two years. The Konbit Haiti staff and I have walked together with her through some tumultuous times. One of these trying times was a year and a half ago. This woman, lovingly known around the area as "Ti Fanm," or "little girl," has raised her only daughter alone. Prior to her work with Konbit Haiti, Ti Fanm never had a job. One of her biggest sacrifices was selling her bed to send her daughter to school. Imagine her surprise when her daughter, Misderline, became pregnant with her boyfriend, Ramses. Misderline was merely one year away from high school graduation but was immediately expelled from school. Ti Fanm was infuriated and the entire community ended up taking sides. The situation was aggravated by the very nature of Haitian culture. Nathalie Cheren says that "being Haitian is synonymous with being strong," and this certainly made discussing

the problems this family faced even more difficult. It was tough for the people involved to share how this situation was impacting their lives as they attempted to maintain that strength.

Though challenging, this family started to work toward reconciliation through the efforts of Konbit Haiti's Haitian staff, particularly through Danilo and Clelie Cyrius. The staff gave both Ti Fanm and Misderline jobs within the ministry. The Cyrius family also created spaces for healthy conversations between the three people most impacted by this unplanned pregnancy: TiFanm, Misderline, and Ramses. Watching this unfold was particularly enlightening, as they maintained cultural boundaries that both exuded cultural integrity but also challenged the norm. Ti Fanm received enough encouragement to go back to school to learn to cook and is currently seeking employment at a local restaurant. Misderline is a wonderful mother to an adorable little boy and has become a leader in the community. Ramses currently works with Konbit Haiti, as well.

When I interviewed Misderline about her life and challenges, she maintained a gruff attitude that many Haitian women have until I asked her one question: "What do you think when you see Konbit Haiti's leadership?" This question evoked an animated face with a smile that extended across her mouth. She told me that through watching Clelie and Danilo, she felt like she "could do anything" she set her mind to (Misderline). She called them her biggest role models and fans.

Misderline is not the only one who felt this way. Almost all of the people I interviewed had the same change in body language and facial expression when asked about the leadership of Konbit Haiti. One mother in the community said it best: "I tell my children that they can be like Dan and Clelie. If they work hard and learn as much as they can, they can become leaders in

Haiti" (Duvergile). This is a profound statement, as people here often make it their goal to leave Haiti. It reveals the importance of community-based development and care.

Showing maturity beyond her seventeen years, Misderline shared that "family in Haiti has a lot of potential, but they do not always achieve it." The reasons are many, but two of the most pressing are economics and preparedness. It is not enough to simply give the tools these families and communities need because hand-outs create a system of dependency. As Willes Louis, a staff with Konbit Haiti, stated: "foreigners have their ways. They want everything to go their way or they do not give any of the money." This is an important consideration from a Haitian's viewpoint. While many Haitians have dreams for their country, they often abandon them for more lucrative pursuits within a foreign organization, perpetuating a cycle of dependence.

My interviews showed that when Haitians feel empowered through education and proper partnerships, they use these skills to develop their communities. Repeatedly, I observed the impact Haitian leaders had on their communities, inspiring them to be the change in their own land. As families are an integral part of life in Haiti, this is often the first place the change reaches. Through development, families begin to see the importance of their children and understand that there is "another way, though much harder" than an orphanage (D. Sanon). This way requires a clear understanding of indigenous-led development and resilience.

The word "development" has become a buzzword for many groups seeking to provide assistance to communities at-risk. The University of Bath defines it anything, "concer[ning] the global challenge of how to enable people to live secure and fulfilled lives" ("International Development"). USAID describes development work as work that means to "lift lives and build communities" (Green). Also, development can also be distinguished between faith-based and

non-faith-based groups. Here, the two groups, "have similar tools…but the motivation is different" (Jones). Though many of these definitions offer a broad scope for development, they should be more thoroughly defined. In this thesis, I will refer holistic or transformational development as development which seeks to improve all areas of a community's livelihood. Used in this context, holistic or transformational development describes the approach a practitioner or community takes to meet the needs of people in all areas of their lives. This can be achieved through the Biblical model of *shalom*. Holistic and transformational development highlights the importance of collaborating with indigenous communities that work together for their well-being to foster resilience.

Resilience is another commonly used term that requires definition. Judith Rodin, in her book *The Resilience Dividend,* defines resilience as "the capacity . . . to prepare for disruptions, recover from shocks and stresses, and to adapt and grow from a disruptive experience" (Kindle Location 119). While they are able to recover well from catastrophes, Haitians need more training when it comes to preparing for natural disasters and other disruptions. Additionally, this nation requires more systems in preventing disasters and growing from these experiences.

It was challenging to get Konbit Haiti's leaders and local partners to prepare for Hurricane Irma's impact in 2017 due to their "survival" mentality. It is much easier for Haitians to react to a tragedy than to attempt to prevent its destruction beforehand. The culture has seemingly adapted an idea Rodin called "learned helplessness," which is a "state in which people come to accept a given situation or environment" (Kindle Location 748). However, resilience in all areas of development can be taught with adequate training.

In its recent history, Haiti has recovered from misfortunes like earthquakes, hurricanes, epidemics, and political instability. Creating a development structure that facilitates resiliency in

all aspects of development will highly benefit this nation. There are organizations already using this approach, and the results are evident with their steady growth and achievement. Some of these organizations operating in Haiti are the Haiti Endowment Fund, Mission Possible, and Heartline Ministries.

In the article "Peace Through Community-Led Development," Musu Clemens-Hope wrote, "In building resilience to conflict and natural disasters, development professionals can help begin or accelerate the process of a community's economic and social development." Instilling resilience is nearly impossible without the collaboration and input of community members. As Judith Rodin wrote in *The Resilience Dividend,* "resilience is not only about responding to shock and stress but also about learning and continuing to adapt because of the experience" (Kindle Location 988). Teaching people to grow and adapt is not accomplished through any short-term implementation, rather through long-term training and planning with a community and its leaders.

Building resilience must consider the needs of the local people. While resilience training and preparedness might utilize similar approaches, each community's needs are different. As the LEAPP study from Mercy Corps reports, "In order for development interventions to be perceived positively by the population, local needs must be taken into account" (5). No one can identify what a community needs better than its residents, and as they participate in development work, they will create resilience and strength.

All spheres of a community should participate in developing communal resilience. During the UN's 2nd Arab Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction in 2014, the youth of the nations represented were invited to speak on the importance of resilience. They "recognize that children and youth are one of the most vulnerable groups to disasters, climate change, fragility,

and conflict," and that these youth are often "impacted by poverty, protracted crises, recurrent displacement, poor infrastructure, and inadequate basic social services." This same group acknowledges that they are also "powerful agents for change," even though they are young (1). Bryant Myers writes that too often children are "viewed as helpless, vulnerable, and in need of care," when this is not true. They are an "under-utilized development resource," that we should tap into (Kindle Location 111). In creating resilience, it is important to "build on what already exists," helping people realize their gifts and potentials (Clemens-Hope). One thing is certain, all parties have something to offer in creating systems and strategies for resilience.

Myers makes it clear that the "poor are poor largely because they live in networks of relationships that do not work for their well-being" (Kindle Location 15). He further contends that short-term and long-term missionaries can fall into the category of disempowering and not helping the poor. An adaptation of holistic development, or what Myers calls "transformational development," allows Christian practitioners to engage in their help for the poor in a way that seeks to bring peace to both themselves and the people they work with in a number of different ways (Kindle Location 14). To perceive the poor as capable partners for development, practitioners must understand the goal of development as promoting peace or *shalom* in all areas of one's life. Additionally, they must seek to create a truly sustainable or resilient model of development. This means not creating a system in which the foreigner is the "hero" of the story, but simply a partner to help teach and provide opportunities for community-based development.

Holistic and transformational development that utilizes resiliency can be seen in wheel form in Appendix A. This Resilience Wheel model was developed by the international development organization World Vision. The Resilience Wheel shows the different areas of holistic development that are crucial to create sustainability. The Resilience Wheel is broken into

sections. The center of the wheel is based on the internal peace all humans need, creating resilience both spiritually and psychologically. Individuals must first have peace in their hearts and minds to reach their potential in other areas of resilience.

The spokes of the wheel represent different parts of an organized society, including: economics, science, agriculture, culture, and preparing through resilience practices. It is important to make local leaders literate in identifying potential threats to these spokes. Additionally, local frontrunners should make sure they are facilitating *shalom* in all of these areas. This will likely require an expansive team of local leaders to ensure certain areas of risk and vulnerability are not ignored. If those who are implementing the Resilience Wheel principles are not local, they run the risk of ignoring important cultural norms and biases. For example, many Westerners tend to keep religion and the physical world quite separate, which would be a mistake for a practitioner to make as they work in Haiti, where the two are intrinsically intertwined. When practitioners leave spirituality out of talks about science, water, or climate control, they do not respect cultural beliefs or utilize strengths of the Haitian people.

The outer rim of the Resilience Wheel is called the "risk management cycle." Through implementing this cycle, the risks of a community are addressed and efforts are made to lessen those risks. Much like the process of recovering from a disaster, this cycle has several steps, they include: "preparedness, early warning systems, recovery, response, mitigation, and transition" ("Resilient Practices"). Risk management is a cycle because the assessment and recovery from risks will never be complete within a community. Adaptation to the risk management cycle are not possible without the input of indigenous leaders. For example, while a foreigner may be able to use weather systems to predict hurricane threats, most outsiders do not understand the additional risks within Haiti. A slow moving thunderstorm in Haiti can pose just as much of a

threat as a hurricane. Both contribute to excessive amounts of flooding, causing waste to drift into people's homes and water sources. The flooding can also cause mud-slides. One way the local staff of Konbit Haiti has begun to build a system of resiliency is through providing information to people in the mountain areas where they work. Once the news of a storm hits, the staff quickly react to get information to those who would otherwise be unaware. The roads are protected the best they can, homes and water sources are secured, and waste areas are buried.

It is not only important for local leaders to be involved at the ground-level administration, but also in the way money is spent, especially in time of disaster. Stakeholders like to see that their money has been put to use in the right way. This is why so many people were outraged with the Red Cross' efforts in Haiti. The truth is, "the Red Cross has very little experience in the difficult work of rebuilding in a developing country" (Sullivan). Even if an organization is fortunate enough to reach their financial goal, it does not mean they understand how to put that money to best use. Larger organizations often do not partner with locals outside of their compounds, and many Haitians have had poor experiences with aid groups. Some Haitians even believe that large organizations are racist, thinking that "Haitians are dumb and cannot do for themselves" (S. Sanon). Without local partnerships, many organizations do not know where or how to spend money they have raised, resulting in mismanaged funds and distrust on every level.

Years after the earthquake, people still wonder: "What happened to all that money that was donated? Why didn't it help?" Myers discusses this in his book *Walking with the Poor*, explaining that "when most people think of development, they think of material change or social change in the material world." Additionally, "development is a term that many understand as a synonym for Westernization or modernization," and for the layman, "development is understood as simply having more things" (Kindle Location 3). This is not what development is, and this

definition is a part of what is hurting the practitioner, the stakeholder, and the recipient of the aid in Haiti.

## Haiti's History of Development and Aid

Between my interactions with Americans in the United States and my fieldwork interviews in Haiti, the general consensus concerning Haiti and Haitians is not positive. I have talked to many people who have told me that Haiti only suffers because of its own corrupt government and lack of care for one another. It is difficult to surmise what factors truly have contributed to this view of Haiti. Those with the loudest voices often share their views of Haiti from a point of privilege and misunderstanding. Often, even long-term missions and nonprofits create large fortresses to keep themselves separated from the very people they claim to help. It is difficult to have Haitians speak for themselves in a country that is already so misrepresented.

Haitians accept unjust power more than many countries. The measure of a culture's acceptance of power is called "power distance." Power distance is defined as "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Geert-Hofstede.com). Although Haiti is not officially ranked on the power distance scale, similar countries like the Dominican Republic and Jamaica both rank high on the scale with a 65 and 45 respectively (Geert-Hofstede.com). The power distance scale is important to note here even though political and economic instability make accurate data difficult to collect. When money is spent unwisely or is filtered through the hands of foreign non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Haitians have the propensity to accept unfair or unjust leadership instead of to challenge it.

Katz writes of the *blan* (white) and *nèg* (black) dynamic that is found in such relationships in Haiti. Most often, the *blan* is the missionary, NGO worker, or visitor, as well as

the person in charge. Katz describes this relationship as a clash, "where *nèg* saw on the other side [of a mission's protective wall] the possibility of a windfall, the *blan* saw danger, often far in excess of reality." Katz was not saying there was nothing to fear in Haiti, "there were kidnappings and crime, to be sure, but many organizations took measures fit for a war zone, curfews and tight restrictions on what neighborhoods staff could enter" (Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By* Kindle Location 57). Such exaggerated fear is held by many of the people telling Haiti's stories, and is a chief problem in understanding the country accurately.

After the 2010 earthquake, "more than half of U.S. registered voters donated to Haiti's relief. Private U.S. donations reached $1.4 billion by year's end—about $6 per American adult" (Katz *The Big Truck That Went By* Kindle Location 69). However, a very small amount reached Haitian hands. This is because most of the money raised was given to international organizations that operate within Haiti and not to Haitians directly. Well-meaning donors gave to simple and sad narratives while, "complexity was lost in a media environment that demanded attention-grabbing sound bites" (Kindle Location 79). Katz noted that the headlines produced did not represent the real issues in the underlying problems. For example, the reality of not having "nearly enough food to avoid increased malnutrition in the near term" was communicated simply as the country having "no food" (Katz Kindle Location 79). Because of this miscommunication, donors gave blindly and without understanding the true issues Haitians faced even before the earthquake that demanded international attention.

For those hoping to make an impact in Haiti, we must understand that there is always more to learn. Myers beautifully states that "the poor already have a story before the development agency arrives. It is both their immediate story and the story of their people" (Kindle Location 12). There is an additional story to remember as well: "God has been active in

their story since its very beginning, whether the people have recognized God's involvement or not" (Kindle Location 13). As practitioners "viewing the transformational development process as a shared story invites us to question what our stories are for, where they are going, and whose story is the true story" (Myers Kindle Location 14). We must be able to remember our own story while not overlooking the stories of problem solving and development within Haiti.

Haiti's complex modern history began with its inhabitants enslaved and then imported by the French. Despite its tumultuous history, Haiti eventually became the first black republic but remained entrenched in systemic injustice. Myers describes his own understanding of poverty in a similar manner, noting that the systemic nature of poverty results in an "absence of access to power, resources, and choices" (Kindle Location 14). Haiti, which began with poverty and bloodshed, has grown to be a nation taken advantage of by the world's powers. The people of this unique island nation have had to learn to survive many injustices.

Unfortunately, some of the international community continues to do harm to Haiti in the name of helping. In the fall of 2010, a cholera epidemic started in Haiti and even to this day, it continues to spread throughout the country. This cholera epidemic killed over 10,000 people and was eventually linked back to Nepalese peacekeepers with the United Nations (Katz, "U.N. Admits Role in Cholera Epidemic in Haiti"). They did very little to help as thousands of Haitians died, and continue to die to this day, of dehydration from cholera.

It is not just the United Nations that has caused issues in Haiti. Many sexual predators take advantage of the so-called "orphan crisis" and end up trafficking children once they are in an orphanage. While there is plenty of press surrounding scenarios such as this, I witnessed firsthand this abuse of power in the community where I work and live in Haiti. Roger, a middle-aged Canadian, ran a boys' home. It did not take long to know that there was something

suspicious happening at the orphanage. Beds were all shared, and the children looked like zombies, zoned out and disengaged. Few of the children were clothed when I visited. The community confirmed what I already believed: Roger was sexually abusing the children. Community members felt helpless in the face of this abuse because “Americans can kill us” (Georges). An entire community watched as injustice was wielded through power-distance, and it was years before Roger was finally imprisoned on one of his trips back to Canada.

These are just a few of the abuses that happen in Haiti. Willes Louis, staff with Konbit Haiti, told me this is why he is wary of orphanages. Many people who start orphanages, “recruit parents to send their children into orphanages,” these parents, “never knowing that they will never see their children again,” he said. The short, informative film *Why Not a Family?* investigated the same problem in Cambodia. In the film, they say a haunting and familiar sentence I have heard countless times in Haiti: “there are not orphanages because there are orphans; there are orphans because there are orphanages” (8:21-8:22). This is a problem with the history of orphanages in Haiti and across the world: they are created as a solution to a perceived need, instead of digging deep to figure out what works for the community itself.

An estimated 32,000 children are living in orphanages in Haiti (Mulheir). As daunting as these numbers are, the fact is that over “80% of the children in orphanages have parents who would want to take care of them if they could” (Mulheir). The factors contributing to the orphan crisis in Haiti are lack of cultural identity, lack of jobs for guardians, lack of structural support for families, as well as lack of access to education and healthcare. Perhaps the most pressing factor is an absence of *shalom*. Haitian families can flourish with the right kind of holistic and resilient development.

It is often initially hard for locals and outsiders alike to identify where mislabeled development practices are actually causing harm. Two years ago, I started noticing a big truck that drove up the mountainside where Konbit Haiti works. Once a week, they dump water into a community's cistern and quickly depart back down the hill. This is a relatively small gesture that is most certainly done with good intentions, but this kind of aid stunts growth for communities and individuals within them. This is the only community that our leaders in Konbit Haiti's water program will not work alongside. One leaders reasoning resonated with me, "they do for us" (D. Sanon). He said it simply, referencing the people who came and dumped the water up the mountain. While he used to think that Westerners undertaking responsibilities for communities in Haiti was the "right thing to do," upon further reflection he concluded, "this is not the way Haiti will grow. Really when they do for us, they take from us" (D. Sanon).

Poverty, dependence, and paternalistic models of poverty alleviation contribute toward the greater decline of family preservation, culture, and healthcare. The following are specific and long term effects when aid and development are not done well in Haiti: people are discouraged from employment or job creation, local entrepreneurs go out of business as their goods are no longer needed, culture is mislabeled as "wrong" in the wake of development by outsiders, families are torn apart, and a dependent society is created.

**No Job Creation**

Renee Chery reports of his home country's employment: "most Haitians do not have formal jobs," and continues by saying that "some estimates suggest that two-thirds of the country's 3.6 million workers are without consistent work" (43). The disparity of unevenly distributed wealth is easily noticed in Haiti. Driving down the one main highway in the country, it is not difficult to notice large, gated beach houses on one side of the road and shacks with

shockingly impoverished people on the other. This is partially because "political turmoil has resulted in many of Haiti's most valuable workers immigrating" elsewhere (Chery 44). As such, educated Haitians no longer live in Haiti while some return merely to vacation.

It is no wonder that many in Haiti have grown to depend on handouts, as they are frequently in survival mode. People without much control over the external factors in their lives often sense "powerlessness over their situation," causing them to abandon their children, lose hope, and essentially give up (Juby and Rycraft 582). Therefore, a job opportunity presents much more than an income; it produces hope. When those in poverty become aware of their "inner locus of control," they can begin to "view poverty as a situation they are in," and not a death sentence (582). Additionally, they can "believe that there are options available to them," indicating the hope of "escap[ing] the situation" where poverty has held them (582-583).

Haitians were primarily farmers. This changed due to a number of political moves by the American and Haitian governments in the late-80s, many local farmers were put out of business when the U.S. sent American rice to Haiti. Katz describes it like this: "import tariffs had made international food artificially expensive, protecting Haitian farmers. Western economists hated this," and so, "they argued that big U.S. farms could produce rice more efficiently than Haitian smallholders." This justified their desire to make Haitians "buy cheap American food while maximizing their own advantage," sending Haitians to "work in assembly factories for pennies on the dollar" (Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By* Kindle Location 47).

Although there were hundreds of rice farmers already, an agreement between American and Haitian leaders established rice as a significant food to the island. Additionally, once "the subsidized U.S. rice, much of it grown in Clinton's home state of Arkansas, took over the Haitian market," Haitian farmers could not compete. This left many of the farmers to "cut the last of

their trees to sell as cooking charcoal," increasing both unemployment as well as deforestation (Kindle Location 47). This trapped Haitians into what Katz calls the "cycle of dependency," generating even more poverty. Consequently, "ex-farmers were now rice buyers, so the government had little choice but to keep allowing imports cheap enough for them to buy" (Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By* Kindle Location 47). Farmers continued to go out of business and the cycle continued.

The farming industry is not the only sector plagued by unemployment. An anonymous writer featured in the Haitian magazine website *Woy!* reported that after Haiti's telephone company was privatized, he lost his job. He found that the only comparable salary was being paid by miscellaneous government parties to create political upheaval. Writing that since 2005, he "could not find a job," so he eventually became a professional rioter. He wrote that "this is what the country has to offer someone like me," and says he "embrace[s] it so that [he] can live." He wrote that "sometimes [he] goes days without food," and that the "political and social realities of my country condemn us to a life void of progress." This is the reality of Haiti: the domestic and foreign leadership and policies have reduced or removed all conventional employment settings.

As complicated as poverty and joblessness are, it is not difficult to see from where some of these injustices originated. Joblessness and unemployment can be created through both small, individual decisions, as well as policy changes by foreign governments, and the cycle of dependency in communities. Since a major source of these problems is a lack of local leadership, it is not a proper model for foreigners to use when working with Haitian communities.

**Local Businesses Are Put Out of Business**

The story of Haitian rice farmers and what Katz describes as the "cycle of dependency" is unfortunately not limited to rice, though it is one of the clearer examples (Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By* Kindle Location 47). More recently, a debate has been centered around another agricultural product – peanuts. When Haitians heard that there might be an import of American peanut crop surplus into Haiti in 2016, many were upset. They knew what this meant for local peanut farms. The US Department of Agriculture ignored the wishes of hundreds of Haitians and development agencies by sending five hundred metric tons of peanuts to Haiti in 2016 despite the massive repercussions that importing food subsidies had in Haiti (Weber).

In a critique of this import, McFadden's article "Donation of Surplus Peanuts from US Dismays Farmers," addressed some of the reactions from farmers in Haiti's central plateau. One said, "foreign peanuts can only make things harder for us." This farmer is one who runs an organic farm that is plowed by "oxen and maintained without pesticides or chemical fertilizers only because he could never dream of affording them" (McFadden). No matter the farming style, nothing can compete with a free product.

A statement from Partners in Health, perhaps the most reputable non-profit organization working in Haiti, summarizes the problem well: "We agree that providing assistance to hungry people is critical, but it shouldn't come in the form of food that is currently being produced by local farmers." They shed light on this issue by writing, "flooding local markets with outside crops has a profoundly negative impact on the Haitian economy and the well-being of the Haitian poor." In the documentary *Poverty, Inc.,* Marcela Escobari, director of the Center for International Development at Harvard, stated that the problem is political. She explained, "Agricultural subsidies are a huge distortion for world markets, particularly the poor" (Weber).

She goes on to point out that these subsidies occur due to foreign interests that "want to protect their markets." She continues by explaining that foreign interests know that they "do [this] at the expense of other countries that don't have the same power to negotiate the bilateral agreements with large powers like the U.S." (Weber).

The massive imports and subsidies sent from the U.S. have not been limited to rice and peanuts. In the mid-80s, America became involved with Haiti and their so-called "pig problem." According to David McFadden, the U.S. believed that Haitian pigs were infected with deadly diseases, and to remedy this, "U.S. Congress authorized $23 million to slaughter local pigs and replace them with hybrid pigs from Iowa." However, the imported pigs struggled to survive and many Haitians lost their livelihood, which was previously intact (McFadden).

There are many other industries that have ceased to exist in Haiti due to the incredible influx of aid and donations in the form of handouts. Handing out water filters, for example, prevents people from creating solutions to their own water problems. Well-diggers, laborers for building cisterns, and other jobs associated with water safety are not needed because of water filter hand-outs. Normally, people who give the filters also are usually not involved in follow up, effectively sustaining the cycle of dependency. Local water worker and Konbit staff, David Sanon told me that he understands people's desires to give out filters, but he wants people to know the negative, long-term impact they have on communities.

The impact of misguided aid stretches over into the medical profession as well. Dr. Kenny Moise reports that this type of "international aid leaves little to no place for innovation and competition, and kills local [health] initiatives at an embryonic stage." Additionally, he reports that in Haiti, all kinds of medical professionals "seek NGO jobs" and "abandon State hospitals and local clinics." In fact, for most medical professionals, working for a non-profit

proves more lucrative than working in a government hospital in Haiti. This is another way in which local jobs and solutions are ripped from the hands of Haitians who want to work, but are forced to respond to the realities of living in a republic of NGOs.

**Culture as "Wrong"**

It took me several years of immersion in Haiti to understand how deeply the wrong type of aid and development can negatively impact Haitian culture. Respecting the culture is key to engaging and interacting with local leadership. When our actions do not incorporate the rich traditions of the cultures we work with, we might be inadvertently communicating that other cultures are "wrong."

One of the most obvious ways this message is translated to Haitians is through healthcare practices. Year round, medical professionals come to Haiti to help locals deal with their ailments. While there are serious medical gaps in Haiti that should be addressed, the influx of Western medicine communicates that the traditional medicine Haitians have practiced for centuries is wrong. Hofstede writes, "culture is learned, not innate. It derives from one's social environment rather than from one's genes" (Kindle Location 329). Culture is retained through handing down beliefs and practices, like traditional medicine.

In an interview with Danilo Cyrius, Director of Operations with Konbit Haiti, I learned more about traditional medicine. The Konbit Haiti center is directly next door to a Voodoo temple, which historically uses traditional medicines in their ceremonies. Danilo admits that "for outsiders . . . people who are not Haitian, they look at [traditional medicine] and think that it is bad, like voodoo." Danilo concedes that this can be discouraging for people like him who hold tightly to his culture, which includes these traditional remedies. His grandmother taught him

everything he knows about natural medicine. His favorite elixir for preventing a cold is hibiscus tea, taking the flowers and boiling them into a beautiful pink tea (D. Cyrius).

In the article "Haitians' Complicated Relationship with Traditional and Western Medicine," Dr. Fritz-Gerald Laurent reflects on his own upbringing in rural Haiti, which included "special tea[s] that would correspond to every situation." He writes from firsthand knowledge that "Folk remedies are usually the first and often the only line of treatment in the Haitian community." However, visiting medical teams do not understand the depth to which traditional medicine permeates the Haitian culture. Not only do Haitians use natural remedies passed down through generations, but they also can view illness itself in different ways, including *maladi bondye* (natural illness from God) or *dyab* (a supernatural, bad attack) (Laurent). Visiting medical professionals and long-term medical missionaries may struggle to understand and interpret this.

Dr. Laurent points out that Haitian "ancestors did not have a history of documentation," and that through their turmoil and many government overthrows, much of their history was lost. He writes that "a lot of our medical practices got passed down orally," recalling childhood memories that revolve around teas for different ailments with the stories accompanying them. Pointing out the irony, he wrote that "a great portion of prescription drugs available stem from our grandmother's special concoctions." After all the issues Haitians have faced, both historically and currently in their daily lives, they want to hold on to their culture. Dr. Laurent writes, "we attempt to counteract these realities [of life] by withholding the practices from our heritage."

However beautiful this retention of culture may be, many Christian Haitians are fearful to practice their traditions. In many instances, Haitians correlate much of their culture to the

tradition of voodoo, something they turn against when they become Christians. New Christians are expected to abandon drums, tribal dancing, and traditional medicine among other cultural norms. Often, people with the intention to disciple new Christians lead new Haitian believers into a subsect of American Christianity. This is not the good news of the Gospel. As Daniel G. Groody and Peter C. Phan describe in *Globalization, Spirituality, and Justice,* the Gospel message should be the, "beginning of the good news, especially for those who are poor and excluded in any way" (Kindle Location 1, 575). Some missionaries have harmed Haitian culture in the name of Jesus, deeming it "wrong" in the eyes of God.

Bianca Dahl investigated the negative impact Western Christianity has had on care for orphans and children-at-risk in Botswana. She examines families and communities in her article "The 'Failure of Culture': Christianity, Kinship, and Moral Discourses about Orphans During the Botswana AIDS Crisis." In many cultures, families who suffer loss generally care for one another under kinship-based care. In Botswana, Dahl observed that "many politicians, church leaders across denominations, and [local] people are beginning to deem local culture an inadequate moral paradigm for ensuring the proper upbringing of orphans," based on incoming Christian ideals (24). Additionally, this article correctly points out that "the emerging Christian response to . . . [the] orphan problem depicts the solution as rooted in forms of giving charity." This has changed Botswana's kinship-care culture into one that values institutionalized methods.

The way outside religious views have impacted Botswana's culture is comparable to the impact these views have had in Haiti. I have found that Haitians feel that their culture is "wrong" in many ways. I was present for one of the clearest examples of this phenomenon at a pastor's training conference with Konbit Haiti. Most pastors in Haiti have no material resources yet have many responsibilities as a tribal leader. To help with this, Konbit Haiti hosts a pastor's

conference annually and encourages the pastors to meet once a month with a pastor's coalition. The purpose of the conference was to offer encouragement and support for local pastors and leaders, while subsequently building social capital in the community.

During the question and answer session, a Haitian pastor participant asked "What do you think about women in leadership?" as he sat wedged in between two women in a half female audience. The response was unlike any of the other answers, as the speaker did not resort to scripture to give an answer. The lead pastor from an American church said, "If you have women in leadership, the men are doing something wrong." Thankfully, the interpreter was Danilo Cyrius, whose beliefs align with Konbit Haiti's value of gender equality. Responding only in Haitian Creole to speak directly to the Haitian leaders present, he explained: "This man is saying it is not right for a woman to be a leader, but we do not believe this. We believe that, because of Scripture, women can do anything."

Such a thoughtless comment could have impacted the way the local leaders understood governance in the church and outside of it. For those who understood English, it reinforced the narrative from decades of visiting Evangelicals who said that women are not as fit to lead as men. This impacts the culture in a negative way because in traditional Haitian culture and religion, women are leaders. The truth is that many Christians, non-profit workers, and short-term volunteers offering "help" to Haiti often reinforce a belief system which says that Haitian culture is useless, making Haitians feel all the more dependent on what outsiders bring to them.

**Lack of Family Support**

A great injustice in Haiti is the way the culture of aid has created a lack of support for families. While parents struggle to find work, there is no free public school for their children to attend (Cherry 24). Though there are government-run schools, these schools also charge a fee.

With a lack of infrastructure, taxes are not collected in many areas and therefore schools are not funded by the state. For struggling families, there is no free or reduced lunch program and no governmental assistance for the purchase of food or other necessary items (W. Louis). Families are left to fend for themselves, without the social programs and support parents need. This isolates family members and causes strained familial relationships. This makes *shalom,* or peaceful relationships between the family members, especially difficult.

My experience has been one of my greatest educators. On my first trip to Haiti in 2010, I worked in an orphanage. This was my first time in an institutionalized facility, and I learned quickly about the atrocities committed there. The children slept three to a bed and the rooms they inhabited looked like something out of an old horror movie. Dingy and without electricity, these dorms were more like prison cells. The kids did not have food regularly, nor did they have clean drinking water.

I remember watching some of the children lean forward over an open, hand-dug well that looked like it had never been cleaned properly. While these wells are commonplace in Haiti, I do not know that I will ever be able to erase the image of two forty pound boys trying to pull up a full bucket of water for the wash. They did this multiple times a day, using their little bodies to yank up huge buckets of water for the orphanage’s needs. It was during that time that I began to develop a heart for orphans, though I hardly understood the true complexity behind these orphaned children. The kids were adorable and well behaved, and for years I returned there hoping to make a difference in their lives.

In the following years working at the orphanage, I ran into several challenges. The biggest one was my own misunderstanding, specifically about the nature of the orphans themselves. While my husband and I started to consider adopting children from this institution,

we learned that most of them had parents. As we dug deeper, we learned that most of the parents simply did not have enough resources to take care of their own children. I realized that my understanding about orphans and the situation was not based in facts and decided to do some investigating. Poverty within these families was the prevalent reason for surrendering their children to the institution.

Many researchers agree, “the main cause of abandonment [of children] is poverty” (*Lost Kites* 10:36). The systems of aid in Haiti have contributed to poverty in this country, creating a lack of resources and diminishing hope for parents. Johnny Carr writes in his book *Orphan Justice,* “poverty is a complex issue and can be perpetuated by faulty economic systems, war, famine, and disease” (86). Haiti has experienced a myriad of issues, including economic injustice, civil war, and sweeping epidemics, after which many orphans are left in their wake.

Children in orphanages face many setbacks. Orphaned girls are at risk because of the appeal of early marriage. It might even "be driven by the girls themselves, who see it as a way to improve their situation and quality of life" (Palermo and Peterson 102). Additionally, “the 153 million orphaned and vulnerable children worldwide guarantee a continued market from which human traffickers can draw" (Carr, *Orphan Justice* 24). I heard a number of stories during my fieldwork in Haiti perpetuating this truth. Willes Louis explained, “Some moms in Haiti search for an orphanage because they cannot help the kids [themselves.]” He went on to say that many orphanages, “use the kids to raise money from foreigners and do not spend the money they get wisely.” He said they often, “sell the kids,” exploiting them for sex and slave labor. Misplaced aid perpetuates this abuse and continues the cycle of hopelessness and poverty within Haitian families. While aid is needed directly after a natural disaster, it must be planned with locals on the ground and should only be used short-term to foster development.

Altina is a woman who lives in the village of Soubòy, in the foothills of a rural mountain community. She has nine children by seven different men and has become one of my closest friends throughout the years. Her 17-year-old daughter recently became pregnant, and we ended up talking frankly about orphanages during my interview with her. Altina jokingly said, "I couldn't find an orphanage to put any of my children in, so I just raised them myself." She continued laughing and asking, "Do you know of an orphanage nearby? Maybe I will bring my new grandchild there!" Orphanages are a forced solution by the Global North through people honestly wanting to help without investigating a Haitian solution to the problem.

Once an institution opens, they usually "focus on the material needs of children," reports Georgette Mulhier, the CEO of Lumos (*Lost Kites* 13:50-13:52). Moreover, "residential treatment seldom, if ever, replaces that special parent-child relationship" (Coleman and Collins 262). Institutionalized care is not the best option for vulnerable children. My fieldwork has led me to see more of the complexities of child abandonment and I am even more convinced that misapplied aid and misunderstanding poverty causes more orphans in this country.

Long-term aid that does not consider the input of the locals does not provide hope, which is what many need to get out of poverty. This kind of aid creates a dependent society, leaving communities waiting for their help to come. Rendered helpless and hopeless, many parents are left to feel as if their only option is to bring their child to an institution "set up by Americans" (B. Louis). Many do not understand that this is abandoning their children to the state, nor do they know the risks they are facing when dropping off their children at an institution. Carr suggests that those wishing to help vulnerable children must "dive into every aspect of an orphan's struggle, even when it's uncomfortable" (Carr *Orphan Justice* 18). He insists that there is a "wide array of solutions for children," and their families, but we have to be willing to look (Carr "A

Comprehensive Approach to the Orphan Crisis"). The difficult truth is that the foreigners who brought aid and created dependence in Haiti did not evaluate its impact on an already broken system of family care.

Many organizations struggle to help Haitian families succeed. In my research I found that countless international religious groups turn a blind eye to the detrimental effects institutionalized care has on children and their development. One of the problems children face is what Dr. Boyd calls "toxic stress" which keeps parts of the brain from developing in many children in orphan care (*Lost Kites* 18:55-19:00). Instead of addressing these challenges, many promote that it is better to be raised in an institution, where the environment is more "Christian" than with the child's family of origin (Dahl 24). Millions of dollars in external aid is spent each year on institutionalized care, much of it coming from within the Church. However, "if the amount of money that was poured into orphanages on a yearly basis was poured into the support of families in crisis . . . then development . . . would be completely different. It would completely change" (*Lost Kites* 27:56-28:10).

Looking at the entire picture of poverty and the way it creates dependence and leaves families broken is heartbreaking. However, cycles of poverty and reliance can and should be rectified. The challenges of developing a system that is resilient and holistic pale in comparison to the obstacles that orphaned and abandoned children face every day. Through using the Biblical model of *shalom* to develop holistic practice and resilient development, foreigners can combine forces with local leaders to make real change in all spheres of society in Haiti.

## The Positive Impacts of Resilient and Holistic Development in Haiti

### The Partners in Health Model

There is no pioneer greater suited to speak on the ways the Global North can engage with local leaders than Dr. Paul Farmer. He has been working in Haiti since 1983 and has worked in some of the most impoverished places to improve health and livelihood in these communities (Farmer *Haiti After the Earthquake* 17). After learning more about the health crisis in Haiti and participating in health clinics there, he eventually founded the internationally-renowned non-profit organization Partners in Health (PIH), known in Haiti as *Zanmi Lasante* (18). He writes in "Political Violence and Public Health in Haiti," that "most Haitians, the poor majority, simply go without medical healthcare" (1483). His many challenges have been well-documented in his books and articles about public health in the central plateau of Haiti. He writes that while he and his "Haitian coworkers are proud of our work here," he is still burdened by the "millions of Haitians" who need basic health services (1485).

While he might not be a perfect practitioner, the Hippocratic oath and his quiet faith drive Dr. Farmer to ensure that Haitians receive the best care possible. He writes of his own experience building PIH in rural Haiti in the book *Reimagining Global Health*. The goal of PIH is to be "an institution that seeks to strengthen health systems . . . in rural parts of the world" (133). Through trial and error, this organization has become strong worldwide, but especially in Haiti. This group delivers high quality care to individuals while aiming to redress some of the structural barriers to good health. These barriers include "unemployment, insufficient access to food and clean water, shoddy (or absent) health infrastructure, high transport cost, and poor housing" (Farmer, et. al. *Reimagining Global Health* 113). PIH delivers a holistic model for healthcare and resiliency that engages the entire person.

The success of Partners in Health can be attributed to how they started. Since their inception in rural Haiti during the 1980s, they have learned what it means to be both materially poor and in poor health. Farmer models what Bryant Myers writes about in regard to the poor: listening to them and learning from them (Kindle Location 131). Though Farmer's first years were tumultuous, they also taught him the "importance of learning from those we sought to serve" (Farmer, et. al, *Reimagining Global Health* 134). Myers expounds on this idea by explaining that "we must be ready to let our concepts, theories and ideas [about the poor] go," especially "when our experience with real poor people says otherwise" (Kindle Edition 106). Farmer models that we help the material poor by recognizing we are poor ourselves and have a lot to learn from them as well.

The PIH model is one that can be applied to many different community development agencies. It is transferable due to the focus on learning from those they seek to help. Their resiliency-based approach is particularly helpful because it models long-term development (Farmer, et. al. 134). This model of listening, creating simple plans of action for patients, and meeting the needs of patients holistically, has been carried out in other PIH campuses like the one in Rwanda. The lesson they learned as they started in Haiti was simple: people need to be encouraged to take care of themselves holistically. They also learned that nothing can be accomplished without training locals to work and create alongside of them. In other words, holistic development shares a pattern of *shalom* when one relationship is restored and others are encouraged. PIH reported positive results through engaging with local Haitians and collaborating on their health care needs (Farmer, et. al. *Reimagining Global Health* 147). This kind of dignity-creating development is an important lesson to learn from PIH and Dr. Farmer.

**Standing with National Leaders**

The President and CEO of Hope International, Peter K. Greer, interviewed Rwandan mothers living in poverty. When he asked the mothers about their definition of poverty, he received five answers: "Poverty is an empty heart; Not knowing your abilities or strengths; Not being able to make progress; Isolation; No hope or belief in yourself." Greer notes in his post "Five Ways the Poor Define Poverty," that "not having enough money isn't mentioned." This mindset is not limited to Rwanda, as the World Bank performed a similar study in sixty different nations and received similar results. According to Greer, this report concluded that the poor "tend to describe their condition in far more psychological and social terms. Poor people typically talk in terms of shame, inferiority, powerlessness, depression, social isolation, and voicelessness."

Practitioners should be mindful of how the poor define poverty for themselves. While clean drinking water, food security, and affordable housing are important, the poor have shown us what is most important to them. Myers explains, "the way we understand the causes of poverty also tends to determine our response to poverty" (Kindle Location 150). For example, if we believe lack of education is why poverty exists, we will focus our energies on creating schools. If we believe people are primarily impoverished because of their lack of Jesus, then we will look to solve poverty through evangelization. Transformational, holistic development looks at the entire scope and investigates the roots of the issues that cause poverty. This kind of development focuses on the most pressing issues according to the poor, and therefore encourages and promotes resilience. One of the ways to do this is through the support of indigenous leaders.

In a time when there are so many platforms to speak, still so many living in poverty do not have their voice heard. Partnering with indigenous leadership enhances the voice of the poor

in an incredibly redemptive way and brings healing to areas in which the poor experience poverty the most. After spending time in Haiti, Lionel Vigil reported that "top-down projects will not lead to lasting change." He continued his thoughts by asserting, "only small scale, patient and innovative work with Haiti's communities" will bring about positive change. Likewise, The World Post's reporter John Coonrod reports, "most of the basic issues of life must get addressed at the community level: clean water, safe sanitation sources, public safety, primary education and healthcare, employment opportunities and more." It is also not enough to simply put local leaders and communities in charge of their most basic needs; they must also be facilitators of establishing *shalom* through holistic development.

Creating and working toward *shalom* with local leaders allows NGOs to rectify some of the wrongs that have been done, particularly by outsiders. This can serve as life-changing redemption, which can lend itself to full and real change, starting with the hearts of the leaders involved. Miroslav Volf writes that "people with conflicting interests, clashing perspectives, and differing cultures can avoid sliding into the cycle of escalating violence and instead maintain bonds, even make their life together flourish," through this kind of redemption and forgiveness (Kindle Location 99). Moving into redemption and restored relationships creates more possibilities for holistic and resilient development.

**Job Creation in Haiti**

A look at Haiti's Fifth Section in the Artibonite Valley will send chills down your spine. Among the miles of green rice fields and watercress growing near the red dirt road, there are Haitians living in incredibly abject poverty. This community, full of people who live in mud huts despite being in a flood zone, is overrun with aid groups. Cholera's impact and cause are obvious here, residents lack basic sanitation, children are without clothing, and animals coexist with their

owners. Bearing witness to such incredible need weighs heavily on the hearts of the many foreigners who work with the missions and non-profits in the area.

The Artibonite Valley has also touched the hearts of two Haitian men: Bossiet Louis and Rony La Rose. I met Rony in 2011 and he introduced me to Bossiet, affectionately known as Pastor Bo, in 2013. The story of the way these men became involved with the Fifth Section, a community over ninety minutes from their home is simple: they saw a need and were moved to action. In 2012, Pastor Bo, his wife, and his three-year-old daughter moved into the village to begin transformational development. They began teaching about essential life skills like, forgiveness, cleanliness, and hygiene. As time passed, the community changed.

Rony began working with the community on their water needs, helping to construct toilets that would not cause waste to wash away with the inevitable floods. He soon realized that another way in which the community needed help was through job creation. Together with Pastor Bo, he created Farm of Hope, a farm whose goal is to bring farming produce back to Haitians and employ some of the most underserved people in all of Haiti.

The farm is doing remarkably well and stands to turn a profit in its second year (LaRose). Because of the farm, community members are learning to eat native food sources and are starting to have a more consistent income. These jobs give more than just money; they give dignity and hope to those in the most difficult situations. This also demonstrates that local leaders exist and are capable of motivating their people in ways outside initiatives can only hope to do.

Rony has been one of my best friends for years, and he has many family members who live in this forgotten community. While Rony does not share his own proficiencies without being prompted, his experiences illustrate the point Myers makes about the stories of the poor: “[outsiders] bring our story and join the story that is already there, the community's story”

(Kindle Location 171). Rony has a history with the people he works with in the Fifth Section and it is important that practitioners encourage his work with Pastor Bo.

Pastor Bo and Rony have trained several local leaders in the community to replicate the work they are doing. Small businesses are sprouting up, people are starting to carry themselves differently, children are going to school, and *shalom* is beginning to happen through this transformational development. This is largely due to the social enterprise of Farm of Hope and the work of Pastor Bo and Rony in the community.

There are many stories that could fill these pages with the sacrifices Haitians have made to succeed in their businesses. When locals are given the opportunity to do for themselves, a door of hope opens up for them. As more local pioneers step out to make a change in their communities through business, there are more who follow suit. I have seen it with my own eyes, and I am convinced that locally-led development, like Pastor Bo's example, paves the way for businesses like Rony's Farm of Hope.

**Protecting Haiti's Culture**

As West African slaves were brought over to the island to work for French plantation owners, a new culture was born in Haiti. There is a saying in Haitian Creole: *Piti, piti zwazo fè nich li,* or little by little the bird builds its nest. This saying is one of many that has developed from Haiti's rich and interesting culture. Though there has been so much turmoil within the Haitian culture, there is also much for which Haitians should be proud.

Haitian culture is a combination of Caribbean flair, French influence, and West African history. There are few things more empowering to Haitian culture than national leaders participating in holistic practice and resilient development. Through this, the community progresses by seeing their culture displayed in healthy, life-giving ways. It is important for

Haitians to own and protect their culture because without it, they do not understand their history. Lynda Campbell writes that it is important for families to "Understand the past," which "provides a context for the present, gives perspective on the tasks to be confronted, and helps differentiate chronic difficulties from crisis reactions" (286).

As a development practitioner working in Haiti to help facilitate *shalom,* I struggled with how to teach Haitians about the concepts of *shalom* in a culturally appropriate way. I was blind to the fact that these principles were already built into the culture through proverbs that Haitians proudly mutter to one another on a daily basis and teach their children as they grow. I have been proud of the work that Konbit Haiti's leaders have done to share with their communities about the way their culture already preaches and practices *shalom.* It has been brilliant to watch, and I know this is only the beginning. This has changed the way I facilitate development and *shalom.*

**Creative Problem Solving**

In 2011, my internationally trained team and I taught a man named Jose Luis how to make forms for an above ground rain catchment tank in his community. Using plywood and a few other materials, my team was certain we knew the most cost effective and sustainable way to create this structure. Using the same forms, a person could even make three or four different tanks! Imagine my surprise when Jose Luis came back to show us a new form he created. His model was much more durable than our wooden forms, could pack well, and was even more cost effective. Just a few short months after he showed us his updates, the United Nations released their own take on the rain catchment tank form which matched Jose Luis' approach.

Like many skills, creativity and problem-solving take time to develop. Kelley and Kelley, authors of *Creative Confidence,* write that creativity is a muscle that must be exercised (2). For many Haitians, creativity can be a difficult muscle to train because most of their creative efforts

are invested into survival instead of problem solving for their communities. If community members create an innovative solution, they often lack funding. In addition to a lack of funding for these solutions, most Haitians score low on Hofstede's power-distance scale. Often times, like my friends Willes Louis and David Sanon report, they "go to the back" and allow the foreigner to lead, preventing any holistic or resilient development from occurring.

Justice Water Haiti, the Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) branch under Konbit Haiti, seeks to conduct water projects in communities all across Haiti. The program is led by five indigenous leaders on staff, one who is in the process of taking on additional leadership to direct its future growth. Each staff has recruited volunteer teams to help their impact grow in their regions of operation. The program started long before any foreigners were involved, through the innovation and leadership of the Haitian men and women who were dreaming of solutions for their communities and educating themselves the best they could.

One such leader is David Sanon. He started his work with Justice Water in 2013 and has become one of the most influential leaders in the area. His training started in his own community development group that used to meet long before he became staff with Justice Water. While their training was limited, his organization fought to preserve local water sources and keep it from becoming contaminated. His important work protected many local sources from becoming undrinkable. Through collaboration, Konbit Haiti and Justice Water have been able to help him reach an even greater number of people (D. Sanon). This is possible through additional training, project funding, and a regular salary that allows David to work in communities in need. He is free to focus on doing what he is passionate about: helping indigenous communities co-create and problem solve while he trains them to create or protect their own water sources.

Creative problem solving is possible on the project-level, and the same kind of critical thinking is also possible for more complex problems. Instead of a parent feeling helpless and abandoning their child to an institution, creative and indigenous problem solving can help these parents find hope again. After interviewing several of the women in Konbit Haiti's sewing program, I realized the importance of encouraging problem solving when situations seem hopeless for parents. Widlande, a single mother of one, knows this well. She was born and raised in Port-Au-Prince, in one of the rougher neighborhoods. When she became pregnant, she thought her boyfriend would want to start a life together with her. Instead, he left her.

Pregnant and scared, Widlande told a friend she was thinking of dropping her baby off at an orphanage she knew in the city's center. This "was because I loved her so much and I did not think I could care for her." However, her friend talked her through her potential options and insisted that "babies need their mother." With that glimmer of hope, Widlande set out for the city of Montrouis and ended up in our area of town. Her daughter is now five years old and attends school, thanks to Widlande's income from the sewing co-op with Konbit Haiti. Additionally, her daughter is active in an after-school program run by Konbit Haiti's staff. She is growing and learning, and has a stable environment. Prior to working with Konbit Haiti, Widlande did not have a job and each day was a struggle to provide for her daughter. When asked if she regretted keeping her daughter, she laughed and said, "No. Never." Widlande's story provides motivation for innovative problem solving, even in the most complex of struggles.

An important factor in keeping children with their families is having indigenous leaders solving problems for themselves. Motivated by the lack of opportunities for Haitian parents, Shelley Clay founded Papillion, a social enterprise in Haiti. She recalled approaching an orphanage director and asking "The moms who drop their kids off here, would they keep them if

they could? Or do they simply want to be free of them?" The director did not hesitate. "Of course they'd keep them if they could" (Hyde). While this is all too common in Haiti, it is also common for parents to understand that they have the "opportunity to rise up and be who they are supposed to be" (Hyde). When presented with additional options, like jobs, help with food and schooling, and emotional support, parents have the opportunity to problem solve for themselves. This helps keep Haitian families together and empowered.

After interviewing several families who benefit directly from the services of Konbit Haiti, I discovered one thing they all had in common: they felt welcomed because of local leadership. Mothers reported feeling encouraged and even mothered themselves by Clelie Cyrius, the Family Services Director. Children reported the connection they felt to the Konbit Haiti family, the ten Haitian staff who work on the children's programs and training seminars put on throughout the year. Clelie said she knows children are abandoned because "mothers do not feel equipped." That is why it is imperative that the services provided by Konbit Haiti offer practical and helpful ways to help parents feel prepared. Shirley Duvergile, a parent who has been trained by Konbit Haiti in the past, explains that "parents do not have the opportunity to take care of their children well." She also lists this as a reason for her gratitude for local leadership in the area, stating that they provide her, and mothers like her, with a sense of community and an opportunity to become equipped.

What is happening with Konbit Haiti is not a phenomenon, but is rather an example of what community-based care looks like when locals give their own solutions to problems affecting the orphan crisis. Care that focuses on the communities' strengths, like what is offered with Konbit Haiti, is the right response to the orphan crisis according to experts. Orphanages can only take care of so many children. Communities who implement a "community center" type

model, and train nationals to interact with families and children, can "literally reach thousands," explains Cathleen Jones of Children in Families (*Lost Kites* 28: 21-28:33).

Clelie, a native to Montrouis, started working with children when she was still in school. She felt that "children weren't respecting their parents and parents weren't active in their children's lives" (C. Cyrius). She believed that it was up to her to solve the problem the community was having with their children. What she discovered was that through problem solving for herself and her community, she helped others problem solve as well. The community center model has worked well for Clelie and her program, as well as for the other parents and families who are being encouraged to problem solve through Konbit Haiti.

In African countries, people are also embracing the community center model. In Botswana, the Bana ba Keletso Orphan Day Care Centre "provides centralized care to over 355 orphans aged 2-18" (Kidman, et. al. 327). Though these children register as true orphans, the day care allows for the community to care for them in a way that an orphanage never could. This center "began as a community response to the increasing numbers of orphaned children" (327). Through this effort, the community sought to problem solve on their own. The center provides a preschool for orphans so their caretakers can work during the day. It provides an after school care center for older children, as well.

In rural South Africa, the Ikama Labantu center offers a "decentralized, home-based approach." This approach "allows orphans to remain more integrated into their community," as they receive care through "existing structures," with both orphans and non-orphans alike (327). In this way, the community helps to make sure children-at-risk and orphaned children do not fall behind or feel excluded.

Both of these programs demonstrate the importance of local solutions, problem solved through locally-based development. Konbit Haiti, and organizations like it, embrace a similar model: offering afterschool programs, parent training, job opportunities, and a "safe space" for families. Such programs "provide [a] strong example of how we might begin to model orphan programs in the future," relying chiefly on the community's leadership and the way they choose to problem solve (329).

**More Encouraged and Proactive Citizens**

John Coonrod, author of the article "Putting People First: The Movement for Community-Led Development," wrote, "putting a fair share of public resources and decision-making power into the hands of local communities," is "critical to achieving the [UN's 2030] Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)." The SDGs are aggressive United Nations goals that are meant to help dismantle poverty. However, as Coonrod argues, "most of the basic issues of life must get addressed at the community level." This means that "national policies can set standards and mobilize resources," but it cannot take the place of local leadership. Additionally, "if there is nobody at the local level accountable to make it happen – it won't happen." Local leaders must have ownership in these solutions for them to sustain over the long haul.

Dr. Paul Farmer and Nicolette Gastineau Campos write that "legitimacy" for organizations working amongst the poor, "is best achieved by collaborating with the poor and oppressed, who are not only the chief victims of structural and political violence but also essential partners in any intervention that is to succeed" (508). It is not enough to merely attempt to empower the poor; their voices must be collaborating voices. In the Mercy Corps article "The Benefits of Community-Led Development Programming in Insecure Environments: Findings from Iraq and Afghanistan," the authors reported that through their research, they "learned that

community-led methods of development lead to superior outcomes" (1). This study proved, "the more that . . . actors [in development] are perceived as using community-led methods of development, the more successful they are perceived to be" (1).

The research performed by Mercy Corps shows that community-led development is both holistic and resilient in nature because it "contributes to capacity-building through engaging local leaders and community members" (2). It builds community, "through bringing stakeholders together to collectively identify and address community needs," and inspires community initiative, "through increasing people's capacity and willingness to participate in efforts to improve their communities" (2). This kind of development produces great leaders because it allows communities to dive into their own, specific issues and collaborate on the solutions.

## Conclusion

### Why Local Development

Research shows that "there are no short cuts when it comes to effective development" (Mercy Corps 4). There is overwhelming proof that for empowerment programs to be effective, the programs must include "an emphasis on local decision making, local self-reliance, participatory democracy, and social learning" (Myers 150). It is not enough to want to help the poor, we must do whatever we can to "help people create the conditions [they need] so they no longer need [outside aid]" (Clemens-Hope).

Without local leaders in place, children suffer the most. Families are torn apart. What the Global North sees as the solution for these problems *must* change. It is urgent that all resources are utilized to keep children with their families and to equip communities to deal with these challenges. We must stop romanticizing "saving" children through institutions and instead

cultivate problem solving and ownership amongst community members in the developing world, including Haiti.

This does not mean there is no place for foreigners in development or care for at-risk children and families. However, the conversation and methodology needs to change. The trips whose purpose is to tour orphanages should stop, and we should take into account what it means to truly love the poor. This might be a difficult change, but it is necessary. We must seek the poor's voices for collaboration, their input on projects, and work together to experience transformation in a holistic way. For those involved in the Christian faith community, the outreach done for families at-risk must be restructured. As Julie Clawson writes, "Christians should care about these things because these are things that God cares about" (Kindle Location 186).

As a practicing Christian, I have encountered many Christians who believe that the best way to help families is through orphan care. However, the ancient texts prove otherwise. In the Old Testament, there is a law for the most vulnerable people in society: orphans, widows, those traveling or resident aliens, and the poor. They were not expected to wait for a hand out, but were to abide by the "gleaning laws." Found in Leviticus 19 and 23, these laws kept landowners from gathering the entire crop from their own fields yet required work on the behalf of the gleaner. This way, the most vulnerable people could "provide for themselves without relying on benevolence" (Keller Kindle Location 450). Hand-outs are not God's way, and it has proven to not be the way that makes for a resilient group of people. As Tim Keller writes in the book *Generous Justice,* God not only loves those who are needy, but he "defends those with least economic and social power" (Kindle Location 2227). Because of this, Christians should stop to consider what true *shalom* is, helping all people to have right relationships with those around

them, with themselves, and with God. Christians should not just seek to "do justice" through creating more institutions. This is not love. This is not justice.

The purpose of foreign involvement in a country is "to help people create the conditions so they no longer need it" (Clemens-Hope). There is no way to do this without engaging with local leaders to help them lift one another up and realize their full potential. All areas of society are impacted through collaboration.

**Why Holistic and Resilient Development**

Transformational and holistic development must affect all areas of the person. Leaving out the spiritual can result in the "outsider becoming the development 'Santa Claus,' bringing all the good things from the outside" (Myers Kindle Location 112). However, if we are to only focus on the spiritual needs, then "transformation is about saving souls" (Kindle Location 149). Christians and other religious practitioners can certainly focus on spiritual needs, but they should seek to instill *shalom*. Jesus charges his disciples to remember *shalom* in John 14:27, "What I am leaving with you is *shalom* – I am giving you my *shalom*." (Stern, *Complete Jewish Bible*). This *shalom*, or holistic transformation of all of one's relationships and self, is a charge for those who follow Jesus in the Christian tradition. For those outside of this tradition, it is an important approach to development.

There is a need for holistic, transformational development that models proper and good relationships. As Myers points out, "the development program must not come from the outside" (Kindle Location 153). Community members can innovate, create, and rise up when given the platform and resources. Outsiders must work to partner with and not overwhelm those they seek to help.

Working with the family is arguably the most important tool for development. Myers writes, “the poor live in households, and some development thinkers believe we need to view the household as the economic and social unit of importance” (Kindle Location 108). By utilizing households in development, people can use their time and resources to care for one another. Through work with families in this way, practitioners may also build resiliency.

Juby and Rycraft write that “poverty adversely affects many individuals and their families,” and that resiliency is what is needed in these families to help overcome the feeling of merely surviving (581). Families are also at-risk when they are in survival mode and are made to feel as if their only option is to drop their children off at orphanages. Left without any local leaders to help them discover alternatives, parents make gut-wrenching sacrifices to abandon their children to institutions, largely due to the influx of poorly planned and poorly executed aid in the country.

There is also an “added complexity,” with short term mission teams who help perpetuate the “orphan crisis” (Nhep 2). In this case, children are subjected to abandonment all over again each time a team comes and goes. Eric Hartman writes in the article “Community-Engaged Scholarship, Knowledge, and Dominant Discourse: A Cautionary Tale from the Global Development Sector,” that “the dominant development volunteering discourse is so powerful that it drives tens of thousands of young people into global development experiences without the ability to see the structure of the issues” (61). I was once one of these young people who volunteered at an orphanage and believed I could solve all of the complexities of this problem. However, as I continue to understand the truth about development and the orphan crisis, I want to do better. Children have no business being someone’s project, nor do they need to be available

for people to "love on." Instead, families must be supported through indigenous care and *shalom* whenever possible.

In 2017, Australia's government began legislation to "make it a criminal offence to organize trips for Australians to visit orphanages across the world where an estimated eight million children are living" (Murdoch). This is due to the work of Tara Winkler, an Australian woman who started an orphanage and then deconstructed it after learning more about orphanages. The stories she shared echo the ones I have heard in Haiti. For example, "false identification papers and death certificates are made to portray the children as orphans before they are sold to orphanages" for the benefit of "orphan tourism" (Murdoch). Willes Louis spoke to me about a similar issue saying that "everyone is corrupt," when it comes to the orphanage system. The "Haitians take advantage of the system and try to make some money," while the "Americans want to stay [uninformed] because they believe their way is better." No matter who is in the wrong, children and their families suffer most.

**How We Can Move Forward**

The purpose of this paper was to investigate the effectiveness of local, Haitian-led development efforts in a way that empowers, preserves, and creates resilience in the structure of families in Haiti. We can learn a great deal from Haitian communities who are transforming from the inside out. As external practitioners, we have the ability to partner with these efforts and encourage other movements. There is a place for mutually beneficial work with families at-risk, but we need to involve those families and community members as often as possible. As John Coonrod wrote, "this shift to bottom-up, integrated community-led development is possible and it's happening." We should be encouraged to step into areas where populations are being underrepresented and educate ourselves about the importance of doing our work with integrity.

Eric Hartman writes that there are a number of questions practitioners and short-term teams can ask themselves to discover their hidden bias and to reveal their privilege from the Global North. Hartman recommends employing a rights-based definition of poverty. Myers says this approach "integrates advocacy and policy work into development, with the new goal of helping the poor become effective, informed, active citizens" (Kindle Location 165). Hartman writes that this approach "transforms any community engagement into an experience that is necessarily inclusive of the possibility of structural change" (62). He recommends asking questions like, "What rights do the people we are working with have?" or "Would a charity or project intervention undermine the possibility of rights realization in this case?" (62). In Appendix B, there is a chart Hartman recommends to help practitioners and short-term volunteers analyze power dynamics for the focus country's culture.

Sometimes the analysis can be done beforehand, but other times it must be done afterward. In many cases, mistakes can be reversed, this is the case with Tara Winkler. She said she "had to eat a big piece of humble pie and admit that I had made a mistake and inadvertently become a part of the problem" (Winkler 8:25-8:28). She has transformed her former orphanage into a model of "family-based care" (Winkler 9:33-9:35). Winkler did more than change the facility's name, she changed her approach. Now, she works with a mostly Cambodian team to help ensure that they can "prevent some of the most vulnerable families . . . from being separated in the first place" (Winkler 10:20-10:26).

For Konbit Haiti and groups like it, the goal is to continue to discover what local people need through relationships and research. Organizations hoping to implement locally-led development should take care to partner with honorable stakeholders. Dr. Famer recalls making sure that he exercised his "discernment . . . when choosing working partners," saying that

organizations should always first consider, "what options are available to the poor and who is working on their behalf" (Farmer and Campos 508). When funded properly, organizations can be free to make choices that are beneficial to the poor and not focus on pleasing the donors who might not understand what the poor need.

The face of international missions and outreach movements is changing. People are becoming disenchanted with big-box organizations like the American Red Cross, the Clinton Foundation, and others. While many are recoiling in fear of where their giving will actually go, there is a smaller, more quiet movement also happening. It is the support of grass-roots development and methodology. Development practitioners are finding that the poor are the only ones who can speak for themselves. Without romanticizing their neediness or justifying a trip for our own "reality check," we in the Global North must remember that we are to reach a "hand across." Remembering the words of development practitioner Soong-Chan Rah who wrote in his book *Prophetic Lament: A Call for Justice in Troubled Times,* it is not about a "hand up," nor is it about a "hand out."

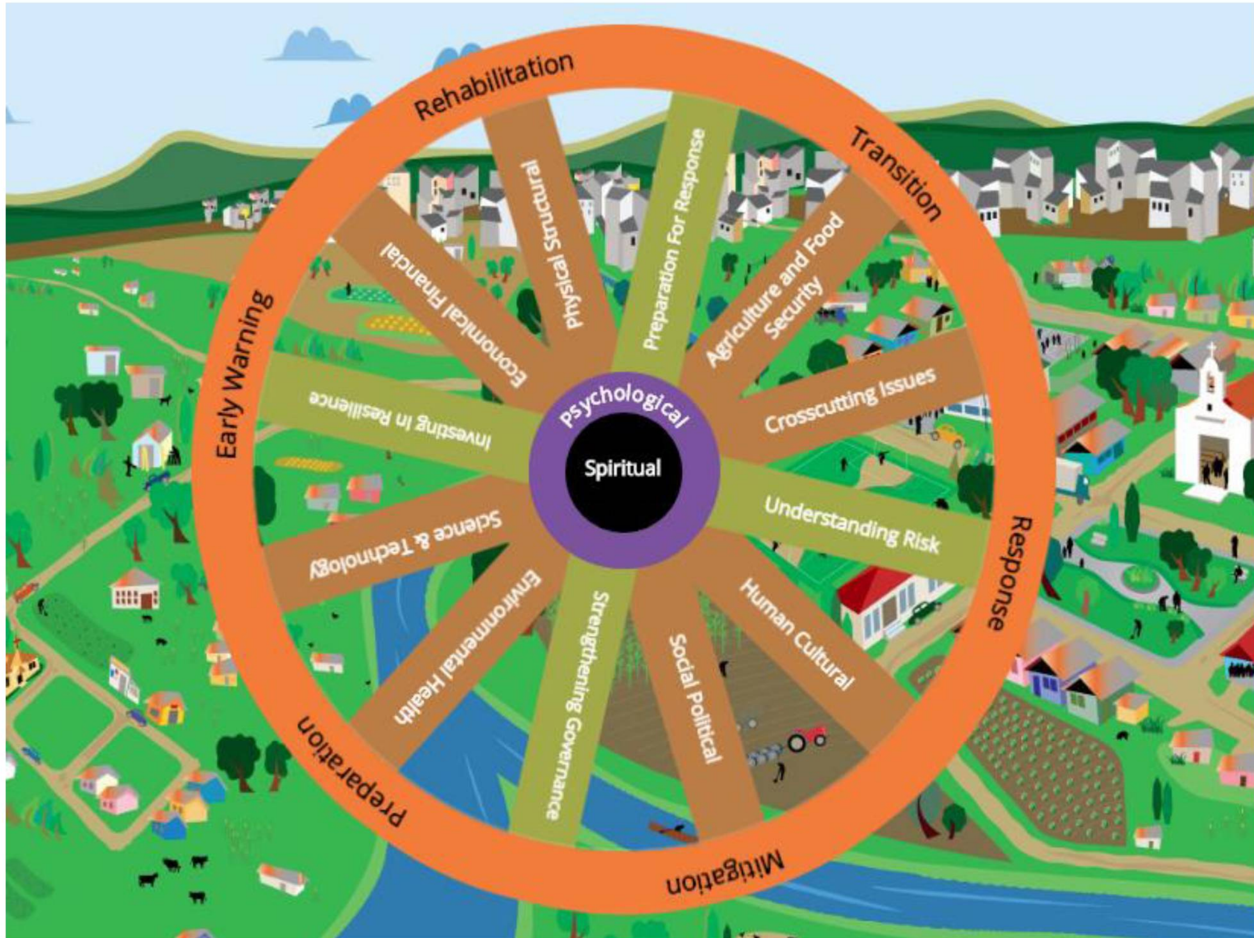
> A hand out means you think you're better than me and you're handing me something (something I probably don't deserve). A hand up means you think you're better than me and you're trying to lift me up from a bad place to your wonderful place. Actually, if it's a choice between the two, I'd rather have the hand-out. If you're going to be condescending, I might as well get a direct benefit out of it instead of being told that I need to become like you. Forget the hand out or the hand up. Just reach a hand across. Let's be equals and partners. I don't need you to rescue me, just like you don't think you need rescuing by me. My rescuer

> is a Jewish carpenter. I want to be a co-laborer in Christ with you, not your reclamation project. (196)

In my experience working in Haiti alongside national leaders for the last eight years, there is no denying the impact holistic development has on a community. While implementing transformational development through the lens of Biblical *shalom* and focusing on creating resiliency, communities and personal lives are improved. Neighborhoods feel excited to collaborate on solutions for their water and sanitation needs. Entrepreneurs feel they can make a real difference in the lives of the people they know. Parents feel equipped to care for their children and do not feel as if an orphanage is their only option. Haitian citizens take responsibility for their actions and understand that they too have a voice.

For those of us who want to do the right thing when it comes to international development and children at-risk, the choice is simple. Let us trust those we aim to help. Let us work alongside of them. Let us right our wrongs when we have learned of them. Let us educate ourselves before we make mistakes and consider the importance of families and communities versus pictures and stories of "rescue." Above all, let us listen first and talk only to ask questions. Let us come together to make a lasting, holistic, resilient change.

**Appendix A**




Appendix A figure from the Resilient Practices website. "Resilient Practices". *World Vision for Children.* Web. World Vision, N.D.

# Appendix B

| Prompts to promote power consciousness | Application to case example: Medical missions and orphanage volunteering |
| --- | --- |
| What is power? | The chance to be born into a socially constructed reality where one's presumed helpfulness is always latent.<br>The opportunity to be rewarded for unreflectively acting in ways consistent with a dominant discourse based on past inequities, active discrimination, and stereotypes.<br>The capacity to (re)create categories of *needy* and *helpful*. |
| Who has it? | Organizational staff members, faculty and staff members, prospective and current volunteers who are privileged (in comparison to vulnerable populations) in terms of one or a combination of the following: socioeconomic class, race, nationality, educational opportunities. |
| How does it operate?<br>How does it flow? | Power operates through dominant discourse. The power of framing is reiterated through mass media when wealthy development novices and celebrities embark on medical missions and orphanage trips. It is also reasserted when funds spent on volunteering programs funnel back to the media and publicity leveraged to sell future programs. It is solidified through countless well-intentioned but misguided social advocacy and philanthropic campaigns that construct distant others as helpless and needy. It persists due to schooling systems and socio-cultural assumptions that do not work to systematically advance understanding of global health and global development. |
| What part of it is visible?<br>What part of it is not? | Presently, these structures are almost entirely invisible in terms of dominant cultural assumptions and discourse. |
| Why do some people have it? | Unearned privilege. |
| Why is that compounded? | The narrative serves many organizations' bottom lines and many students' professional development desires. The people harmed by it are frequently silenced and the harms are often not immediately obvious. |

*Note*: Adapted from Dugan et al. (2015)

Appendix B figure from Table 1 in Eric Hardman's article "Community Engaged Scholarship, Knowledge, and Dominant Discourse. A Cautionary Tale from the Global Development Sector." *The Journal of Leadership Studies*. Vol. 11, no. 1.: 63 (2017). Print.

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