
Stories of Tragedy, Trust and Transformation?
Learning from participatory community development experience
in post-earthquake Haiti

Jayne Engle

School of Urban Planning
McGill University
Montreal

A doctoral thesis submitted in August 2016 to McGill University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
PhD in Urban Planning, Policy, and Design

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to our children, Max and Esther Engle-Warnick.

*Thank you for the immense joy, love, curiosity, creativity and passion
that you bring to me and this world.*

Abstract

Haiti's catastrophic earthquake of 2010 left some 200,000 people dead, 1.5 million homeless and most government buildings destroyed. Even pre-disaster, Haiti's outcomes on the UN Human Development Index were among the lowest in the world, and since the quake the country has fallen into further decline. Today, most Haitians continue to lack basic services, struggle with daily survival, and confront daunting obstacles to change. Paradoxically, the disaster may present a window of opportunity to build communities and societal institutions differently. The aim of this PhD study is to investigate cases of participatory community development in the post-earthquake period, and to expose in what ways the development processes underway and early outcomes are having an impact on community life and change, and whether they are opening pathways to transformation.

The main research site is an earthquake-affected, peri-urban and growing area of Bellevue-La-Montagne, located in the mountains south of capital city, Port-au-Prince. An education-centered community development effort is underway in partnership with residents, Haiti Partners and other organizations, and local government. Beyond studying the development projects focused on education and social enterprise, I undertook participatory research with a group of residents in order to investigate their lived experience, perspectives, and meanings associated with the development processes. Methods included context-specific participatory photography to enable social learning and study of social change dynamics. A secondary case is Habitat Santo Village in Léogâne, located at the earthquake epicenter. Habitat for Humanity built a housing community on a tent camp site and then invited residents to collaboratively design a self-governance system. That process and early results are the focus of the study.

Case findings reveal a number of tension points, such as lamentable state-society relations, a sense of powerlessness regarding prospects for change, and local development outcomes that exceed those of individual households. A synthesis result is that community transformation is occurring and signs of social change are apparent, but the latter requires longer term study. Evidence points to the community level as a site of transformation to the development paradigm operating in Haiti. Activating 'levers of transformation' -- including improved education, social entrepreneurship, place identity, and state accountability -- would support new narratives for Haiti, consistent with policy priorities to: (re)build the social contract, create greater economic opportunities and better jobs, and reduce vulnerability and build resilience.

This thesis is scholarly work, and it is also, quite practically, a call to action. It is an invitation to policymakers, funders, and others to recognize the community level as a site of transformation in Haiti and other marginalized settings around the world. This means recognizing and scaling promising initiatives such as these cases on three levels: 1) 'scaling out' to bring social innovations to more communities; 2) 'scaling up' to influence systemic and policy change; and 3) 'scaling deep' to affect cultural norms and patterns. Through highlighting, amplifying, and connecting community development innovations that are contributing to positive transformation, Haiti and places with similar challenges can forge new development pathways toward more inclusive societies where all people have opportunities to participate and flourish.

Résumé

Le séisme catastrophique de 2010 en Haïti a fait 200 000 morts et 1,5 million de sans-abri, en plus de détruire la majorité des édifices gouvernementaux. Même avant le désastre, le classement d'Haïti selon l'indice de développement humain des Nations Unies se trouvait parmi les plus bas au monde. Depuis le séisme, le pays a glissé encore plus bas. Aujourd'hui, la plupart des Haïtiens n'ont toujours pas accès aux services de base, ils luttent pour leur survie et se butent à des obstacles importants dans leur parcours vers le changement. Paradoxalement, le séisme pourrait représenter une bonne occasion de reconstruire les communautés et les institutions sociales sur de nouvelles bases. L'objectif de la présente thèse de doctorat est d'examiner des cas de développement communautaire participatif dans la période ayant suivi le séisme, d'exposer l'impact des processus de développement en cours et des premiers résultats sur la vie communautaire et le changement, et de voir s'ils pavent la voie vers une véritable transformation.

Mon principal site de recherche est la zone périurbaine en développement de Bellevue-La-Montagne, très touchée par le séisme. Elle se situe dans les montagnes au sud de la capitale (Port-au-Prince). Une initiative de développement communautaire axée sur l'éducation est en cours, en partenariat avec les résidents, *Haiti Partners* et d'autres organismes, ainsi que le gouvernement local. En plus d'étudier les projets de développement axés sur l'éducation et les entreprises à vocation sociale, j'ai mené une recherche participative avec un groupe de résidents afin de bien cerner leur expérience personnelle, leur perspective et leur perception du processus de développement. J'ai choisi, entre autres méthodes de travail, la photographie participative contextuelle, car elle donne lieu à des apprentissages sociaux et permet d'examiner la dynamique du changement social. Le second cas à l'étude est l'Habitat Santo Village à Léogâne, situé près de l'épicentre du séisme. L'organisme Habitat pour l'humanité a construit des logements communautaires dans un campement, puis il a encouragé les résidents à concevoir de manière collaborative un système d'autogouvernance. Ce processus et les premiers résultats qui en découlent constituent le point central de la présente thèse.

Les conclusions de la recherche révèlent un certain nombre de points de tension, comme les mauvaises relations entre l'état et la société, un sentiment d'impuissance face au changement, et des objectifs de développement local dépassant ceux des ménages. La synthèse indique qu'une transformation communautaire est en cours et que des signes de changements sociaux sont apparents, mais il faudra mener des recherches à long terme pour vérifier la seconde partie de cette affirmation. Les preuves démontrent que le niveau communautaire est un lieu de transformation du paradigme de développement en Haïti. L'activation des « leviers de transformation » – notamment une meilleure éducation, un entrepreneuriat social, une identité par rapport au lieu et une responsabilisation de l'état – permettrait d'ouvrir de nouveaux horizons pour Haïti, conformément aux priorités des politiques visant à (re)construire le contrat social et créer de nouvelles possibilités économiques et de nouveaux emplois, en plus de réduire la vulnérabilité et d'améliorer la résilience.

Plus qu'un simple travail de recherche universitaire, la présente thèse se veut un appel à l'action. Il s'agit d'une invitation lancée aux décideurs, aux bailleurs de fonds et aux autres acteurs à reconnaître le niveau communautaire comme étant un lieu de transformation en Haïti et dans d'autres zones marginalisées du monde. Il faut donc multiplier les initiatives prometteuses comme celles mentionnées plus haut à trois degrés : 1) faire rayonner les innovations sociales dans d'autres communautés; 2) généraliser les initiatives pour entraîner des changements au sein des systèmes et politiques; et 3) ancrer les changements profondément dans les mœurs afin de modifier les normes et les tendances sociales. Grâce au rayonnement des innovations communautaires favorisant une transformation positive, Haïti et les autres endroits du monde connaissant des défis semblables pourront explorer de nouvelles trajectoires de développement et tendre vers une société plus inclusive où chaque individu aura la chance de contribuer et de s'épanouir.

Foreword

'I think (the right to human flourishing) is a nice idea but I don't know about those governments; if it's up to governments, we will never flourish. Ask the government how many people are living in Haiti, they will not be able to tell you. The state is supposed to know how much electricity, how much money is spent on food, water, they're very strict about that elsewhere, but the governments here don't know anything about you.'

Research participant, 2013

I couldn't *not* do this project on Haiti. The spirits know I tried. But each time I looked into the eyes of my then newly-arrived daughter, Esther, adopted from Haiti, I saw reflections of a life that had already taken in too much trauma in a mere three and a half years on this earth. She had experienced loss of birth parents, existence in an orphanage, and then, the earthquake. Meanwhile, my birth son, Max, was five years old in 2010 when I brought Esther from Haiti to her new home with us in Montreal, just two weeks after the earthquake. He had been anticipating his sister's arrival already for half his life. In his eyes was fear – he feared that when his mother went to Haiti, she perished, as more than 200,000 others had. Beyond the trauma and fear though, what I saw most in my children's eyes as time went by was possibility; possibility for a life that would enable them to flourish as human beings. They would have their basic needs met, their human rights respected, and opportunities – to learn and grow as human beings; to access social support systems, decent housing and quality education; to live in a healthy environment; and to make choices about their futures – what to create and contribute to society, how to express themselves through arts or their professions, and so on.

But I must back up to some 20 years ago to when I made my first trip to Haiti. What struck me most – once getting beyond the startling images associated with everyday survival struggles for so many – such as open sewers, massive poverty, and people walking through the mountains and about the streets deliberately and gracefully often with what seemed like far more weight on their heads than their bodies should bear -- was the *laughter* and *joy* in Haiti. I have experienced nothing like it elsewhere. The incredible capacity of people in Haiti to find humor, or at least a lighter side, in even the most difficult life circumstance was transformative for me. Over the years as I visited Haiti, I continued to be awestruck and inspired at how people with almost no material resources, public services, or formal institutions to rely on, would manage to find remarkably creative ways to make lives for themselves, to cultivate beauty, to flourish in some ways, and above all, to laugh... at themselves, at their circumstances, at anything and everything. Even misery.

But how can the profound traumas of the earthquake and its aftermath, of a history of slavery and oppression, of massive poverty and of a corrupt and often predatory state reconcile with laughter and with human flourishing? The answer is that they cannot. These are among the paradoxes in Haiti that are impossible to reconcile. Amidst the struggles that are part of

everyday survival for most Haitians, there remains laughter – and the possibility that it represents. Possibility that Haiti will once again be capable of surmounting the greatest obstacles – as it had done in defeating Napoleon in the first, and still only, successful slave revolution in history -- to establish itself as a beacon of humanity for the world. It is that possibility – that laughter -- that I see in my children’s – and in all children’s – eyes. And it is what compelled me to bring my years of urban planning experience and my PhD study to bear on this topic of social transformation in Haiti, which aims to value local people’s voices and aspirations and community well-being in changemaking efforts, in ways that would contribute to the right to human flourishing for all. It should be more than a nice idea.

Positionality and Acknowledgements

Motivation and skills are not sufficient resources for conducting research in Haiti, particularly qualitative and participatory inquiry. One needs to have relationships of trust and, ideally, access to networks of people who have relationships of trust among them. I was afforded the privilege of such access that enabled this research through my brother, John Engle, who has spent most of his adult life in Haiti. John has a long history in Haiti, many accomplishments including the founding of several organizations – notably Beyond Borders and Haiti Partners, and an excellent reputation with literally thousands of Haitian community and school leaders who know and trust him. As his sister, and also as the sister-in-law of his Haitian wife, Merline, I had the privilege of trust from many Haitians before they even met me. In a place where most formal institutions are dysfunctional, relationships of trust are paramount.

I would not have carried out this research in this way if it were not for this family connection, given the difficulty of gaining access and trust of local people as an outsider, but I am aware that it affects how people perceive and interact with me. I have been sensitive to this positionality, and continually reflexive about how my presence in the field affected development and relationships. I was sensitive as well to my positionality as a white middle-class woman from the global north working in a predominantly black society where positions of power are overwhelmingly held by men. I am conscious of the history of slavery and oppression by white people in Haiti's past, and of the ongoing imperialism of the 'international community' that has been exacerbated in this post-earthquake period through policy and structural interventions. A further aspect of my positionality relates to my experience and age. Being a 40-something woman with children, I was afforded a certain level of respect by community members. My many years as a practitioner of participatory urban planning equipped me with the skills and knowledge to be able to quickly adapt participatory methods according to learning in the field and to modify design as appropriate.

While my background and family connections provided a basis, this research would not have been possible without the support and assistance of many other people to whom I am exceedingly and humbly grateful. I have learned a great deal from my PhD Supervisor, Professor Lisa Bornstein, who never tired of pushing me to do the very best work I was capable of. Thanks to her, I have stretched myself beyond my expectations for learning and growth during this PhD process. I am grateful as well to my other committee members Professor David Brown, Professor Nik Luka, and Dr. Jean Goulet, who offered valuable advice and insights particularly through the processes of my comprehensive examination and thesis proposal defenses.

I received valuable comments or simply inspiration along this path from many others, including: Fritz Deshommes, Hans Tippenhauer, Leslie Voltaire, Patrick Attié, Jeff Kenworthy, Genie Birch, Janice Perlman, Jan Gehl, Gonzalo Lizarralde, Robert Fatton, Bill Rees, Ray Tomalty, Abelard Xavier, Louino Robillard, Guy Morelus, Miracle Pierre, David Diggs, Steven Werlin, Luc Rabouin, Sarah Turner, David Wachsmuth, Peter Genco, Susan Bronson, Nadia Duguay, Janice Astbury, Richard Register, Uli Locher, Philip Oxhorn, Emel Ganapati, Richard Shearmur, Sarah Moser, John Engle, Gorka Espiau, Mary Rowe, Indy Johar, David Maddox, Rebecca Abers, Michael Oden,

Salima Punjani, Oriane Smith, Félix-Antoine Joli-Coeur, Libby Porter, Leonie Sandercock, and John Friedmann. The body of work of these last two, Leonie and John, have been among the most influential in my planning career. Leonie and her filmmaking and dialogue work with Canadian Indigenous communities (with Giovanni Attili), in particular, inspired me to integrate art and dialogue in my research and to produce the videos which are part of this thesis. She and her Indigenous film participants reminded me to be continually self-reflective about the power relationships of which I am a part in conducting my fieldwork.

In Haiti, I was fortunate to have access to wonderful and skilled people through my primary research collaborating organization, Haiti Partners. Erik Badger, Benaja Antoine and Alex Myril, in particular, provided not only research assistance, but also made direct contributions to method design and implementation as well as analysis and interpretation of findings in the field. Myriam Narcisse provided outstanding translation and transcriptions of documents, interviews and dialogue circles in Haitian Creole, French and English. My main cultural advisor and ‘rock’ in the field was Merline Myril Engle, and I am grateful for the nourishment and love from Neslie Myril, Daniel Engle, Leila Engle and others at the Bellevue Guest House.

It was a joy and privilege to work with residents of Bellevue-La-Montagne who took part in the participatory research, and I am grateful for their time, trust, openness and generosity: Cindy Josef, Francesse Antoine, Guerline Ernest, Jacqueline St-Vaudré, Jacques Lucet, Marie-Ange Meristyl, Mesilus Bien-Aimé, Patrickson Bien-Aimé, Prophète Antoine, Sherlyne Bien-Aimé, Talamas Jean, and Yolande Bien-Aimé.¹ Additional key informants in Haiti, including at Habitat Santo Village were: Marie Veronila Antoine, Mireille Civil, Abelard Xavier, Frémy Cesar, Mimz Diño, Claude Jeudy, Mayor Santos, Walnord Similien, Jean Samuel André, Josephat Jean Baptiste, Jason McGaughey, Mme Bobby, and Mme Sonson. Artistic advice and assistance in Montreal was provided by Lauren Trimble. I warmly thank you all. *Mèsi anpil!* For video production and editing assistance, I thank Zili Productions in Haiti, Phil Lichti of Philmore Productions in Montreal, and the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University. Thanks to Sara Ko for early fieldwork video editing, and to Nadia Todres for the excellent photography training with research participants.

This research was made possible with the financial support of the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC); le Gouvernement du Québec, Fonds de recherche du Québec -Société et culture (FQRSC); McGill University School of Urban Planning; and l’Observatoire universitaire de la vulnérabilité, la résilience et la reconstruction durable (Oeuvre durable) de l’Université de Montréal. My employer, the J. W. McConnell Family Foundation, generously afforded me time off work to write this thesis. I thank my Foundation colleagues for their support and understanding, particularly Stephen Huddart, John Cawley, Lyndsay Daudier and Nicolina Farella. And for much needed encouragement, I thank my siblings and dear friends, Jodie, John, Jesse, Justin, and BC. My parents I thank for life, love and rich childhood experiences that helped shaped the person I have become. And to Jim, I am grateful for your wise advice, your love, and your support on many levels and over many years. Thank you.

¹ All quotations throughout the thesis which are unattributed are those of local research participants. Quotations have not been associated with individuals in order to protect their privacy.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Résumé	iv
Foreword	vi
Positionality and Acknowledgements	viii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xvi
Contribution to Knowledge Summary	xvii
Publication and Submission Details	xix
Chapter 1: Thesis Introduction, Objectives, and Design	20
1.1. Research Problématique	21
The Haiti context	22
Theoretical debates and concepts	24
Methodological choices	29
1.2 Research Objective and Questions	31
1.3 Research Design and Overall Methodology	34
Worldview	35
Theoretical lens	35
Methodological approaches	37
Methods	44
1.4 Ethical Considerations	48
1.5 Overview of Following Chapters	48
Chapter 2: Community Case Study Paper Preface	51
Chapter 2: Stories of Tragedy, Trust and Transformation? A case study of education-centered community development in post-earthquake Haiti	52
2.1 Introduction	52
Haiti context and conceptual framework	54
Methodology	65
2.2 Case study: Education-centered community development in Bellevue-La-Montagne .	71
Haiti Partners: vision, mission and theory of change	72
Education-centered community development approach: six elements	76

2.3 Stories from behind the scenes: What does the development mean to local people?	94
Hearing voices and narratives of local resident participants	97
Tension points revealed through the research	105
2.4 Leverage points for transformation	111
2.5 Conclusion	116
Chapter 3: Participatory Practice and Research Videos	119
Chapter 3: Haiti: From Tragedy to Transformation? Participatory practice and research for community development and social change (13 minute and 6 minute videos).....	119
Chapter 4: Participatory Methods Paper	120
Chapter 4: Can Disasters Open Pathways to Social Change? Investigating community development through participatory methodologies and qualitative longitudinal research	121
4.1 Introduction	121
Field setting and researcher positionality	123
Participatory methodology and methods to explore community development and social change	125
4.2 Learning <i>from</i> the methods: community core story and themes revealed	133
Community core story themes	134
Social change dynamics	138
Issues ahead	142
4.3 Learning <i>about</i> the methods: strengths and shortcomings encountered	142
4.4 Conclusion	147
Addendum: Photographs of and by Research Participants	149
Chapter 5: Community Governance Paper	163
Chapter 5: Participatory Governance in Post-earthquake Haiti: Creating collaborative dialogue in a ‘community of desperation’	164

5.1 Introduction	164
5.2 Analytical Framework	165
5.3 Methodology	168
5.4 The Housing Project	171
5.5 Community Governance in Habitat Santo Village	174
The Good Neighbor project through a collaborative rationality lens	176
Collaborative rationality in practice	181
Investment in community vs. state capacity: a false dichotomy	182
Reflections on method	184
5.6 Conclusion	187
Chapter 6: Overall Conclusions	190
6.1 Theory of Change and Key Results: From Community Stories to Transformational Narratives	191
6.2 Contribution to Knowledge: Methods, Theory, Practice, and Policy	200
6.3 Recommendations for Policy	207
6.4 Future Directions for Research and Practice	208
References	213

Appendix. Interviews in Haiti, 2011-2013

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Research Design Frame	35
Figure 1.2: Theoretical Lens	36
Figure 1.3: Parts of the Methodological Process	38
Figure 1.4: Graphic Representation of the Research Design	40
Figure 1.5: Fieldwork Phases	46
Figure 2.1: Graphic Representation of the Bellevue-La-Montagne Case Study Design	70
Figure 2.2: Map: Bellevue-La-Montagne’s Location in Haiti	73
Figure 2.3: Photo: Geographic Setting: View from the southeast of Haiti Partners’ school with capital city Port-au-Prince and the Caribbean Sea in background	77
Figure 2.4: Elements of Education-centered Community Development: Approach of Haiti Partners	79
Figure 2.5: Photo: Haiti Partners’ School Building: With its earthquake resistant, open-air design, houses four large classrooms, a health clinic and a pharmacy	80
Figure 2.6: Photo: Inside a Classroom: 1 st grade teacher, Francesse Antoine, guides a story time exercise with kindergarteners on a play parachute donated by a volunteer visiting from the US	81
Figure 2.7: Photo: Bakery operations: Set up in 2014 as a social enterprise cooperative Designed to meet a local need and provide a sustainable funding source for school operations	82
Figure 2.8: Photo: Muhammad Yunus, Founder of Grameen Bank and Yunus Social Business Haiti, visits Bellevue-La-Montagne, where his Haiti team helped with business advice and finance	82
Figure 2.9: Rendering of Social Enterprise Building: First floor houses bakery operations, upper floors to house vocational and teacher training facilities	83
Figure 2.10: Site Plan by BAR Architects: Plans include five classroom buildings and an open air amphitheatre	84

Figure 2.11: Photo: Construction with Extollo: Local people were trained in masonry and carpentry and employed to construct the buildings. School parent volunteers contribute to site planning and maintenance work	85
Figure 2.12: ADECA Timeline	87
Figure 2.13: Photo: Human Waste Composting Latrines: Designed by Give Love and maintained by local people, these latrines address a sanitation need, and the harvested compost is used in community gardens or sold	89
Figure 2.14: Photo: Gardening Lesson: School children are trained in environmental stewardship, including ecological and organic growing practices	90
Figure 2.15: Photo: Haiti Clinic: Equipped with outpatient rooms and a pharmacy, the clinic’s doctor and nurse – along with regularly visiting volunteer doctors from the US – serve thousands of local residents each year	91
Figure 2.16: Photo: Public Open Space Meeting: Discussion on the role of education in community development: 300 people gathered to discuss the topic together; many led small discussion groups on related matters of their choosing	93
Figure 3.1: Video: <i>Haiti: From Tragedy to Transformation? Participatory practice and research for community development and social change</i> : 13-minute version	119
Figure 3.2: Video: <i>Haiti: From Tragedy to Transformation? Participatory practice and research for community development and social change</i> : 6-minute version	119
Figure 4.1: Addendum to Participatory Methods Paper: Photos of and by research participants: Cindy Josef, Francesse Antoine, Guerline Ernest, Jacqueline St-Vaudré, Jacques Lucet, Marie-Ange Meristyl, Mesilus Bien-aimé, Patrickson Bien-aimé, Prophète Antoine, Sherlyne Bien-aimé, Talamas Jean, and Yolande Bien-aimé	149
Figure 5.1: DIAD Theory (Diversity, Interdependence, and Authentic Dialogue) Network Dynamics	167
Figure 5.2: Map of Léogâne, Haiti and 2010 Earthquake Epicenter	171
Figure 5.3: Original Site Plan of Habitat Santo Village (2011)	173
Figure 5.4: Photo: Typical Houses and Streetscape as Built (2012)	173
Figure 5.5: Community Governance Structure Established Through the Good Neighbor Project	178

Figure 6.1: Theory of Change: From Community Stories to Transformational Narratives	192
Figure 6.2: Theory of Change and Summary Description	193
Figure 6.3: Theory of Change Applied to Case Communities	194
Figure 6.4: Summary Explanation of Theory of Change Applied to Case Communities	195

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Education-centered Community Development Elements in Haiti Partners' Approach	86
Table 2.2: Narratives and Tension Points in the Bellevue-La-Montagne Case	96
Table 2.3: Levers of Transformation from Community to Structural Levels in Haiti	112
Table 4.1: Overview of Research Methods and Data Collection	128
Table 4.2: Fieldwork Schedule: Participatory Research Activities, July 2013	132
Table 4.3: Key Learnings <i>from</i> the Participatory Methods: Themes and Narratives	140
Table 4.4: Key Learnings <i>about</i> the Participatory Methods: Strengths and Shortcomings	144
Table 5.1: Good Neighbor Project Objectives	175
Table 5.2: Good Neighbor Project Key Milestones	175

Contribution to Knowledge

My thesis provides narrative analysis of post-earthquake community development experiences in Haiti, along with portraits of community participants' aspirations for change, the main obstacles they face, and strategies that point the way forward toward broader transformation. I carried out all fieldwork and am the sole author on all parts of the dissertation except Chapter 5 on Community Governance at Habitat Santo Village. I am the primary author on that paper, and it is co-authored with Professor Lisa Bornstein and Professor Gonzalo Lizarralde, who provided advice, writing and editing contributions. My thesis supervisor, Lisa Bornstein, provided advice and editing contributions throughout the thesis. In addition, my field research assistants and collaborators – primarily Alex Myril, Erik Badger, Benaja Antoine and John Engle -- provided advice during fieldwork that contributed to research design and interpretation. Input from research participants in the field during participatory photography and participatory mapping exercises also contributed to modifications in design and field methods.

The research contributes to knowledge on several levels. It provides new knowledge about collaborative planning, institutional frameworks, education-centered community development, and other strategies and conditions that foster or hinder efforts toward local participatory governance and community and social transformation. I give special attention to the roles of non-governmental organizations and listening to voices of local people. This research recognizes the community level as a site of transformation in contributing to systemic change, and it contributes in four areas of knowledge: 1) methods; 2) theory; 3) practice; and 4) policy.

1. Methods contribution. I have designed context-specific methods, including participatory photography and participatory mapping, in order to study and understand dynamics of community development and social change over time, which is relevant for and sensitive to conditions in particular places. I assessed both the outcomes of the methods and the methods themselves as tools for studying community development and change.

2. Theory contribution. This thesis develops a theory of change – called ‘From Community Stories to Transformational Narratives for Haiti’ that makes visible relationships between community development and pathways to transformation. Theory is developed inductively through study of participatory development processes underway, including education-centered community development, as well as listening to voices and lived experience of local people. The work also contributes to broader theoretical debates of international development planning, the crucial role of non-governmental organizations, the value of participatory development and the importance of context-sensitive qualitative research inquiry.

3. Practice contribution. The documentation and sharing of cases of participatory community development, local governance, and lived experiences of local people in two Haitian communities provide learning and scaling opportunities for other communities seeking development pathways toward social change, as well as NGOs and funding agencies that may want to support them.

4. Policy contribution. My research results are consistent with and support aims of medium-term policy priorities in Haiti, which were recently articulated in Singh and Barton-Dock (2015), which are to: 1) Re(build) the social contract; 2) Create greater economic opportunities and better jobs; and 3) Reduce vulnerability and build resilience.

Each of the above contributions is explained in further detail in Chapter 6, Overall Conclusions. In sum, this thesis contributes to more progressive international development planning, which places people and community well-being at the center of transformation efforts.

Publication and Submission Details

Chapter 2 “Stories of Tragedy, Trust and Transformation? A case study of education-centered community development in post-earthquake Haiti” is currently under review with the journal, *Progress in Planning*.

Chapter 3 “Haiti: From Tragedy to Transformation? Participatory practice and research for community development and social change” is a video production with two versions (13 minutes and 6 minutes), which is published online and available at vimeo.com/jayneew and via the Vimeo channel on participation in Haiti: vimeo.com/channels/haitiparticipation.

Chapter 4 “Can Disasters Open Pathways to Social Change? Investigating community development through participatory methodologies and qualitative longitudinal research” is under review with the *Journal of Urban Affairs*.

Chapter 5 “Participatory Governance in Post-earthquake Haiti: Creating collaborative dialogue in a ‘community of desperation’” is currently under review with the journal, *Planning Theory*. An earlier version of the paper has been published as: Engle-Warnick, J., Bornstein, L., & Lizarralde, G. (2013). Constructing Community at the Epicenter: Collaborative governance in post-earthquake Haiti. *Proceedings of the 6th International i-Rec Conference*. Ascona, Switzerland, May 26-30.

Chapter 1: Thesis Introduction, Objectives, and Design

The social cohesion that has resulted from [Haiti's] long historical process was made dramatically visible by the 2010 earthquake.... Despite its massive poverty and its almost total lack of a functioning government, [Haiti] is not a place of chaos. Life in Haiti is not organized by the state, or along the lines many people might expect or want it to be. But it does draw on a set of complex and resilient social institutions that have emerged from a historic commitment to self-sufficiency and self-reliance. And it is only through collaboration with those institutions that reconstruction can truly succeed.

Laurent Dubois (2012: 12)

... it is clear that the post-earthquake strategies of reconstruction should be reversed because they differ little from past development efforts and will lead to the same impasse. In fact, they carry on the export-oriented policies of the late 1970s and they continue to bypass the state. These strategies will merely create more dependence, food insecurity, and inequalities. In addition, they are likely to accentuate rural migrations to urban areas, which will not provide the employment and wages required to avoid the further expansion of slums. Haiti, as it were, is on its way 'back to the future'.

Robert Fatton, Jr. (2014: 7)

These quotations from two great scholars on Haiti capture profound revelations following the January 2010 earthquake. On the one hand, the disaster exposed remarkably resilient social institutions. Social resilience has been a characteristic strength of Haiti since its slaves and secret societies managed to overthrow Napoleon and brutal oppressors in leading the first, and still only, successful slave rebellion in the world more than 200 years ago. On the other hand, despite the hope that arose paradoxically from the earthquake, as many saw it as opening a window of opportunity for social transformation, a darker side has emerged. Rather than adaptively improving from the opportunity that can come from crisis, Haiti appears to have sunk to new lows. The country ranks among the lowest in the world on the UN Human Development Index – even lower when adjusted for internal structural inequality, as well as for incidences of present-day slavery, and for its paltry investment in education. According to Fatton (2014: 9),

“under the weight of an externally imposed neoliberal regime, a quasi-permanent crisis of governability, and the devastating earthquake... Haiti has tumbled into the ‘outer periphery’.”

Haiti’s 2010 earthquake was one of the most catastrophic human disasters of our time, and it left in its wake more than 200,000 people dead and at least 1.5 million homeless. Most central government buildings were destroyed along with thousands of schools, hospitals, churches, and businesses leaving already-fragile institutions in dire conditions. Given the deteriorated institutional and physical infrastructure and the lack of essential resources and services, many Haitian communities six years later still confront daunting challenges in their reconstruction efforts. Today, most Haitians continue to lack basic services and struggle with daily survival. Many have called for reconstruction of society, arguing that civil society organizations should lead the way in these efforts by valuing local knowledge, and building on small-scale community successes. This research studies how two communities have responded to that call and what those experiences reveal about possibilities for more effective and sustainable participatory community development that would contribute to longer term transformation in Haiti.

1.1. Research Problématique

Haiti deserves attention, including scholarly attention. This section provides a framing of theoretical debates and concepts that inform this research, and methodological choices regarding qualitative and participatory methodologies.

Simply stated, the problem addressed through this research is that post-earthquake reconstruction efforts in Haiti have been slow and difficult, and signs of substantial progress in community development remain elusive several years later.² In order to argue that this problem warrants scholarly attention, I frame it as a *problématique* with three aspects relating to the following questions. First, what is the Haitian context for this problem? Second, what

² My understanding of ‘community development’ is set out in the *Theoretical debates and concepts* section. When used on its own and unless specified otherwise, the word ‘community’ refers to a group of people living in shared space of close geographical proximity.

are key theories and debates that can help us understand and make sense of what is happening? And third, given the context and theories (as well as my own positionality), how can this problem be investigated? Each of these aspects is addressed below.

The Haiti context

The context of the current situation in Haiti is that long before the earthquake of 2010, people's rights and access to decent living conditions were severely restrained, and so it is undesirable to 'reconstruct' what *was*. Rather, there is an opportunity to construct infrastructure – physical, political and societal – anew, which is what Fritz Deshommes refers to as a 're-foundation' of Haiti (Deshommes, 2012). Former Prime Minister Michèle Pierre-Louis (2012) called for *deconstruction* of the current paradigm (referring to the basis of production, education, access to employment, human rights, social systems, technology, infrastructure), *construction*, then *reconstruction* of society. She argues that local civil society organizations must better organize to struggle and bring about change.³ She further argues to '*batir à partir des petits succès*' through '*mettre en valeur les savoirs locales*' [build on small successes through valuing local knowledge]. Mme Pierre-Louis points to the work of Jean Goulet (2006) for its revealing perspectives on the multiple logics of complex informal networks operative in Haiti, and particularly, its *bidonvilles*.

The problems associated with community development in Haiti are complex, indeed, with multiple elements and layers. Central government has been oppressive, brutal, and predatory at worst, and at best, in short periods of relative stability, it has remained dysfunctional and

³ A full discussion of the complex term *civil society* is outside the scope of this proposal. Our working definition is the following. *Civil society* refers to

“that part of social, as distinct from corporate, life that lies beyond the immediate control of the state. It is the society of households, family networks, civic and religious organizations and communities that are bound to each other by shared histories, collective memories and culturally specific forms of reciprocity” (Friedmann, 2011: 140).

There is extensive literature on civil society constructions, such as Oxhorn (1995), Oxhorn, Tulchin and Selee (2004); Castells (2008); Wagner (2006); and Gurstein and Angeles (2007); my own understandings draw particularly on works by Abu-Lughod (1998), Douglass and Friedmann (1998), Friedmann (1992 and 2011), Mercer (2002), and Storper (1996).

corrupt. Though prescribed for 25 years, decentralization has not yet been implemented. Ordinary people – the vast majority very poor -- have limited access to the most basic services. If even prior to the earthquake Haiti was a human emergency, today it is a catastrophe. In spite of what seems to be historic goodwill on the parts of international agencies and governments, there is little evidence today of good, scalable projects with the potential to create systemic change. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) attempt to fill craters of need here and there, but there is little coordination, accountability, transparency, or consistency, and the performance and results of the thousands of NGOs operating in Haiti vary enormously (Farmer, 2011; Pierre-Louis, 2011; Schuller, 2012; Schuller and Morales, 2012).

With respect to governance relations, there are limited community relationships with the state. There is no solid precedent in Haiti of a social contract in which the state listens to or works with civil society (Tippenhauer, 2010). So while there is evidence of what Carley *et al.* (2001) call ‘horizontal’ (or intrasocial) civil society, there do not seem to be enough effective ‘vertical’ (state-society) NGOs that are Haitian-based and have capacity to navigate the needed relationships and development work among local communities, the Haitian state, and international organizations.

The broader story that has contributed to shaping present-day Haiti is no less confounding. Haiti is the only society to have carried out a successful slave revolution that led to the independence of the country in 1804. Ironically, that unprecedented success contributed substantially to the country’s demise. The revolution came about during the colonial period and a globalized slave trade, which led other countries to isolate Haiti and fail, at least initially, to recognize its independence (Girard, 2010). Haiti would go on to pay a massive ‘debt of independence’ to France until 1946. That debt to France, combined with various US interventions throughout history – not least an occupation from 1915-1934, and the support of brutal dictators during the Cold War – contributed to Haiti’s inability to recover. Haitian leaders chose to focus externally, and export trade and international relationships were more important to government than inward efforts to build a solid society and political culture (Dubois, 2012). More recently, foreign interventions, particularly by the US, in political and agricultural spheres

have contributed to further instability and poverty (Deshommes, 2006). These factors -- along with internal political conflict -- have contributed to the current situation where, in spite of massive contributions, international aid has failed to bring about better living conditions or institutions in Haiti, which remains in a 'conflict-poverty trap' despite high levels of social resilience (USAID, 2006). Good paradigms for what could work to bring about lasting, systemic change have not yet emerged on a meaningful scale (Heine and Thompson, 2011; Schuller, 2012; Tippenhauer, 2010).

In present day Haiti – six years post-earthquake, amidst the grave difficulties and often inhumane conditions of daily life for many people, there are stories of people that are managing to self-organize, plan and rebuild (Schuller and Morales, 2012; Wilentz, 2013). Given the devastation of the earthquake in material and human terms; the lack of effective institutional infrastructure; the deficiency of access to adequate education, healthcare, water, sanitation and housing; and the general absence of the right to human flourishing for so many; it is crucial to study how some groups seem to be finding ways to adaptively learn, effectively plan, and manifest resilience.

Theoretical debates and concepts

How is it that some groups seem to be adaptively learning, effectively planning, and manifesting what would seem to be a collaborative form of resilience? Theories and debates from multi-disciplinary fields of community development, planning, and international development provide a number of insights.

Two debates in the literature are relevant to the current study. They revolve around: 1) the role of NGOs vis-à-vis the state in community development endeavors; and 2) the question of whether 'resilience' in any of its various forms is a helpful construct for understanding how change is occurring in Haiti. I outline the premises for each below. This thesis contributes to several aspects of these debates (see Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5).

The first debate concerns the role of NGOs vis-à-vis the state in endeavors of community development and international development.⁴ In recent decades, and arguably largely in response to the diminishing role of the state in social spheres, the sector of NGOs has grown significantly. In Global South settings, official aid has been diverted to (mainly international) NGOs with expectations of favorable development outcomes; the underlying premise is that activities of NGOs would help to mitigate negative effects of neoliberal macroeconomic policies on vulnerable people, and that a growing NGO sector would contribute to democratization through strengthening and pluralizing civil society (Fowler, 1991). With respect to the former the evidence is mixed, in part because the roles, intentions and especially effectiveness of development NGOs are highly variable. Others have noted that despite the presumed role of NGOs in lessening vulnerability, there is a lack of attention to the role of local organizations in reducing urban poverty and strengthening urban and environmental development projects (Carley *et al.*, 2001; Friedmann, 1992; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004; and Perlman, 2007).

NGOs and civil society are murky and contested terms, and are not understood the same way between cultures or within any one culture. Here, NGOs refer to non-state not-for-profit organizations designed to serve collective aims, and include what are known variously as civil society organizations (CSOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), grassroots organizations (GROs), as well as NGOs (nongovernmental organizations). The size, scope, aims, funding, and effectiveness of this 'third sector' vary substantially.

Even given this diversity, there is considerable debate over the role of NGOs in promoting democracy. Mercer (2002) calls into question the commonly held ideal of civil society and NGOs as inherently 'good' for democratic development. Mercer's critical review of the literature points to how some argue that NGOs can strengthen state and civil society, and others argue that strengthening NGOs undermines development of democracies. Gurstein and Angeles (2007) define civil societies in relation to their contribution to democratic planning and governance. Their definition is normative: "dense networks of organizations and institutions

⁴ The term 'nongovernmental organization' (NGO) is used in its broad sense here referring to local and international, small and large not-for-profit organizations that are independent of government.

that mediate between states and citizens, while challenging and transforming hegemonic state policies and market practices” (p. 5). Douglass and Friedmann’s (1998) edited book on civil society lays out a set of debates and healthy criticism of notions of civil society along with its value for planning theory and practice in our age of globalization that coincides with a new awakening to citizen rights.

Recently, the two strands of debate – over NGOs’ role in improving development outcomes and basis for democratic living – have come together. Concern and criticism have grown concerning the transparency and legitimacy of NGOs and, as a consequence, their ability to contribute positively to international development outcomes. This growing criticism is particularly relevant to Haiti, which has been referred to frequently as the ‘Republic of NGOs’. While the real numbers are unknown, it is estimated that perhaps 10,000 NGOs are operative in Haiti, which would give it the highest number per capita of any country in the world. The main debate in Haiti revolves around the fact that, on the one hand, the state is highly dysfunctional and corrupt in the best of times and Haitians cannot rely on the state to provide basic services and, on the other hand, NGOs that undertake development work and service provision are not accountable to the state or the public and do not coordinate activities with each other, which results in huge inefficiencies. Most telling, perhaps, is that the plethora of NGOs in Haiti in recent decades does not appear to have contributed to improving overall development outcomes. However, it is expected to take a long time to construct a legitimate, effective state in Haiti, so in the meantime, NGOs are needed to support basic service provision, but they are a highly heterogeneous group with widely varying effectiveness. A question that arises is: how can the state be strengthened in complementarity with the consolidation of NGOs in Haiti, while improving living conditions for the people of Haiti?

The second debate revolves around the usefulness of ‘resilience’ as a construct for analyzing and understanding community development, particularly in the case of Haiti. For decades in post-disaster or post-dictator episodes of Haiti, media pundits have sung the praises of the ‘resilient people’ of Haiti, which often seems to be a euphemism for self-reliance. This kind of social resilience is not clearly or necessarily desirable. In academic literature though, the

concept of resilience is growing and taking on increasingly complex constructs. For example, Folke *et al.* (2010) claim that three aspects are central to integrated thinking: resilience, adaptability, and transformability. Their argument is that the resilience notion includes the capacity for crossing thresholds into new trajectories of development; they respond in this way to the criticism that resilience is about bouncing back after a shock to a (perhaps undesirable) pre-shock state. Goldstein (2012) shows through a series of cases that ‘collaborative resilience’ can be developed through activating collaborative mechanisms for adapting or transforming in response to crises. ‘Community resilience’ (Norris *et al.*, 2008; Solnit, 2009) (from psychology and popular literatures) and ‘urban resilience’ (Bornstein *et al.*, 2013; Newman *et al.*, 2009; Vale and Campanella, 2005) are complementary notions that are useful for understanding aftermaths of disasters and planning for them. However, representations of places with low levels of transformative resilience – such as Haiti or other fragile or ‘outer periphery’ places – are not widespread in the literature. Chapter 2 contains further discussion on transformative resilience, argued to be a more useful concept in this case than social resilience.

Two theoretical concepts are central to my research objective and question: *NGO-community development collaborations* and how they contribute (or not) to *social change*. I turn now to discussing these two terms.

NGO-community development collaborations, or what I refer to as *participatory community development* in the thesis title, refers to nongovernmental organizations – international and local – working together *with* local participants on community development initiatives and projects. *Community development* is an interdisciplinary field that combines spatial and material development with development of people and their capacity to manage change (Ledwith, 2011; Ledwith and Springett, 2010). Community development is meant to enable people to mobilize existing skills, reframe problems, work collaboratively and find new ways to use community assets, and involves flexible processes guided by principles of participation and self-help (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993). The key purpose of community development is “collective action for social change, principled on social justice and a sustainable world”, according to Ledwith and Springett (2010: 14). Major steps in community development processes are often

identifying problems, engaging people and groups, assessing the situation and context, exploring possibilities, planning, prioritizing, and taking action (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993; Ledwith, 2011; and Ledwith and Springett, 2010).

Collaborative community development here is based on values of social and environmental justice, social innovation (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Mulgan, 2007; Kendra and Wachtendorf, 2007), and dialogical participation, and aimed at social and systemic change through informal networks and local praxis (as in Freire, 2011, original 1972; and Kennedy, 2011). Collaborative planning (Healey 2006) and collaborative rationality (Innes and Booher, 2010) provide theoretical and analytical frameworks for understanding collective approaches. Exploring collaborative ways of working, thinking, and designing institutions underlies my research approach (as in Ostrom, 1990), and I investigate whether collaborative resilience (as in Goldstein, 2012) provides a helpful frame for thinking about the NGO-community collaborations under study.

Friedmann's alternative development theory (1992) and social learning and social mobilization traditions of non-state actors in planning (Friedmann, 1987, 1992, and 2011) provide key foundations as well for my perspective on community development in an international context. Friedmann (1992) refers to alternative development as 'collective self-empowerment' in a similar vein to Brown's notion of 'self-efficacy' (Brown, 1997). Friedmann argues that external actors, such as NGOs based outside of communities, must be part of collective action for transformative change to occur, while he also warns that civil society actors (i.e. individuals within communities) need to develop 'voices' of their own. In this light, it is helpful to see NGOs not as civil society itself but rather as potential catalysts of civil society. Expressing 'voice' and learning through stories and everyday life is central to community development planning and research (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Healey, 2006; Ledwith, 2011; Sandercock, 2003a and 2003b).

Social change is used interchangeably here with *social transformation*. Simply put by McLeod and Thomson (2009), social change is change in personal and social life. Healey (2006: 91) refers to social change as the "continuous interaction between the creative activity of agency in relation with others, re-thinking, affirming and changing situations, and the organizing power of

structural forces". Social change, according to Friedmann (1987) is the aim of radical planning, and more broadly speaking, planning is "an activity in which knowledge is joined to action in the course of social transformation" (Friedmann 1987: 250). Social change here is spatially cultivated. As Friedmann (1987: 297) observes, "a political practice aimed at social transformation can be effective only when it is based on the extra-political actions of ordinary people gathered in their own communities." Social change involves a public learning process that leads to permanent shifts in institutions and values, according to Sandercock (2000). She argues further

... just as in successful therapy there is breakthrough and individual growth becomes possible, so too with a successful therapeutically oriented approach to managing our co-existence in the shared spaces of neighborhoods, cities and regions, there is the capacity for collective growth (Sandercock, 2000: 27).

Sandercock claims that such '*collective growth*' in the language of politics is called *social transformation*.

To sum up, community development – in the way approached here -- brings the potential for social change, and in a post-disaster context, a window of opportunity for systemic change seems to open up, if only ephemerally (Oliver-Smith, 2002; Pelling, 2003; Pelling and Dill, 2010; Solnit, 2009). Theory suggests that social and community change, including institutional adaptations, can be effected through social innovation combined with collaborative approaches which are sustained through ongoing participatory processes that allow for constant negotiation between organizations and community residents and participants (Healey, 2006; Innes and Booher, 2010; Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Ostrom, 1990).

Methodological choices

According to Creswell (2007: 102), the rationale for a qualitative study is that "a need exists to add to or fill a gap in the literature or to provide a voice for individuals not heard in the literature." In this dissertation I aim to add to existing literature on post-disaster

reconstruction, international community development strategies and participatory approaches toward social change. The research is also meant to provide a voice for those not heard, namely community residents in Haiti who have endured substantial hardship, most recently as a result of the 2010 earthquake.

Participatory research entails that

researchers, acting as facilitators and guarding against their own biases, seek to minimize any power differentials between them and the researched. The research design, therefore, is flexible, able to respond to changing contexts and emergent findings as they arise. Methods are often visual and interactive to allow participants with all backgrounds to participate in both generating and analyzing the data. ... those who participate have their knowledge respected, have control over the research process and influence over the way the results are used (Ledwith and Springett, 2010: 93).

While it would be an overstatement to characterize this study as 'pure' participatory research as above, I have integrated participatory methods in fieldwork where possible and appropriate, and the design was flexible enable adaptation as needed based on findings and conditions that arose in the field. There are several reasons for this. First, participatory research methodologies and methods are now well established in fields such as education, urban planning, human geography, public health, and community development (Forester, 1999; Somekh, 2006; Ledwith and Springett, 2010; Sarkissian and Hurford, 2010; and Wates, 2000). Relevant to my study as well are works on the application or adaptation of participatory learning and action (PLA) methods in international development and in post-disaster or fragile-state contexts (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004; Nakkiran and Ramesh, 2009; Narayanasamy, 2009; and Özerdem and Bowd, 2010).

Participatory methodologies typically emphasize the use of story and narrative analysis to learn from local knowledge. Why story? Story can have the power to communicate ways of knowing that are especially appropriate in particular cultural settings, such as those with predominantly oral traditions (Sandercock, 2003a). Young (1995) argues that story is particularly helpful in cross-cultural settings where the researcher is trying to gain understanding of participants' ways of seeing and situated knowledges. One of the most important ways of acquiring knowledge in

Haiti has traditionally been through stories and storytelling. Patton (2002) claims that narrative analysis can provide windows into cultural and social meanings by addressing two foundational questions: *What does this story reveal about the person and world from which it came? How can this narrative be interpreted so that it provides an understanding of and illuminates the life and culture that created it?* Flyvbjerg (2001) claims that not only is narrative our most basic form for making sense of our experiences already lived, but also that narratives can provide a forward glance, helping us to anticipate situations before they are encountered and enabling us to envision alternative futures. Using story and narrative in qualitative research is now well established in the fields of planning and human geography (for example, see Berg, 1989; Bird *et al.*, 2009; Crang, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Eckstein, 2003; Patton, 2002; Sandercock, 2003b; Sandercock and Attili, 2012; Throgmorton, 2003; and Wiles *et al.*, 2005).

1.2 Research Objective and Questions

The main objective was to investigate an approach to post-disaster rebuilding in Haiti that favors collaboration among NGOs and local people for community development. Specifically, the research aimed to explore how the approach contributes (or not) to processes of community and social change and to state-society relations. An emphasis is on giving voice to local residents through participatory engagement. A related aim is to explore and uncover in what ways civil society organizations' collaborative engagement strategies may point the way toward new possibilities for sustainable, transformative community development and for participatory local governance in Haiti, through their efforts in areas such as school development and education, social enterprise creation, environmental initiatives, and dialogue-based learning.

Through a strategy of inquiry that incorporates case study and participatory research methods I have sought to collect, analyze and expose individual, community and NGO narratives of post-earthquake experiences along with opportunities and obstacles to realizing visions for change. I then devised ways to translate learning into policy and action. This thesis points to effective

community planning processes and strategies that could be adapted to other contexts in Haiti and more widely contribute to post-disaster collaborative planning.

The central theme is community development and its potential to generate social change, particularly in a post-disaster context, where a window of opportunity for systemic change may open. An important related supposition is that the implications of development initiatives for local people are unlikely to be as they may appear on the surface, particularly to foreign outsiders. I have sought to interrogate not only the community development interventions, but also what lies behind what is visible from the outside, namely their implications and meanings for the lived realities of local residents. A principal methodological strategy was the design of context-specific participatory research methods, as discussed later.

As is typical in interpretive research, a secondary research objective emerged as important during the course of the study: the local governance context for the community development processes and projects underway, including relationships between government, local residents, and NGOs. Fieldwork revealed that international NGOs with a solid track record and trusted networks in Haiti have been in distinct positions to play key roles in post-disaster community development.

Central research question

My interest was to investigate NGO-community development collaborations' experience and reveal whether and how they may be seizing the post-disaster window of opportunity to bring about social transformation through new forms of participation aimed at long-term community development. Specifically, the central question of my research is the following.

In the aftermath of Haiti's 2010 earthquake, what can an exploration of the experiences, dynamics, and early outcomes of new NGO-community development collaborations expose about their impact on processes of social change?

Two central concepts in the research question were expounded on above: *NGO-community development collaborations* and *social change*. A related secondary question was: What is the impact of the community development collaborations on evolving constructions of *state-society relations* and *learning for development policy and practice*?

Issue sub-questions

Two kinds of sub-questions operationalize the central research question: *issue questions* and *topical (or information) questions*, the latter which are more oriented to gathering specific information, such as details of a situation within a case study through interviews, documents, field observation, or other means (Stake, 2010). Following are the principal *issue questions* I addressed in this research.⁵

Theory: What theoretical concepts help us understand post-earthquake NGO-community development responses and results (e.g. collaborative rationality, participatory planning and governance)? How do participatory community development experiences contribute to change?

Methodology: case study and participatory: What strategy of inquiry and set of methods are best suited to address research aims, taking into consideration the field setting and the positionality of the researcher? What do individual and community narratives and post-earthquake lived experience dynamics expose about understandings of rebuilding strategies, aspirations for the future, obstacles encountered, and outcomes of collaborations to date? What are the strengths and shortcomings of participatory methodologies and qualitative longitudinal research in post-disaster settings?

Interpretation: How do relationships of power and trust shape community development processes? How do local people experience development and make sense of their experiences, individually and collectively? How do people develop agency to bring about change at

⁵ Topical questions are information-oriented and included within methodology section below.

community and structural levels to achieve social transformation? What do analytical frameworks, including of collaborative rationality (Innes and Booher, 2010) and phronesis research (Flyvbjerg, 2001), reveal about the case experiences and NGOs involved, as well as understandings of community governance in the absence of a state? What early revelations are present, if any, regarding dynamics of social change?

The above questions are addressed in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Overall conclusions in Chapter 6 address the following broader questions. What learning and new understandings are exposed through this study, including transformative possibilities and limitations of the case experiences? What are policy implications for communities, NGOs, governments and international agencies?

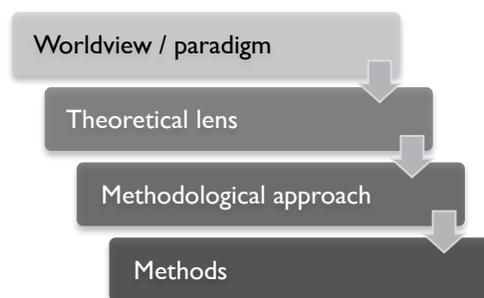
1.3 Research Design and Overall Methodology

Methodology choices are shaped by research questions (Stake, 2010), but they are also shaped by one's worldview -- such as pragmatist, constructivist, or advocacy/participatory -- and values and beliefs (Creswell, 2007, 2009). For example, my own adherence to beliefs in the potential for transformation and how it is achieved (Freire, 2011), coupled with values of the right to human flourishing (Friedmann, 2011) in ways that respect planetary boundaries (Raworth, 2012) influence my methodology and method choices. As Stake points out in his works on case study and qualitative research, in qualitative (or interpretive) inquiry, the researcher is often the principal research instrument (Stake, 1995, 2005, 2010). According to Flyvbjerg (2001, 2006, 2012), case studies produce context-dependent knowledge, which is the only knowledge possible in the study of human affairs. He argues that cases are more about *learning* something than about *proving* something. My research design draws particularly on Creswell's works on qualitative and mixed methods designs (2007 and 2009), and on Flyvbjerg's case study approach to what he calls 'phronetic social inquiry' (2001 and 2006). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) sets out a helpful design frame (Figure 1.1).

Worldview

Beginning broadly, a paradigm shapes how one sees the world and approaches research. My perspective aligns most with Participatory, and also with Constructivism and Pragmatism worldviews. In a Participatory worldview (such as Ledwith and Springett, 2010), one plans for the social world to change for the better. It is characteristic in this paradigm for researchers to involve participants as collaborators, and to represent findings in a way that will advocate change. In Constructivism, a researcher relies on participants' views of the situation which is being studied, and strategies involve open-ended questioning and inductive theory based on patterns of meaning that arise in the research (Creswell, 2009). Pragmatism centers on linking theory and practice and typically brings multiple perspectives to research problems (see Patton, 2002). In this study I considered perspectives of participants, NGOs, and policy actors, as well as my own and others' from academic literature.

Figure 1.1: Research Design Frame



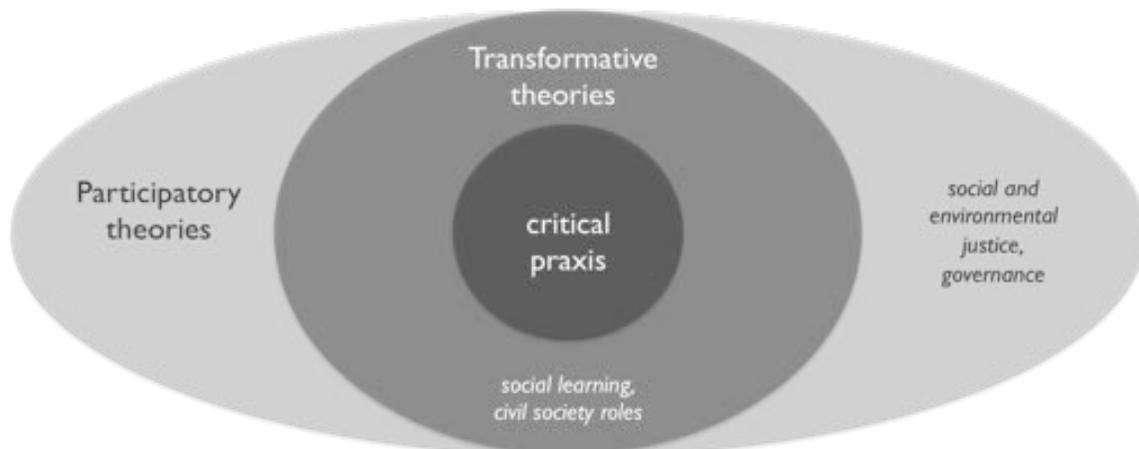
Source: adapted by the author from Creswell & Plano Clark (2011)

Theoretical lens

I used a theoretical lens to help focus the study and to provide a filter to interpret the primarily qualitative data and communicate the 'story' of the research. According to Creswell (2009: 62), "a theoretical lens or perspective ... becomes an advocacy perspective that shapes the types of questions asked, informs how data are collected and analyzed, and provides a call for action or

change”. As shown in Figure 1.2, participatory theories connected with social and environmental justice and governance provide the outer shape of the lens. Focus narrows on transformative theories, particularly those associated with social learning and roles for civil society, such as in Friedmann (1992, 2011); Freire (2011, original 1972,); Gurstein and Angeles (2007); Ledwith (2011); and Wright (2010). Central to the lens is praxis, which generally refers to the balance between theory and action. I draw on the more specific notion of praxis of Paulo Freire (2011, original 1972), which is “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (page 36). According to Freire, it is through praxis that oppressed people can gain critical awareness of their own condition, and, with collective efforts, struggle for liberation. This ‘critical praxis’ is steered by values and issues of social justice, sustainability, participation, and an ideology of equality. Ledwith (2011) defines the basis of critical praxis as critical consciousness and an analysis of hegemony coming together in community. Critical praxis engages with multiple rationalities in social, political and planning contexts that extend beyond classic instrumental rationality to other rationalities, such as those based on values and collaboration. Flyvbjerg (2001) refers to *value rationality* in his phronesis approach to social inquiry which emphasizes the roles of context-dependent ethics and learning, and Innes and Booher (2010) have developed *collaborative rationality*, which links to their theory of collaborative complexity and negotiation called DIAD: based on incorporating a Diversity of interests, Interdependence among them, and Authentic Dialogue.

Figure 1.2: Theoretical Lens



Source: the author

Methodological approaches

My methodology combines case study and participatory approaches. Consistent with phronetic research (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2012), my strategy of inquiry focuses on combining both actor and structural levels of analysis -- understanding *from within* and *from outside*. Below I describe my case approach, selection and design, followed by how participatory approaches are interwoven throughout the case study research.

Case study approach

Case study has long been recognized as an appropriate methodological approach in the social sciences, with its use expanding in the realm of qualitative social and interpretive inquiry (see Creswell, 2007 and 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2012; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995, 2006, and 2010; and Yin, 2009).

According to Yin (2009), carrying out case study research is a somewhat linear but regularly iterative process (see Figure 1.3). After the initial plan and design for the case study are developed, a researcher prepares for fieldwork, collects data, analyzes, and then shares results. The preparation, collection, design, and analysis phases are rehearsed iteratively in order to continually refine approaches and update design and collection methods as needed. The research is re-packaged and shared along the way in order to get feedback from advisors and field collaborators.

Each case involves a particular domain, which Stake (1995) refers to as its '*quintain*' or 'thing'. In this study, the quintain is NGO-community development collaborations and the central case has been selected based on a purposive, information-oriented sampling strategy, which combines instrumental and paradigmatic selection. It is instrumental in that the quintain and its issues are dominant (Stake, 1995), and it is paradigmatic because I would hope to be able "to develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case concerns" (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 79).

Figure 1.3: Parts of the Methodological Process

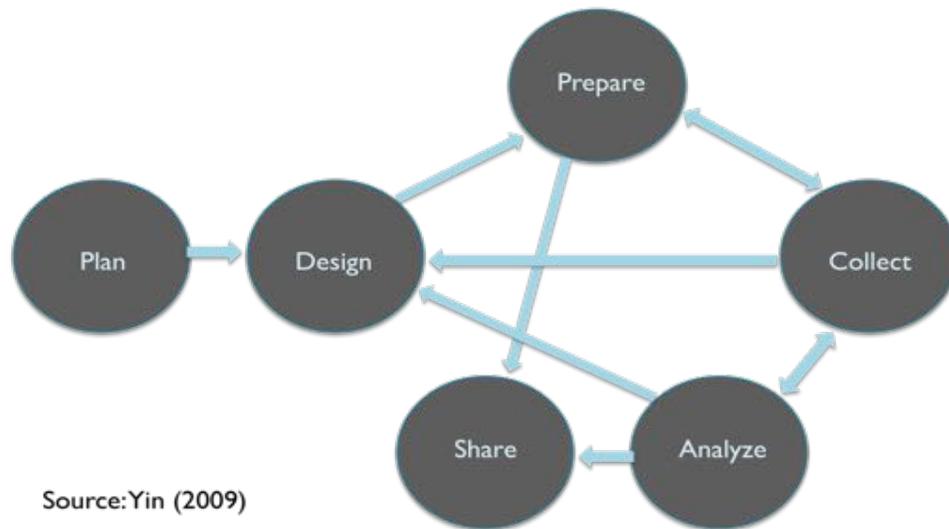


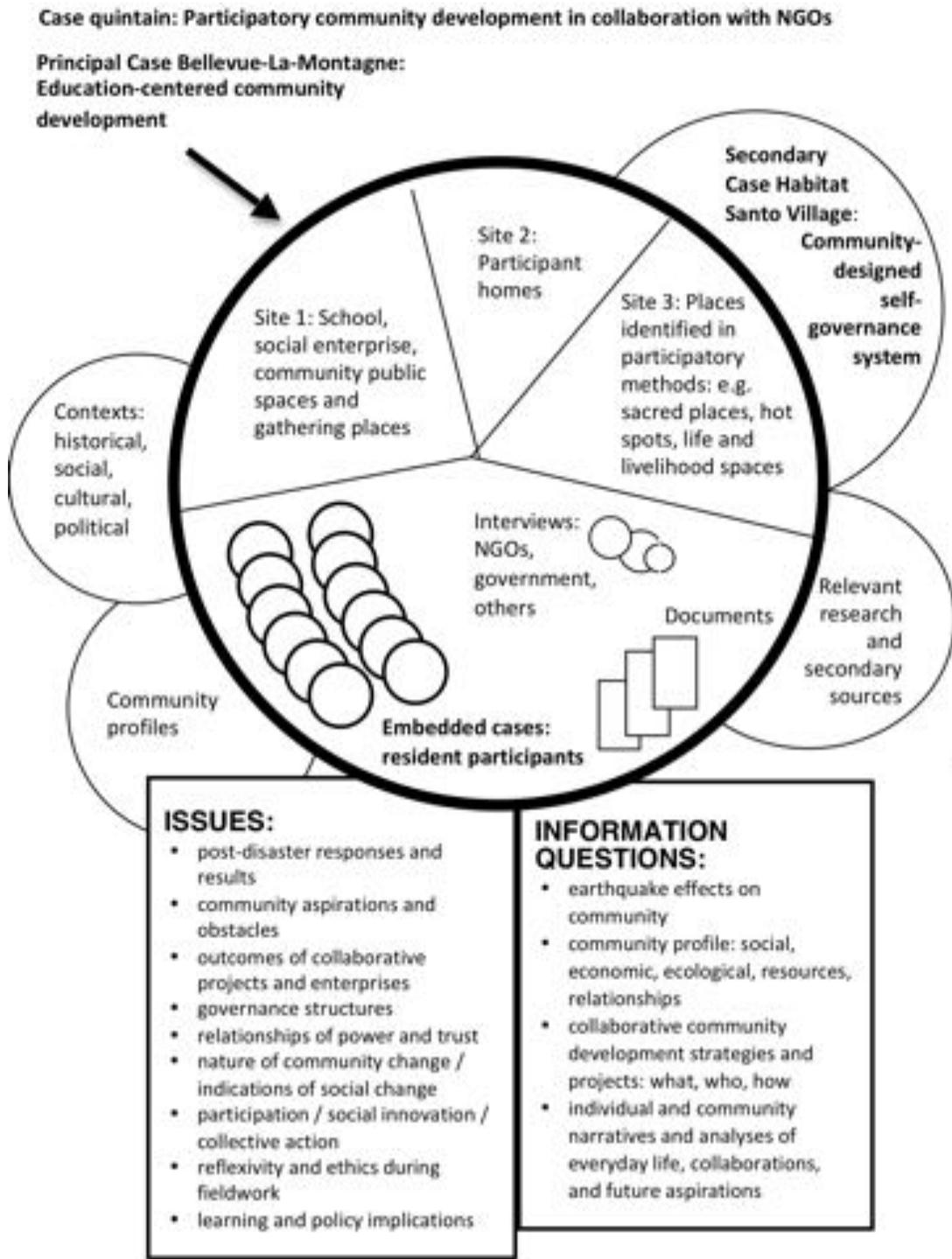
Figure 1.4 provides a graphic representation of the case study design. The principal case is a collection of community development initiatives in Bellevue-La-Montagne, Haiti, which I categorize as ‘education-centered community development’. Collaborative efforts began in the year following the earthquake when local residents and an NGO, Haiti Partners, discussed possible collaborative strategies for rebuilding in their area which had been hit hard by the quake. Even though Haiti Partners’ co-director had lived in this neighborhood for more than 15 years, the work of the organization had always been focused in other areas of the country, and primarily on education. In the year just before the earthquake, Haiti Partners felt that it was time to be engaged more directly in the neighborhood vicinity of their home and they were slowly investigating interest locally in collaborative education and development projects.

In the wake of the earthquake, the desire and need to collaborate on local initiatives was heightened and they began informally talking with many neighbors, who communicated the need for a school in the area. Given the expertise and experience of Haiti Partners in education and democratic practice, they continued discussions with people as they looked for a site for a new school, and eventually found an available piece of land in a village of the Bellevue-La-Montagne section of Pétionville, called Bawosya. Over the course of the next two years (2010-

2012), Haiti Partners held regular open public meetings inviting local people to share their needs, concerns, and aspirations for the area, and to give feedback on evolving plans for a school and learning center. Based on early determination of the need to create a school, this aim became the centerpiece of the development in both literal and metaphoric senses – it is an education-centered approach to community development that incorporates participation, social learning, and social enterprise. Haiti Partners joined forces with Architecture for Humanity and BAR Architects to design the site and school buildings, and local people provided their input at weekly public meetings throughout the design period. The first school building was built in 2012-2013 and the first class of 25 three-year-olds completed their first academic year in June 2013. Other needs emerged from community discussions, namely to create more local jobs (specifically construction) and products (a bakery). Haiti Partners then brought in Grameen Creative Labs/Yunus Social Business (founded by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Professor Muhammad Yunus) to carry out research and prepare business plans, and eventually they raised funding to establish two social enterprises to generate revenue streams for the school and to provide needed livelihood opportunities, training, services, and products for local communities. The bakery cooperative was established in 2012 and constructed in summer of 2013. A construction cooperative was formed to provide local jobs and training in the construction of the bakery and additional school buildings. Other NGO and individual partners are involved in various aspects of the collaborations, such as a human waste composting system, teacher training programs, and a health clinic.

The case study of community development in Bellevue-La-Montagne (Chapter 2) provides a portrait of the local situation five years post-earthquake. As Figure 1.4 depicts, the principal case (see central circle) has involved work at three types of sites: 1) the school and social enterprise hub, which is also a community gathering place; 2) participant homes, where we conducted interviews; and 3) places identified through data collection such as sacred places and problem spots of the area. The bottom half of the central circle represents data collection methods. The ‘embedded cases’ refer to the group of 12 local residents who took part in the *Dyalòg Foto* process in July 2013 (details in Methods section below and Chapter 4). Other data was collected through interviews with NGOs, government officials, and international agency

Figure 1.4: Graphic Representation of the Research Design



Source: adapted by the author from Stake (2006)

representatives, and documents relevant to this research study were collected from each of these sources.

On the left side of the central circle of Figure 1.4 are circles with Context and Community profile. I detailed how the NGO-community development collaborations came about and who was involved, based on data collected from interviews with and documentation from NGOs involved in the collaboration. The community study content focuses on learning from collaborative education-centered community development approaches, local institutional and civic engagement frameworks, and the interplay and collaborative dynamics of civil society, NGOs, and local people in decision-making and action. Participatory research methods (see Methods section below) are incorporated to understand community aspirations and enable a critical analysis of the main barriers to realizing them. I have aimed to understand as well how relationships of power shape community development and decision-making processes.

I collected data that are pertinent to understanding current conditions, such as the historic community context and key events of recent years, particularly the earthquake; local social, political, and environmental conditions; the wider policy context; and important situational factors. I designed the research in a way that facilitates longitudinal study so that community change can be tracked in the years beyond this thesis.

A secondary case was investigated (Figure 1.4, right side) at Habitat Santo Village in Léogâne. Like the principal case of Bellevue-La-Montagne, the community shares a common post-earthquake paradigm of collaborative rebuilding strategies and participatory processes that engage civil society, NGOs, and local leaders in planning and development.

Both study communities were selected based on an information-oriented sampling strategy. The communities represent a traditional '*lakou*' area adjacent to a growing peri-urban area (Bellevue-La-Montagne) and a new community built post-earthquake on the site of a former tent camp (Habitat Santo Village).

A sampling of case issues and information questions (bottom Figure 1.4.) are included, and are integrated in inquiry design. A number of further questions about this set of collaborations arose that are worthy of scholarly attention, such as the following. What are the factors that have enabled these projects to be created and implemented when most post-earthquake reconstruction has stalled? What have been the main obstacles and concerns, and what can be learned from them? How are these collaborative efforts affecting local people, their everyday lives, and their prospects for the future? How are the projects governed and who holds the power? In what ways are local people benefiting or not from the community development, and what are the prospects for social change? I engaged a number of methods to address these questions, including interviews, document study, observation, and participatory methods, as described below.

A proposition with respect to this research is that the collaborative efforts underway involve participation of communities and organizations (local and international) in dialogical negotiations that appear to aim to share power and build capabilities of local people and groups, and to create, change, or preserve mechanisms, structures, and institutions consistent with the interests of local people and organizations. An aim of this study has been to expose whether this proposition is valid from the local participant point of view.

Participatory approach

The participatory approach adopted in the research reflected the aim to look ‘behind the scenes’ of community development collaborations to hear about and understand the perspectives of local residents. The ‘embedded cases’ listed in Figure 1.4 represent 12 people with whom I carried out participatory research in 2013.⁶

I provided a theoretical justification above (under ‘Methodological choices’) for using participatory methods for this study. I also chose this approach due to my own background with participatory development facilitation and its rising use, and relevance, in Haitian

⁶ I began participatory research during preliminary fieldwork in July 2012, through a method called ‘*Fowòm Foto*’.

community development. I have many years of experience leading participatory approaches in planning and community development, and I have a good understanding of what has been effective and not in designing participatory methods for different settings and audiences. The integration of participatory aspects applies not only to the use of methods, but also to the research design so that local participants can have some influence on and 'ownership' of the research, allowing it to be meaningful to them. This approach implies an iterative process and a willingness, on my part, to be open to modifying certain aspects of the research if needed. I understood the importance of being clear on which aspects of the research were open to modification and which were not. For example, I carried out a participatory photo and story elicitation exercise, called '*Fowòm Foto*', in 2012. I was able to gather data and better understand participant perspectives. I learned that the use of cameras and photo taking in Haiti is deeply meaningful, but that while many Haitians are accustomed to being 'subjects' of photos taken by white people, they rarely have an opportunity to hold cameras themselves to take their own photos of what they choose; the '*Fowòm Foto*' allowed them to do so. Furthermore, photos of selves and loved ones are cherished by Haitians but are too expensive for most to afford; '*Fowòm Foto*' left them with photos that they could share and keep. I found as well that photos enabled people to see themselves and their work differently. One participant remarked that the chairs he made were even more beautiful in photos, and that seeing them in photos led him to look at his work differently and take more pride in his handiwork. Second, some of the NGOs and Haitians I worked with have extensive experience in and highly value participatory approaches. Their pre-earthquake experience involved participatory approaches primarily in school settings or for educational purposes, however, since the 2010 earthquake, based on local community needs, their participatory efforts have begun to extend into community development and local governance, as at Habitat Santo Village. These participatory approaches are slowly seeping into post-disaster programs and practices in Haiti.

Qualitative Longitudinal Research Sensibility

Qualitative longitudinal research is as much a sensibility as a methodology and gives close consideration to temporal aspects of research. It involves a dance of flexibly and adaptively

designing the research over time in order to expose processes of social change. Because a key aim of this study is to understand whether NGO-community development collaborations are contributing to social change, and social change is a long-term and often elusive set of processes, I have designed this study in a way that will enable longitudinal study to continue after the thesis is complete. *Qualitative longitudinal research* (or QLR) is a growing line of research. Several new QLR research centers have been established. Published works include McLeod and Thomson (2009) and Saldaña (2003). Pelling and Dill (2010) call for more QLR-like research to be carried out in post-disaster settings.

Qualitative longitudinal research can expose processes of social change through the lens of individual or small group experience (McLeod and Thomson, 2009). Perlman (2010), for instance, conducted a longitudinal study of sorts with favela residents in Rio de Janeiro who she had interviewed for her doctoral dissertation in the 1960s, and then went back and found participants and their descendants 30 years later to learn how their lives and conditions had changed over that period.⁷ I have collected data in case communities in ways that will facilitate going back to the same families and communities over time to study dynamics of community and social change in those places.

Methods

My fieldwork was carried out in three phases: preliminary work and reconnaissance in 2011, phase one and testing in 2012, and phase two in 2013 (see Figure 1.5). During 2011 and 2012 I undertook the following activities.

- Consolidated relationships with Haitian collaborators, communicated my research project, and elicited feedback.

⁷ Janice Perlman's *Favela* (2010), while not technically QLR, provides an excellent example of research that 'revisits' families in Rio de Janeiro favelas more than 30 years after the original interviews were conducted. The study provides unique insights about changes that occurred in dozens of families at two points in time over forty years. However, because participants were not interviewed in the intervening period, the study did not enable adaptive learning over time that might have revealed trends to point toward changes in local decision making and policy along the way.

- Participated in an ‘Open Space Haiti’ event with 60 education and community leaders in order to discuss current conditions and strategize about the future in the local and wider contexts of participatory community development, education, and social enterprise in Haiti.
- Tested the use of ‘story’ methods that incorporated photo-taking exercises, and story elicitation videos in order to hear about participant likes and dislikes about everyday life and what is meaningful to them, earthquake experiences, and their aspirations for and concerns about the future.
- Conducted interviews and research at Habitat Santo Village and interviews with the lead organization, Habitat for Humanity, and the organization implementing a participatory governance process, Haiti Partners. Subsequently, this research was written up in two papers (Chapter 5 of this thesis and Engle-Warnick, Bornstein and Lizarralde, 2013).
- Visited the Delmas 32 neighborhood with JP/HRO representatives.⁸ This NGO managed the largest tent camp in Port-au-Prince (population 60,000 at its height), and since 2012 has undertaken efforts to relocate residents back to their pre-earthquake neighborhoods. Nearly half the population lived in the Delmas 32 neighborhood of Port-au-Prince. JP/HRO carried out a number of collaborative relocation and development initiatives in the neighborhood in healthcare, water provision, education and community services, and physical reconstruction of homes and infrastructure.

Primary data collection was successful throughout fieldwork, as was secondary data collection from NGOs. I had difficulty, however, collecting secondary data from government sources. For example, I attempted to answer the following questions, but was unable to access local government data for the main case community. This is symptomatic of a larger problem in Haiti regarding the lack of accurate data availability to inform decision-making. For example, it was not possible to have clear and reliable responses to the following questions.

What reliable secondary data are available, such as demographic, land use, social, economic, and environmental conditions? What were the physical effects of the earthquake (e.g. homes and infrastructure destroyed, environmental conditions altered)? What spatial and strategic plans exist for the community? What more can be learned about the political context including decentralization plans?

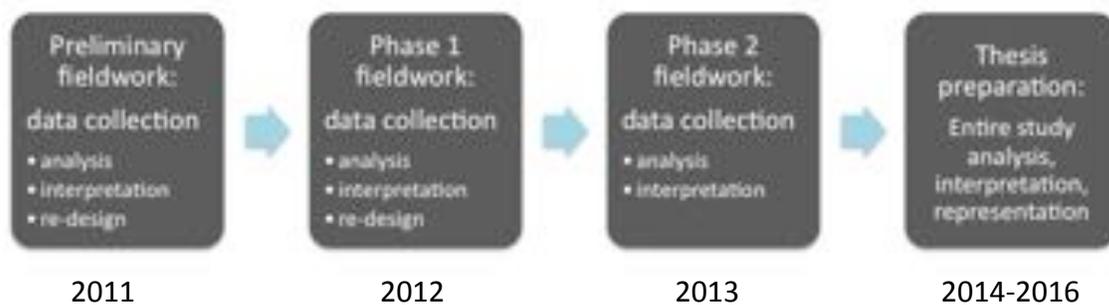
An important source of data in my research is story. I use story in three ways: 1) as a mode of data collection, where research participants are storytellers, as in earthquake interviews; 2) as a

⁸ JP/HRO was founded by American actor, Sean Penn, in the earthquake aftermath. While I conducted informal interviews with several staff members, it was not possible to obtain approval for a formal research relationship.

mode of representation, where I as researcher am storyteller, as in the community core story told in Chapter 4; and 3) as a mode of reasoning and interpretation, as in narrative analysis (or narratology), as in my interpretations of data collected through participatory photography, mapping, and dialogue circles. Also, I collect individual story data through focus groups (called *dialogue circles* here), semi-structured and open-ended interviews, and other participatory exercises. These methods were carried out primarily in summer 2013 with 12 people (embedded cases in Figure 1.4) in a process called ‘*Dyalog Foto*’, which followed the less in-depth initial process, and *Fowòm Foto*, which I carried out in 2012.⁹ In *Dyalog Foto*, I conducted a series of participatory activities over the course of a month. Photo workshops, participatory mapping, probe-based and semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and video interviews were incorporated. I made adjustments in the field as needed and appropriate, such as including a community timeline process, a day to visit the regional market together to learn about trading practices and local livelihoods, and the design and time to carry out a community walk of places most important (or controversial) to local residents.

Figure 1.5: Fieldwork Phases

2011: Conducted preliminary exploration, reconnaissance: consolidated relationships, networks
 2012: Collected primary and secondary case and contextual data / tested participatory methods
 2013: Collected primary case and contextual data / carried out participatory methods
 2014-2016: Continued remote data collection and member checking with research collaborators



⁹ The basis for working with a group the size of about ten people in these participatory exercises stems from theory in Friedmann’s social learning approach (Friedmann 1987: 185).

The structure of the *Dyalòg Foto* process and related fieldwork was designed to address phronetic inquiry questions (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2012) from the point of view of participants. Phronetic research questions are the following.

- 1. *Of what story or stories do I (we) find myself (ourselves) a part?***
- 2. *Where are we going (as a community)? And is it desirable?***
- 3. *Who wins and who loses and by which mechanisms of power?***
- 4. *What, if anything, do we want to do? What should be done?***

During the *Dyalòg Foto* participatory methods, I collected data through interviews, participant observation, field notes, audio and video recordings, photographs taken by me and the participants, as well as additional outputs of the participatory methods, including maps, community timeline, and a community guided walk. I conducted interviews with NGO representatives, government and university officials, and representatives of international agencies. Data were collected in three languages: primarily Haitian Creole, and also French and English. All data were transcribed and translated to English for ease of analysis.

The aims of analysis and interpretation carried out post fieldwork were to address the central research question and issue questions (above), including the meaning of NGO-community development collaborations for local people and which conditions and strategies seem to potentially contribute, or not, to social transformation. I carried out analysis and interpretation using standards of rigor in qualitative research, drawing on narratology, thematic coding, and pattern analysis (such as in Ryan and Bernard, 2000). I also drew on case study sources for analytical and interpretive techniques, such as categorical aggregation and direct interpretation (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). For Chapter 5, I used Innes and Booher's (2010) collaborative rationality theory to analyze collaborative partnership structures. I analyzed meaning and potential for social change at the community level, innovation by NGOs afforded by the post-earthquake window of opportunity, and collaborative dynamics in the areas of social enterprise, education, and participation and governance.

1.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are woven throughout decision-making processes of research design and implementation. I continually engaged in critical reflexivity, which involves studying my own moral beliefs and conduct with a sensitivity to how my own ethics may conflict with the ethics or social norms in the field. I submitted fieldwork proposals to the university ethical review board in 2012 (see Appendix), addressing issues of informed consent, avoiding deception, ensuring confidentiality when asked for, and protecting anonymity when possible. Throughout fieldwork, I negotiated relationships, many of which had a strong ethical dimension to them (see also Positionality and Acknowledgements section above). Who I choose to involve in the research, how I invited them and how I gathered data raised ethical issues. Reciprocity, or how I gave back to participants for their contributions to my project, deserved close attention so that I was clear about what participants would stand to gain from my study. I carefully considered how best to communicate with participants at key stages of the research. I was aware that my presence as a researcher could affect community change and have unanticipated consequences. I was sensitive to how my presence affected relationships of those around me and whether I put participants at risk. I was also clear about who was entitled to various outputs of the research, such as photos, videos, and written stories. Because misunderstandings can occur in data gathering, analysis, interpretation and representation, particularly in cross-cultural environments, I was conscious of my responsibility to member check to verify that the 'voices' of participants were well represented. This means that I consulted subsequently with participants where appropriate and possible to validate accuracy of data gathered. I communicated regularly with participants throughout the research process to help decrease potential for misunderstandings.

1.5 Overview of Following Chapters

This manuscript-based thesis contains three papers, formatted here as Chapters 2, 4, and 5, as well as two videos, contained as Chapter 3. Each chapter has a brief introduction.

Chapter 2 is the Community Case Study Paper, which is by far the longest of the three articles. It provides a conceptual framework for the relationship between community development and social change and it details the principal case of this thesis, the Bellevue-La-Montagne community and Haiti Partners' approach there to education-centered community development. It also has a 'behind the scenes' look at local residents' community development experiences, as well as their existing and aspirational narratives for change. The narratives exposed 'tension points' in a number of power dynamics, and enabled identification of 'levers of transformation' that could open up possibilities for systemic change.

Chapter 3 is represented in the form of video. It comprises two versions (13 minutes and 6 minutes) I produced to communicate a part of this research to a wider audience and as a teaching tool. Both versions of the video form part of this thesis and may also be accessed online at: vimeo.com/jayneew or via the Vimeo channel on participation in Haiti: vimeo.com/channels/haitiparticipation.

Chapter 4 is the Participatory Methods Paper, which focuses primarily on the participatory photography and mapping methodologies of this thesis. I have analyzed both the results generated by carrying out the methods, and the strengths and weaknesses of the methods themselves. By iteratively designing the research and adapting the methods according to the local context and conditions, I was able to delve deeper into some of the threats to sustaining the community development underway, notably state-society relationships, a sense of powerlessness and resignation, and differences in outcomes between individuals and the community as a whole. An addendum is provided with photographs of and by the 12 local residents of Bellevue-La-Montagne with whom I conducted the in-depth participatory processes.

Chapter 5 is the Community Governance Paper, which outlines the experience of community co-design of a local governance model for the new housing community, Habitat Santo Village, constructed by Habitat for Humanity just after the earthquake on the site of a post-disaster tent camp. I, together with my co-authors, analyze a collaborative dialogue process -- 'Good

Neighbor', a six month effort at designing community local governance -- through the lens of collaborative rationality theory.

Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter. It sets out the theory of change developed in this research, synthesizes key results, and provides research contributions and policy recommendations as well as future directions for this work.

Preface to Chapter 2: Community Case Study Paper

Stories of Tragedy, Trust and Transformation? A case study of education-centered community development in post-earthquake Haiti

This chapter describes the principal case of this thesis, the Bellevue-La-Montagne community and Haiti Partners' approach to education-centered community development. Participatory and phronesis research methodologies reveal 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives on the community development and its meaning for local people. Findings reveal that, in spite of substantial progress in development projects, tension points potentially threaten long-term sustainability. Local narratives exposed these 'tension points' in power dynamics as well as 'levers of transformation' that are opening up possibilities for systemic change and progressing from *community* change as revealed here, to broader and deeper *social* transformation.

Community organizations are the place where people learn the praxis of a real democracy, learn to defend one position and to listen to another, to decide together, to divide the work to be done, to set objectives. It is the place where experiments can be attempted, in small as in large matter, with all the joy and strength of work in solidarity with others.

Diego Palma (1988: 25) quoted in Friedmann (1992: 78)

My father was an important tonton macoute. Every time we saw him in his uniform, we left the house, we ran to hide. Sometimes he came with fellow macoutes and had us march around. We knew that when he came he would have us do that, so we ran and hid. But after the regime fell, they were chasing and killing macoutes, nothing happened to my father. His tonton macoute card is still there [in the house]. At the time, we dug a big hole to bury his uniform, but nothing happened to him.

Research participant, 2013

Chapter 2:
Stories of Tragedy, Trust and Transformation?
A case study of education-centered community development
in post-earthquake Haiti

2.1 Introduction

I'm not completely comfortable [with my life], because I'm limited. If I had continued in school, I could have a different future... I am my father's oldest daughter¹; he had dreams for me, but things went wrong; I should have gone further in school to be able to get a job with a regular salary. Currently, I have no regular income. By now, I would have almost completed my education. I had to quit school [at age 19], when I was supposed to go into 7th grade.

Lisa, resident of Bellevue-La-Montagne, 2013²

Haiti has never had a tradition of providing services to the population.

Singh and Barton-Dock, 2015

The majority of children in Haiti do not attend school regularly. Only 12 percent of primary schools are public, and most of the rest rely on parent-paid tuition, which is difficult for most families to sustain. Basic services such as clean water, electricity, and healthcare are scarce or nonexistent in most communities, and malnutrition and hunger are on the rise. There are an estimated 200,000 formal jobs in a country of more than ten million people. Stories such as Lisa's are not unusual. She lives in a country where education is not a right, nor is access to basic human services. In short, Haiti is a country where there has never been a true social contract in which the state listens to or works with civil society (Tippenhauer, 2010; Singh and Barton-Dock, 2015).

Current conditions in Haiti are an outcome of the country's historical development, which has produced weak formal governance and economic structures, high levels of inequality, and limited social safety nets. The Haitian state was characterized as 'predatory', 'fragile' or 'failed'

¹ The father has had 20 additional children since Lisa.

² Research participants' names have been changed or not revealed in order to protect their privacy.

even before the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010. There was hope that the disaster would open a window of opportunity for transformation (Pierre-Louis, F. 2011; Pierre-Louis, M. D. 2012). However, outcomes in Haiti have deteriorated since then. Haiti's ranking on the UNDP Human Development Index fell by three places in 2014 to 163 out of 188 countries and territories -- by far the lowest of any country in the Americas. Adjusted for inequality of education and income within the country, Haiti ranks even lower (UNDP, 2015).

Foreign assistance with post-earthquake recovery has produced mixed results. Six years later, more than 60,000 people still live in tent camps. While there are pockets of somewhat successful post-earthquake development (see Engle-Warnick, Bornstein and Lizarralde, 2013 and Bell, 2013), most attempts of scalable recovery and rebuilding efforts have failed. The political effects of foreign interventions have undermined the sovereignty of the Haitian Government, which some claim, has become a 'virtual trusteeship' of 'the international community' (Fatton, 2014; Fatton, 2016). At the time of this writing in early 2016, there has not been a functioning parliament for one year, and it is unclear when Presidential elections will be held.

Given the numerous challenges and barriers to development, exploring instances where progress has occurred provides a possible roadmap for other endeavours. In this paper, I investigate the experience of an education-centered approach to community development in Bellevue-La-Montagne, an area where post-earthquake recovery initiatives have had some success. I explore this community development from both 'outsider' (NGO) and 'insider' (local resident) perspectives, in order to address the questions: What does this case contribute to learning about possibilities for community change and pathways to transformation in Haiti? And relatedly, is Bellevue-La-Montagne an example of 'transformative community development' -- that is, local participatory development that is having an impact on social change?

The article is set out in four sections: 1) Haiti context, conceptual framework and methodological approach; 2) the community case study including background and vision of the lead

organization, Haiti Partners; 3) a ‘behind the scenes’ view of the community development underway, and a discussion of ‘tension points’ revealed; and 4) identification of existing and potential leverage points for systems transformation for which this case provides a microcosm and is instructive to practice and policy across Haiti. I conclude by returning to the question of whether community development for social transformation is evident in this case.

Haiti context and conceptual framework

A central argument of this article is that much-needed change to Haiti’s development trajectory can be furthered by learning from and scaling local community experiences with participatory development that show promise of transformation, such as the case of Bellevue-La-Montagne presented here. Three points provide important context: 1) historical patterns of oppression and development have resulted in entrenched structural inequalities in Haiti; 2) since the role of government has been undermined by foreign interventions and internal politics, NGOs – large and small, local and international -- have come to play a dominant role in the development landscape, with associated drawbacks and opportunities; and 3) the community level is a highly promising site of transformation when local people have the agency -- through participatory development -- to act, particularly in the areas of education, social entrepreneurship, and women’s empowerment. In order to understand the context for local community development in Haiti and potential pathways for the country’s transformation, it is important to begin with the broader backdrop of development challenges.

Dilemmas of development in Haiti

Historical patterns of slavery, oppression and isolation intertwined with deeply embedded structural inequalities and frequent disasters – most notably the catastrophic earthquake of 2010 – present enormous challenges to changing the development trajectory of Haiti (Farmer, 2011; Schuller and Morales, 2012; Wilentz, 2013). But it would not be the first time that Haitians overcame seemingly insurmountable barriers. The broader story that has contributed

to shaping present-day Haiti began with an unprecedented historical success of the first, and still only, successful slave revolution, which led to the independence of the country in 1804. That feat, which was unfathomable at the time, came about during colonialism and a globalized slave trade, and led to other countries isolating Haiti and failing initially to recognize its independence (Girard, 2010). Haiti would go on to pay a massive ‘debt of independence’ to France until 1946, and various US interventions throughout history – not least an occupation from 1915-1934 and the support of brutal dictators during the Cold War – contributed to Haiti’s inability to recover and its external focus; export trade and international relationships were more important to government than inward efforts to build a solid society and political culture (Dubois, 2012). Haiti’s central government has been oppressive, brutal, and predatory at worst, and, at best, in short periods of relative stability, it has remained dysfunctional and corrupt (Heine and Thompson, 2011). The never-ending transition to a ‘stable democracy’ began after the exile of dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986 with the establishment of the Haitian Constitution of 1987, which has yet to be implemented (Deshommes, 2006; Deshommes, 2012). Foreign interventions since that time and adoption of neoliberalism in political, economic and agricultural spheres have contributed to further instability, food insecurity, and ‘obscene inequities’ (Fatton, 2016: 34; Fatton, 2014; Deshommes 2006). In terms of economic development, strategies to create jobs through export processing zones for assembly industries have been a ‘manifest failure’ intended to exploit Haiti’s ‘ultracheap labour’ (Fatton, 2014: 77). This approach has contributed to environmental degradation, reduction of land needed for agriculture, increasing numbers of people living in miserable conditions in vast urban informal settlements – and with jobs that, for the most part, fail to pay workers a living wage. Foreign donors bypassed the corrupt state and contributed directly to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the following decades, and it is estimated that more than 10,000 NGOs now operate in Haiti (Schuller, 2012; Fatton, 2014).³ These factors along with internal political conflict have contributed to the current situation where, in spite of massive contributions, international aid has failed to bring about better living conditions or institutions in Haiti, which remains in a

³ While actual numbers are unknown, it is estimated that perhaps 10,000 NGOs work in Haiti, which would give it the highest number per capita of any country in the world – the reason that Haiti is referred to as ‘the Republic of NGOs’. According to *National Geographic* (see Fuller, 2015), at least 4,000 NGOs are registered officially in Haiti.

'conflict-poverty trap' even in the midst of high levels of social resilience (World Bank, 2006). Good paradigms for what could work to bring about lasting, systemic change have not yet emerged on a substantial scale (Heine and Thompson, 2011; Schuller, 2012; Tippenhauer, 2010). Continuing structural inequalities in the country are manifest in low literacy rates and an abysmal education system, massive poverty and deprivation, and cultural norms that disempower the majority of people and particularly women.

Ordinary people – the vast majority very poor -- have limited access to the most basic services. If even prior to the earthquake Haiti was a human emergency, today it is a catastrophe. In spite of what seemed to be historic goodwill on the parts of international agencies and governments, there is little evidence today of good, scalable reconstruction projects with the potential to create systemic change. In the aftermath of the earthquake, foreign assistance patterns reinforced state incapacity by contributing only one percent (\$25 million) of a total of \$2.43 billion to the Government of Haiti. In fact, approximately 99 percent of post-earthquake relief aid went to non-Haitian actors (Fatton, 2016; United Nations, 2011). Robert Fatton Jr. (2014 and 2016) argues, Haiti has further lost sovereignty and been reduced to a 'virtual trusteeship' of the international community, and is now relegated to the 'outer periphery' of the world economic system. NGOs attempt to fill craters of need here and there, but there is little coordination, accountability, transparency, or consistency, and the performance and results of the thousands of NGOs vary enormously (Farmer, 2011; Pierre-Louis, 2011; Schuller, 2012; Schuller and Morales, 2012).

While NGO accountability is problematic and performance is highly heterogeneous, NGOs represent a significant set of players in the development landscape of Haiti, as they do in many other countries of the Global South. A debate in the development literature revolves around the role of NGOs vis-à-vis the state in matters of community and international development. In recent decades, and arguably largely in response to the diminishing role of the state in social spheres, the sector of NGOs has grown significantly. In Global South settings, official aid has been diverted to (mainly international) NGOs with expectations of favourable development

outcomes, particularly that activities of NGOs would help to mitigate negative effects of neoliberal macroeconomic policies on vulnerable people, and that a growing NGO sector would contribute to democratization through strengthening and pluralizing civil society (Fowler, 1991).⁴ NGOs and civil society are murky and contested terms, and are not understood the same way between cultures or within any one culture. Here, NGOs refer to non-state not-for-profit organizations designed to serve collective aims, and include what are known variously as civil society organizations (CSOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), grassroots organizations (GROs), as well as NGOs (nongovernmental organizations). The size, scope, aims, funding, and effectiveness of this 'third sector' vary substantially.

Even given this diversity, there is considerable debate over the role of NGOs in promoting democracy. Mercer (2002) calls into question the commonly held ideal of civil society and NGOs as inherently 'good' for democratic development. Mercer's critical review of the literature points to how some argue that NGOs can strengthen state and civil society, and others argue that strengthening NGOs undermines development of democracies. Gurstein and Angeles (2007) define civil societies in relation to their contribution to democratic planning and governance. Their definition is normative: "dense networks of organizations and institutions that mediate between states and citizens, while challenging and transforming hegemonic state policies and market practices" (page 5). Douglass and Friedmann (1998) point to tensions between the local and the global (or 'agency' and 'structure') addressed by civil society as revolving around three interconnected struggles: *the right to human flourishing, the right to voice, and the right to difference*. (I return to the first two in the next section.)

Local communities in the Global South, often supported by local and/or international NGOs, have provided sites of transformation in reducing poverty, improving livelihoods and creating

⁴ As used here, *civil society* refers to "that part of social, as distinct from corporate, life that lies beyond the immediate control of the state. It is the society of households, family networks, civic and religious organizations and communities that are bound to each other by shared histories, collective memories and culturally specific forms of reciprocity" (Friedmann, 2011: 140). There is extensive literature on civil society constructions; my own understandings draw particularly on works by Abu-Lughod 1998, Douglass and Friedmann 1998, Friedmann 1992 and 2011, Mercer 2002, and Storper 1996.

social businesses, and strengthening community and environmental development projects (examples in Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006; Carley, Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Devas, 2004; Friedmann, 1992; Mitlin, 2004; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004; Perlman, 2007; Yunus, 2007).

Recently, concern and criticism have grown concerning the transparency and legitimacy of NGOs and their contribution to international development outcomes, particularly in Haiti where most NGOs are not known to the state and have no accountability to Haitian actors. The main debate revolves around the fact that, on the one hand, Haitians cannot rely on the state to provide basic services since it is dysfunctional and corrupt in the best of times and, and on the other hand, NGOs that undertake development work and service provision are not accountable (to the state or people) and do not coordinate activities with each other, which results in huge inefficiencies. Most telling perhaps is that the plethora of NGOs in Haiti in recent decades does not appear to have contributed to development outcomes on a broad scale (Schuller, 2012; Deshommes, 2006). However, given that it will take many years to construct a legitimate, effective state in Haiti (let alone a social contract), NGOs likely are needed, but they should be held accountable. Effective NGOs would not only build capacity and invest in Haiti and its people for the long term, but also would work to improve civil society and community relationships with the state, providing good practices that could be emulated and scaled. A question that arises is: How can the state be strengthened in conjunction with the consolidation of NGOs in Haiti, while improving living conditions for the people of Haiti and possibilities for transformation at community level? I turn now to a discussion of the community level and its potential as a site of transformation to the development paradigm operating in Haiti.

The context of the current situation in Haiti is that long before the earthquake of 2010, people's rights and access to decent living conditions were severely restrained, and so it is undesirable to 'reconstruct' what *was*. Rather, there is an opportunity to construct infrastructure – physical, political and societal – anew, which is what Fritz Deshommes refers to as a 're-foundation' of Haiti (Deshommes, 2012). Former Prime Minister Michèle Pierre-Louis (2012) called for *deconstruction* of the current paradigm -- referring to the basis of production, education, access

to employment, human rights, social systems, technology, infrastructure -- and *reconstruction* of society. She argues that local civil society organizations must better organize movements to bring about change. She further argues to 'build on small successes by valuing local knowledge'. Likewise, Eric Nee (2016) argues that: 'to create effective and long-lasting social change, organizations and the programs they create must in one way or another become embedded in the local community.'

A Conceptual framework for examining the community level as a site of transformation

The conceptual framework adopted in the research addresses local challenges through a structure and agency lens. Local level challenges of deprivation and disempowerment can be best understood through critical analysis of structure and agency, power dynamics, and progress towards certain rights. An emphasis on both agency (or actor) and structural levels of analysis are core to Freirian critical consciousness and also to phronetic social science espoused by Bent Flyvbjerg (2001). The notion of 'structure', drawing on Anthony Giddens (1979) is as institutions that frame social interactions, including the 'macro' governance, economic and social systems as well as cultural norms and rules of behaviour. 'Agency', as used here, refers to self-help for 'citizen driven change' (Sheikheldin and Devlin, 2015), self-efficacy (Brown, 1997), or what the Ashoka organization refers to as 'everyone a changemaker', in which each person feels empowered and responsible to take action that would contribute to positive social change (Drayton, 2006). Amartya Sen's defining of 'development as freedom' posits that true development enables people to lead the lives they value by eliminating constraints to freedom, such as lack of basic services, systemic inequalities, limited economic opportunity and poverty (Sen, 1999). Local level participatory approaches that incorporate social learning are identified as providing appropriate means for creating dialogue that could critically analyze and address relationships of power to bring about change (Friedmann, 1997; Gurstein and Angeles, 2007). Freirian critical praxis, Gramscian hegemony, and Habermasian communicative action theories provide a means for analyzing power imbalances. Flyvbjergian phronesis analyses that emphasize practical wisdom and gaining expertise over time through learning from multiple

cases, are well suited to addressing issues of power, not only in community development practice and research, but as Chris Brown (2013) argues, also in evidence-based policy development.

Viewing power dynamics through the lens of certain rights has merits. The '*right to voice*' and '*right to human flourishing*' are two of the civil society struggles that Douglass and Friedmann (1998) cast as central to changing power narratives and enabling agency of people to contribute to structural change.

Right to voice refers to "a democratic struggle for inclusiveness in democratic procedures, for transparency in government transactions, for accountability of the state to its citizens and, above all, for the right of citizens -- all citizens -- to be heard in matters affecting their interests and concerns at the local level of lifespace and community. It is thus as much about the process and form of engagement of citizens in the making of their world as it is about the ends they seek to achieve" (Douglass and Friedmann, 1998: 2)

Right to human flourishing is based on the principle that "every human being has the right, by nature, to the full development of their innate intellectual, physical and spiritual potentials in the context of wider communities" (Friedmann, 2011: 151). Furthermore, it involves "a struggle for increased access to the material bases of social power -- for housing, work, health and education, a clean environment, financial resources -- in sum, for the basic conditions of livelihood and human flourishing" (Douglass and Friedmann, 1998: 2).

These rights and notions of agency and structure align closely with Henri Lefebvre's (1996: 1968) '*right to the city*' as argued by He (2015: 673), which advocates a 'vision of a life fully lived for urban inhabitants'. David Harvey (1973) interpreted the right to the city as a collective right that would further social justice through more democratic management of resources, and Manuel Castells (1977) applied the theory to his work on urban social movements. Right to the city and, to a lesser extent, right to human flourishing, have been applied more recently to discussions regarding public space, social exclusion, migration policies, housing, and citizenship (Marcuse, 2009; Harvey, 2008; Amin and Thrift, 2002). These rights can be thought of as tool kits for radical change that enable collective critical analysis, which would provide possibilities

and space for people to meet their needs, which would mean claiming rights of participation as well as rights of appropriation (He, 2015).

My reading of theoretical, practical and Haiti-specific literature highlights the need to adopt research approaches that identify context-appropriate and innovative community development in Haiti. Such development initiatives exist in pockets but, it is argued, need to be revealed, surfaced and analyzed.

In present day Haiti – six years post-earthquake, amidst grave difficulties and often inhumane conditions of daily life for many people, there are stories of people that are managing to self-organize, plan and rebuild (Schuller and Morales, 2012; Wilentz, 2013). Laurent Dubois (2012: 12; emphasis added) asserts the following.

The social cohesion that has resulted from [Haiti's] long historical process was made dramatically visible by the 2010 earthquake.... Despite its massive poverty and its almost total lack of a functioning government, [Haiti] is not a place of chaos. Life in Haiti is not organized by the state, or along the lines many people might expect or want it to be. But it does draw on a set of *complex and resilient social institutions that have emerged from a historic commitment to self-sufficiency and self-reliance. And it is only through collaboration with those institutions that reconstruction can truly succeed.*

This article examines a case that is attempting to work with Haiti's 'complex and resilient social institutions' at local community level in ways that arguably have potential to contribute to transformative resilience. Transformation in Haiti -- and developing *transformative resilience*, which is about changing and innovating collaboratively in response to trauma, and involves forging new development pathways (Folke, Carpenter, Walker, Scheffer, Chapin and Rockström, 2010; Goldstein 2012; Gotham and Campanella, 2010).

A starting point, consistent with traditions of community-engaged scholarly inquiry, is that community development has the potential to contribute to social transformation. In a post-disaster context, a window of opportunity for more rapid or deep transformative change can open, if only ephemerally (Oliver-Smith, 2002; Pelling, 2003; Pelling and Dill, 2010; Solnit, 2009).

Such transformation can include institutional adaptations that would build transformative resilience. Transformation can be effected through social innovation combined with participatory collaborative approaches, which are sustained through ongoing dialogue processes that allow for constant negotiation between organizations and community-level participants (Healey, 2006; Innes and Booher, 2010; Moulaert, Martinelli, Swyngedouw and González, 2010; Ostrom, 1990).

Transformation is unlikely without sustained convergence of social change at community levels and structural change at national and international levels. Investigating dynamics of ‘agency’ (of people and organizations at local level) and ‘structure’ (in terms of governance and systemic inequalities) in transformation in Haiti is a long term project. It is evident that Haiti has not yet fully transitioned to a stable democracy since the 1987 Constitution, and that Haiti has become increasingly dependent on international aid, relies on imported food, and has fallen on the UNDP Human Development Index. What is sorely lacking is a solid knowledge basis of people’s everyday lived experiences in Haiti and evidence of community-level change over time. Many anthropological and social movement studies have been carried out (notably by Jennie Smith, 2001 and Beverly Bell, 2013), however, a gap remains in our understanding of how agency at local levels interacts with structural levels to effect transformative change that could be adapted and scaled across communities, particularly in the post-earthquake era. ‘Voices’ of local people, and their agency or lack of power to realize their aspirations for change, are not heard. This article addresses these issues of agency and structure and prospects for improved long-term change in Haiti, both through its research methodology in the field as well as the nature of the approach to participatory community development being studied. The research – by intent – is linked to a project of social transformation.

Widespread practices of transformative resilience will be essential to sustaining change on a diverted development pathway for Haiti, particularly because the ‘social resilience’ that Haiti is often lauded for can be a euphemism for ‘self-reliance’. In order to harness possibilities for a ‘transformative resilience’ it is important to catalyze the social resilience already in evidence

(Verner and Heinemann, 2006), other forms as well, such as urban resilience (Bornstein, Lizarralde, Gould and Davidson, 2013), and community resilience (Engle, Bornstein and Lizarralde, 2015). One form of community resilience building that has particular promise is Haiti's traditional '*konbit*' system of informal solidarity cooperatives for collective agricultural, microcredit and community work. Louino Robillard (2013), a leading social activist in Cité Soleil, Port-au-Prince's largest informal settlement, documented case studies of a series of *konbit* across Haiti which show potential for scaling and connecting in ways that would contribute to community development and social change.

Central concepts here are *community development* and *social transformation*. What do I mean by these terms, and how are they linked? *Community development* is an interdisciplinary field that combines spatial and material development with development of people and their capacity to manage change. 'Place' is an important dimension of community development, including people's relationships with the places they inhabit and their everyday interactions in shared spaces of communities. Community development is meant to enable people to mobilize existing skills, reframe problems, work collaboratively and find new ways to use community assets, and involves flexible processes guided by principles of participation and self-help. The key purpose of community development is, according to Ledwith and Springett (2010: 14), "collective action for social change, principled on social justice and a sustainable world." Major steps in community development processes are often identifying problems, engaging people and groups, assessing the situation and context, exploring possibilities, planning, prioritizing, and taking action (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993; Ledwith, 2011; Ledwith and Springett, 2010).

My study of community development is based on values of social and environmental justice, social innovation (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Mulgan, 2007; Kendra and Wachtendorf, 2007), and dialogical participation, and aimed at social and systemic transformation through informal networks and local praxis (as in Forester, 1999; Freire, 2011 [1972], Kennedy, 2011). Collaborative ways of working, thinking, and designing institutions underlie this community-engaged social research approach (as in Ostrom, 1990; Healey, 2006). John Friedmann's

alternative development theory (1992) and social learning and social mobilization traditions of non-state actors in planning (Friedmann, 1987; Friedmann, 1992; Friedmann, 2011) provide key foundations for my perspective on community development in an international context.

Friedmann (1992) also refers to alternative development as 'collective self-empowerment' in a similar vein to Brown's notion of 'self-efficacy' (Brown, 1997). Friedmann argues that external actors, such as NGOs with international ties, must be part of collective action for transformative change to occur, while he also warns that civil society actors (i.e. individuals within communities) need to develop 'voices' of their own. Expressing 'voice' and learning through stories and everyday life is central to this community development planning and research (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Healey, 2006; Ledwith, 2011; Sandercock, 2003a; Sandercock, 2003b).

Social transformation is used interchangeably here with *social change*. Simply put by McLeod and Thomson (2009), social change is change in personal and social life. Healey (2006: 91) refers to social change as the "continuous interaction between the creative activity of agency in relation with others, re-thinking, affirming and changing situations, and the organizing power of structural forces". Social transformation, according to Friedmann (1987: 250) is the aim of radical planning, "an activity in which knowledge is joined to action in the course of social transformation". Social transformation here is spatially cultivated, meaning that people's perceptions about space and their everyday interactions in the physical places of their communities are deeply important. Or as Friedmann (1987: 297) expresses: "A political practice aimed at social transformation can be effective only when it is based on the extra-political actions of ordinary people gathered in their own communities". Social transformation involves a public learning process that leads to permanent shifts in institutions and values, according to Leonie Sandercock (2000). She argues further

... just as in successful therapy there is breakthrough and individual growth becomes possible, so too with a successful therapeutically oriented approach to managing our co-existence in the shared spaces of neighbourhoods, cities and regions, there is the capacity for collective growth (Sandercock, 2000: 27).

Sandercock refers to such '*collective growth*' in the language of politics as *social transformation*. Cultivating social transformation and transformative resilience in Haitian communities is a critical challenge that many are attempting to address through rebuilding strategies, but successful and instructive examples are few. The following section sets out the methodology used to investigate one community's development strategy for addressing this challenge.

Methodology

This research explores experiences and dynamics of an education-centered approach to community development underway in Bellevue-La-Montagne. The case community is described in the following section. The research methodology combines case study and participatory approaches, and my strategy of inquiry focuses on combining both actor and structural levels of analysis -- understanding 'from within' and 'from outside', which is consistent with phronesis research (as in Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg, Landman and Schram, 2012). Integrating 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives provide for deeper understanding of dynamics of community change and social transformation.

From the outside, I observed in the field and conducted interviews with nongovernmental organization ('NGO') representatives, including from Haiti Partners, Yunus Social Business⁵, Architecture for Humanity, PADF, and FONKOZE.⁶ Research collaborators from Haiti Partners accompanied me throughout the fieldwork, providing valuable research assistance and contributions to research design, analysis, and interpretation.⁷ Insider perspectives come primarily from participatory research and a social learning process with 12 local residents (see Engle, 2015, for participatory methodology design and results, and Engle, 2014, for videos documenting the participatory research).

⁵ Yunus Social Business (previously called 'Grameen Creative Labs') was founded by Muhammad Yunus, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for his pioneering work in microcredit and microfinance, most notably as founder of Grameen Bank.

⁶ I conducted semi-structured interviews with the following individuals: John Engle, Haiti Partners; Claudine Michel, Yunus Social Business; Kate Evarts, Architecture for Humanity; and Steven Werlin, FONKOZE.

⁷ Research collaborators from Haiti Partners in the field were Benaja Antoine and Erik Badger. Alex Myril, Kerline Janvier, Merline Engle, and Neslie Myril provided regular advice and field assistance.

Consistent with phronesis research, I employ narrative analysis, prioritize hearing least heard voices, and favour learning from case examples. Case study has long been recognized as an appropriate methodological approach in a range of contexts in social science disciplines, and their use is expanding in the realm of qualitative social and interpretive inquiry, including in planning literature (see Creswell 2007; Creswell 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2012; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995; Stake 2006; Stake, 2010; Yin, 2009). According to Yin (2009), carrying out case study research is a somewhat linear but regularly iterative process. After the initial plan and design for the case study are developed, a researcher prepares for fieldwork, collects data, analyzes, and then shares results. The preparation, collection, design, and analysis phases are rehearsed iteratively in order to continually refine approaches and update design and collection methods as needed. I conducted research design, reconnaissance visits, and field testing of methods between 2011 and 2013. I continued data gathering and analysis remotely during 2014 and 2015.

Each case involves a particular domain, which Robert Stake (2006) refers to as its 'quintain' or 'thing' that is being studied. In this study, the quintain is education-centered community development. The central case has been selected based on a purposive, information-oriented sampling strategy, which combines instrumental and paradigmatic selection. It is instrumental in that the quintain and its issues are dominant (Stake, 1995), and it is paradigmatic because I would hope to be able "to develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case concerns" (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 79). Importantly, my positionality as sister of John Engle of Haiti Partners is highly influential in the case selection. This has afforded me not only needed access to information about the case from the lead NGO's perspective, but also, because of John's reputation as a trustworthy person and his long-term residence in the community, local people extend their trust to me, which is fundamental to my being able to conduct in-depth participatory research in this setting. I am consistently aware and self-reflexive, however, that John's leadership role and reputation in the community affect how people see and behave towards me, which has both positive and negative dimensions, many of which are invisible or difficult to analyze.

Figure 2.1 provides a graphic representation of the case study design. The principal case is a collection of community development initiatives centered around a new school in Bellevue-La-Montagne. The case study of education-centered community development provides a portrait of the local situation three years post-earthquake.⁸ As Figure 2.1 depicts in the central circle, the principal case involved work at three types of sites: the school and social enterprise hub, which is also a community gathering place; participant homes, where we conducted interviews; and places identified through data collection as sacred places or problem spots of the area.⁹ The bottom half of the central circle represents data collection methods. The ‘embedded cases’ represent the 12 people with whom I carried out semi-structured household interviews and who took part in participatory research (also see Engle, 2015). The aim was to get ‘behind the scenes’ of the community development underway to hear and understand the perspectives of local residents. Additional data was collected through documentation from and interviews with NGOs, local leaders, international agency representatives.

On the left side of the central circle of Figure 2.1 are circles with context and participatory research methods. The case sets out how the NGO-community development collaborations came about and who was involved, based on data collected from interviews with and documentation from NGOs involved in the collaboration. The community study content focused on learning from collaborative education-centered community development approaches and participatory engagement frameworks. Participatory research methods were incorporated to understand community aspirations and enable a critical analysis of the main barriers to realizing them. I sought to understand as well how relationships of power shape community development and decision-making processes.

⁸ Most of the interview and observation data was collected during field work in 2012 and 2013, following reconnaissance field study in 2011. The in-depth participatory research including household interviews, participatory photography and participatory mapping was carried out in 2013, following field testing in 2012. Additional documents and email correspondence from Haiti Partners in 2014 and 2015 provided supplemental information.

⁹ ‘Sacred places’ and ‘hot spots’ were identified in participatory mapping processes (as in Hester, 2010), and are described in Engle (2015). Research participants together designed and conducted a community walking tour to make stops for commentary at each of these places, which was audio- and video-recorded. Analysis and representation of this community walk is outside the scope of this article. An aspiration is to edit the video to produce a virtual guided community tour in order to document and share the community development and school as well as the lived experience of local residents.

During the field work I investigated the historic community context and key events of recent years, particularly the earthquake; local social, political, and environmental conditions; the wider policy context; and important situational factors, such as lived experience of local residents. I designed and documented data collection, analysis, and interpretation in a way that will facilitate longitudinal study so that community and social change can be tracked regularly in the years beyond completion of my thesis. Particularly useful to longitudinal study will be the baseline data collected during household interviews (bottom Figure 2.1).

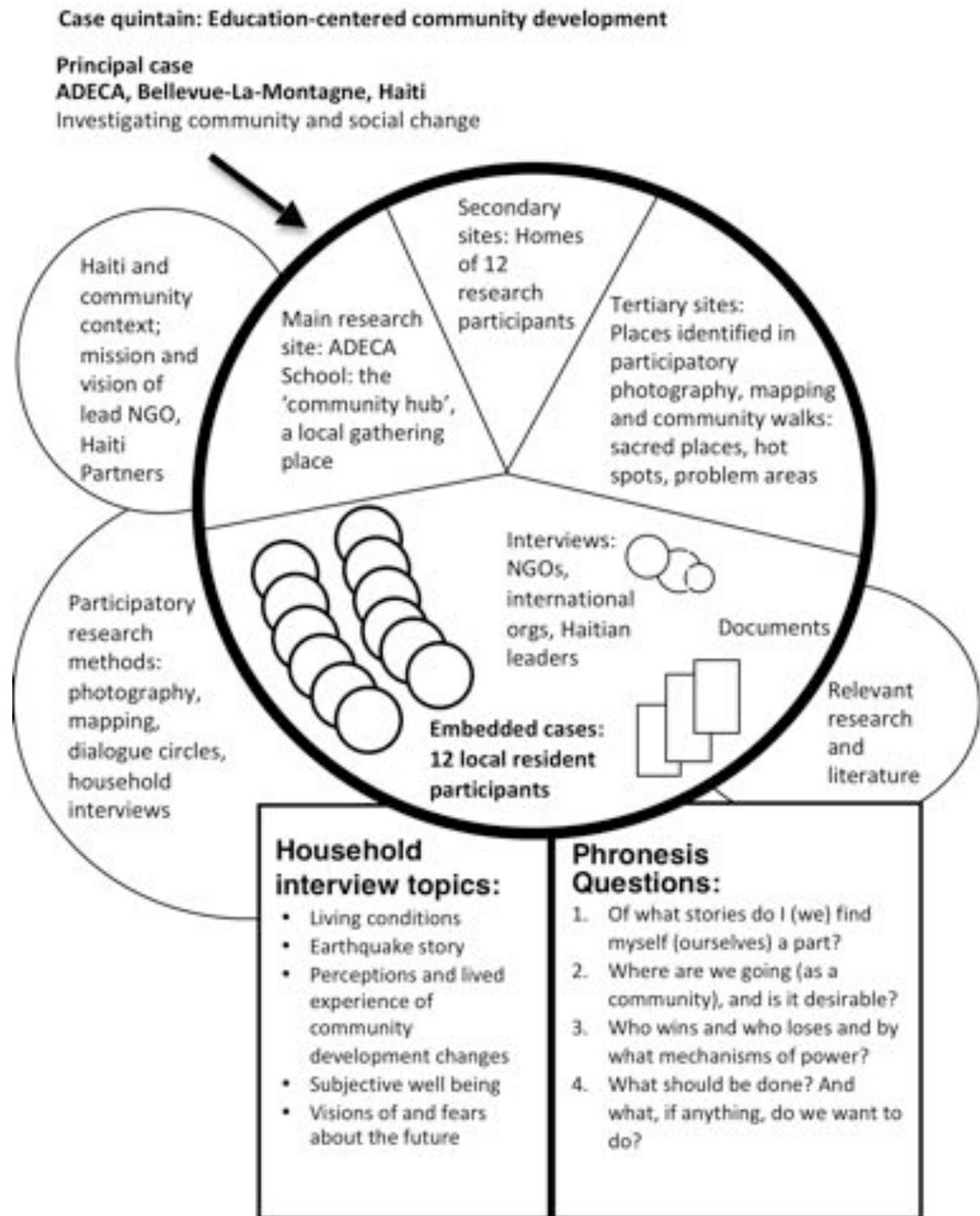
The phronesis questions (bottom right) are integrated in inquiry design and aim to reveal ‘tension points’ at structural and actor levels of analysis with an emphasis on narrative, power relationships, and listening to least heard voices. The methods were designed to address further questions about this set of collaborations, such as the following.¹⁰ What are the factors that have enabled these projects to be created and implemented when most post-earthquake reconstruction has stalled? What have been the main obstacles and concerns, and what can be learned from them? How are these collaborative efforts affecting local people, their everyday lives, and their prospects for the future? How are the projects governed and who holds the power? In what ways are local people benefiting or not from the community development, and what are the prospects for social change? I engaged methods to address these questions, including interviews, document study, observation, and participatory methods. The participatory methods are documented in article and video formats; see Engle (2014) and Engle (2015).

By using a mix of methods to address the research questions, I have explored whether and in what ways collaborative efforts underway involving participation of communities and organizations (local and international) in dialogical negotiations achieve aims of sharing power and building capabilities of local people and groups. Narrative analysis is the principle mechanism I employ to interpret field data and learning presented in the next section describing the case study and then sharing ‘stories behind the scenes’. I draw on relevant

¹⁰ See Table 1 in Engle (2015) for a list of methods, timing, sampling and recording of data collected.

research and literature, such as set out above in the theoretical framework section, to interpret dynamics of community and social transformation. Based on my synthesized analysis of structure/actor and insider/outsider perspectives, I conclude with recommendations for policy and practice in Haiti that are consistent with the recent World Bank recommendations mentioned above, and more importantly, consistent with what I heard from Haitians themselves and their visions for change.

Figure 2.1: Graphic representation of the case study design



Source: adapted by the author from Stake (2006)

2.2 Case study: Education-centered community development in Bellevue-La-Montagne

The research site is Bellevue-La-Montagne, officially the 4th section of the commune of Pétion-ville, which is part of the Port-au-Prince capital city conurbation. Semi-rural and with a quickly growing population, Bellevue-La-Montagne is located about 20 km from downtown Port-au-Prince. It spans about 35 km² on a small peak plateau with steep hillsides and an undulating terrain, and, as its name hints, provides spectacular views overlooking Port-au-Prince and mountains to the north, and the Caribbean Sea to the northwest. The most common public transportation in Haiti, the colourful tap-tap pickup trucks that carry about 15 people (7 people lined in benches on either side of the cab and one person at the back), can access the lower elevations of the area. A good portion of the mountainous sector has rocky dirt roads and is accessible only by foot, motorcycle or 4x4 vehicle. Local organizations estimate that approximately 30,000 people live in the area, most of whom support themselves through subsistence farming and market trading primarily of produce and animals. Even though the area has suffered from increasing flooding and droughts in recent years and there is strong evidence of high poverty and malnutrition, it is often 'off the map' for international aid because it is technically in the jurisdiction of relatively well-off Pétion-ville. People speak Haitian Creole, the mother tongue of all Haitians, and a small number of people also speak French (the other official language of Haiti), English, and/or Spanish, with varying degrees of proficiency.

Bellevue-La-Montagne suffered substantial losses during the January 12, 2010 earthquake. Several schools and churches collapsed, and more than 300 homes were fully or substantially destroyed in just one zone in the immediate vicinity of the case study school, which is a steep mountainous part of the community. In the year following the earthquake, discussions between Bellevue-La-Montagne residents and an organization called Haiti Partners began regarding possible collaborative strategies for rebuilding. Even though Haiti Partners' co-founder and co-director, John Engle, had lived in Bellevue-La-Montagne for more than 15 years, the work of his organizations had always been focused in other parts of the country.

In the year just before the earthquake, Haiti Partners' was working with schools in other jurisdictions toward goals of more student-centered pedagogy, improved institutional capacity, integration of parents into the life of the schools, and better infrastructure. At the same time, they were feeling that it was time to be more directly engaged in the neighbourhood vicinity where they were based, and where John Engle had spent so many years. They began slowly investigating interest locally in collaborative education and development projects.

In the wake of the earthquake, the desire and need to collaborate on local initiatives was heightened, and people in the area communicated the need for a school. Given the expertise and experience of Haiti Partners in education and democratic practice, they continued open discussions as they looked for a site for a new school, and eventually found an available piece of land in a particularly impoverished area of Bellevue-La-Montagne called Bawosya. Over the course of the next two years (2010-2012), Haiti Partners held regular open public meetings inviting local people to share their needs, concerns, and aspirations for the area, and to give feedback on evolving plans for a new school and learning center to be built there. Based on early establishment of the need to create a school, this aim became the centerpiece of the development in both literal and metaphoric senses – it is a school-centered and education-centered approach to community development. I begin with some background on the history and experience of Haiti Partners to set the stage for their decision with community groups to take this approach.

Haiti Partners: vision, mission and theory of change

Haiti is the spark that can ignite the rest of the world. Haiti's history epitomizes human depravity: genocide, slavery, exploitation. Haiti's history also inspires: First and only successful slave rebellion, a place of extraordinary resilience, a place where art and creativity flourish. Haiti has become synonymous with "poorest country in the western hemisphere." Haiti Partners is committed to making Haiti synonymous with "can do" culture. In spite of countless odds, Haiti is improving based on the resilience, determination, and creativity of her people.

Haiti Changemakers, Ashoka (2014)

Figure 2.2: Map: Bellevue-La-Montagne’s location in Haiti.



Haiti Partners was founded in 2009 by co-directors John Engle and Kent Annan. It was spun off from Beyond Borders, an organization which John co-founded with David Diggs in 1993. The work of Beyond Borders had focused primarily on: supporting alternative education and literacy training for adults and for children living in domestic servitude (called ‘*restavèk*’ children)¹¹; practicing and training in collaborative leadership and democratic methods; and advocating for universal access to education in Haiti.¹² Haiti Partners spun off, in part, in order to complement the education and democracy work with two new strategic directions: community development and social entrepreneurship.

Haiti Partners’ mission is to ‘help Haitians change Haiti through education’. Their approach is based on the assumption that for a country to develop and evolve, children need an education,

¹¹ ‘*Restavèk*’ children, literally ‘stay with’ refers to children who live in domestic servitude in Haiti, typically in miserable conditions of squalor and abuse and without an opportunity to go to school. There are approximately 250,000 *restavèk* children in 2015. It is considered to be a modern form of slavery, and according to the Global Slavery Index, Haiti is ranked second to bottom on a list of 162 countries with modern prevalence of slavery in 2014: globalslaveryindex.org.

¹² For more information on the current work of Haiti Partners and Beyond Borders, see: haitipartners.org and beyondborders.org. Disclosure: the author is currently a member of the Board of Directors of Beyond Borders.

and that the type of education children typically receive in Haiti needs to change. They advocate for changing leadership to be more empowering to people, arguing that Haiti's brutal history of slavery, a colonial past, and 'top-down' aid over the years have reinforced an authoritarian leadership that disempower people. Their approach is grounded in Freirian philosophy, and they believe that the best chance for change to come about is by working closely with local people and institutions that can transform a community. They have worked to change the traditional education in Haiti, which often involves rote memorization and corporal punishment.

Haiti Partners consists of Haiti-based and US-based organizations with boards of directors and core staff teams in both countries. There are 29 staff members in Haiti and six in the US, including program, development, communications and finance coordinators. More than 200 additional people are employed or receive stipends in their schools and programs in Haiti, including teachers, administrators, cooks, college students and school directors. There are over 1,200 students enrolled in its seven schools. The revenue of Haiti Partners in fiscal year 2014-15 was \$1.4 million. Other outputs of its work in schools in that year include: 21,429 school parent-service hours and 1,000 trees planted by students and parents. Haiti Partners has set up three social enterprises (two poultry farms and a bakery) toward funding six schools. Haiti Partners works to equip Haitians with skills and capacity that will enable them to develop their potential and change their country.

For us, the key to change is to equip Haitians with a different type of leadership and educational model which is all about empowering others and helping people who are under you to develop their potential. Practically speaking, this means working with primary schools to create a new model of education which includes entrepreneurial training. It also means creating social businesses to fund education and training and creating vocational training. Haitians need to find gainful employment. John Engle (2012)

They believe that the extreme authoritarian leadership model, along with antiquated educational practices, are largely to blame for Haiti's inability to evolve in a positive way and address the numerous societal challenges. Children are taught to memorize what their teachers tell them, rather than to think critically and creatively. Haiti Partners holds that employees and

community members rarely have a voice in decisions that impact their work and lives and are not encouraged to innovate and collaborate. The following example, which comes from their experience with an employer who wanted to prevent employees from learning to read and write, illustrates the problem.

Unfortunately, because of the extreme top-down leadership model, when someone is promoted to a higher position, they tend to diminish or exploit those beneath them. Because the vast majority of Haitians have grown up in scarcity, an 'abundance mentality' is inconceivable. Thus, when someone else gains, it's a threat to me. An example of this is how our literacy efforts in 2000, in partnership with Pétion-Ville Rotary Club, failed, when we were trying to have Haitian university students teach factory workers to read and write. Ultimately, it was mid-level management that sabotaged the [literacy] program because they were threatened by the possibility that others would grow and take their jobs. John Engle (2012)

In order to help Haitians to analyze cultural tendencies, including authoritarian leadership and antiquated teaching methods, they developed a program called 'Circles of Change'. It involves a weekly practice over six months where facilitators model a completely different type of leadership with groups of 15-30 educators and leaders through a series of structured discussion groups. More than 10,000 Haitians have gone through Circles of Change trainings. Habitat for Humanity asked Haiti Partners to use this approach in a particularly challenging post-earthquake context. They had built one of the largest post-disaster housing settlements in the country and wanted to apply the approach to create a community governance structure there (see Engle *et al.*, 2016; Engle-Warnick *et al.*, 2013 for a full analysis of the case). Haiti Partners is continually evolving based on innovative ideas, projects and other input from hundreds of Haitians who are part of its network and who have participated in Circles of Change. One important example was the creation of social businesses to support its partner schools, discussed below.

Vision and strategy for the ADECA school (Children's Academy and Learning Center)

The strategy for the Children's Academy ('ADECA' in Haiti; short for *Académie des enfants et centre d'apprentissage*) marks a significant departure for Haiti Partners.

The long-term goal [of the school] includes creating an example that serves to help change the educational and leadership paradigm in Haiti. My nearly 25 years of working in Haiti has me convinced that there's very little hope for significant change until there's a type of education and leadership that encourages and inspires innovation and collaboration. We also feel that schools can be motors for community development and lifelong learning. John Engle (2012)

ADECA is a big vision: high quality preschool, primary and secondary schools, training and meeting center, and agricultural/environmental/social business hub, which are grounded in the local community and cultivating civic engagement, innovation, and sustainability, and which serve as a reference for Haiti's Ministry of Education, NGOs, and other schools. Haiti Partners (2015b)

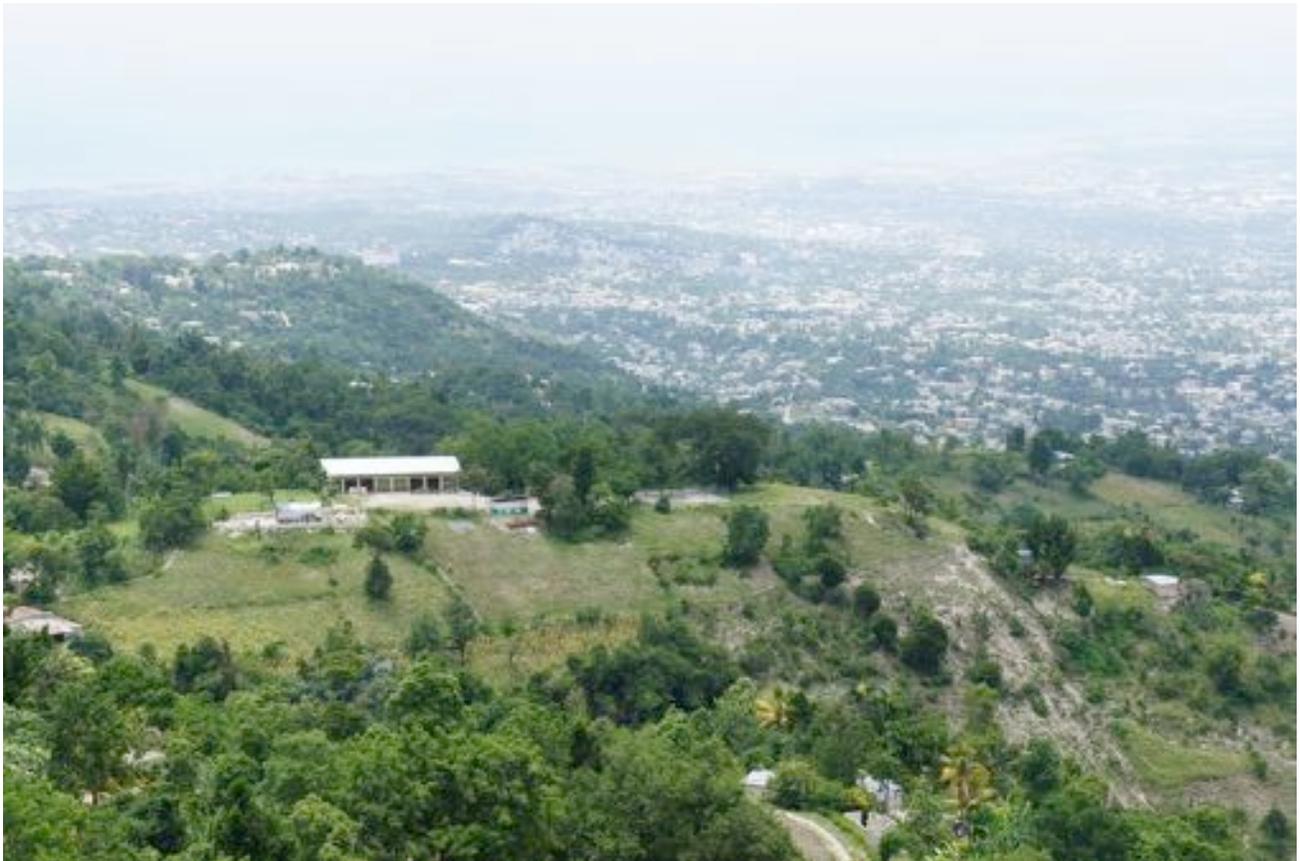
We operate the Children's Academy as an incubator for ideas and approaches that are reshaping education in Haiti. Haiti Partners (2015a)

The strategy came from their experience working with partner schools for a couple years, and while they wanted to continue working with existing schools to develop good practices and become more effective, staff found themselves in a challenging position. On the one hand, they found that there were many changes they felt should be made by partner schools, but on the other hand, they did not want to be a funder who used its power in ways that would perpetuate dynamics of authoritarian leadership that it was fighting to change. Their vision for education and education-centered community development was not clearly shared among their partner schools. They wanted to respect local autonomy and felt it counter to their philosophy to push changes, even if they felt such changes were important. So they decided to become practitioners themselves – to build and manage a school in a way that would model the participatory education and leadership practices that they had been advocating. They intend for ADECA to provide a reference not only for their partner schools, but also for others across Haiti.

Education-centered community development approach at ADECA

The Children's Academy and Learning Center (known as "ADECA" in Haiti) is a vibrant primary school that serves as our model school. It's a place where educators from across Haiti come to see a quality school in action and discover methods of education and leadership that help them transform their communities. (Haiti Partners, 2015a)

Figure 2.3: Geographic setting: view from the southeast of Haiti Partners' school with capital city Port-au-Prince and the Caribbean Sea in background.



Education infuses every aspect of the approach to community development that Haiti Partners has built with the community and partners at ADECA. This approach has evolved to comprise six elements: 1) the school and lifelong learning; 2) social entrepreneurship; 3) planning and construction; 4) environmental stewardship; 5) healthcare; and 6) participation. Short descriptions of these elements are set out below, and Table 1. provides aims, partners involved, some activities, and main challenges of each element, as reported by Haiti Partners and consistent with my field observations and document review. Supporting details and the chronology of accomplishments, ongoing activities, and plans for the future are provided in Figure 2.12: ADECA Timeline.

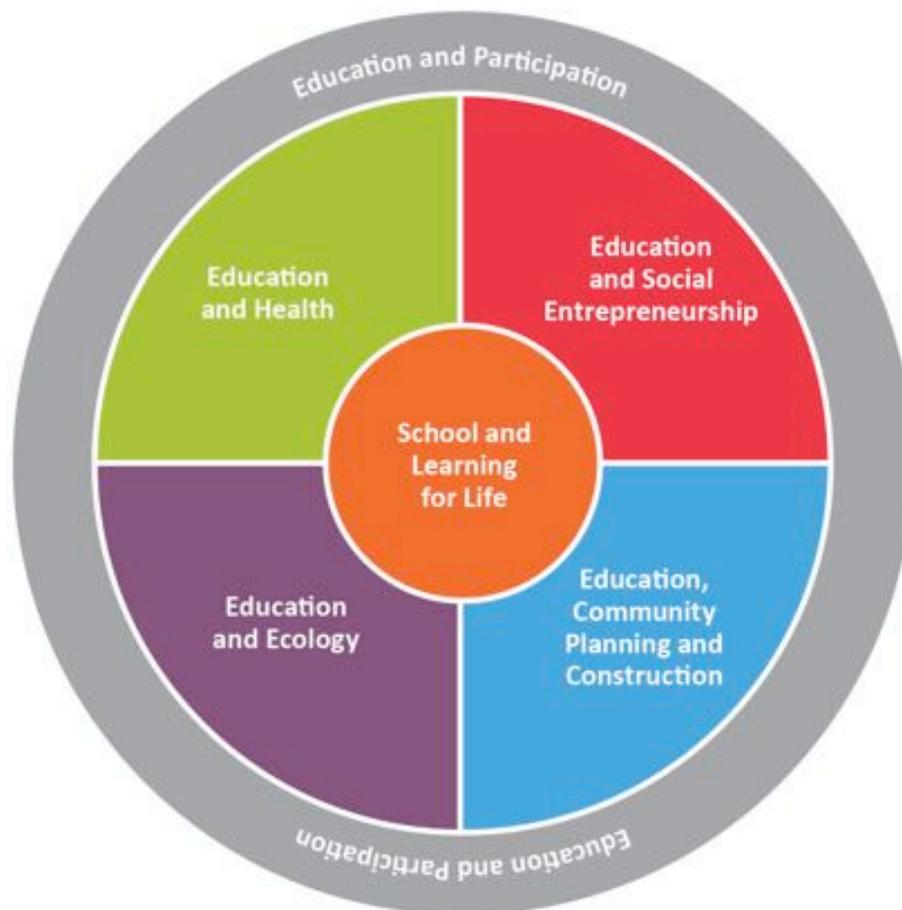
1. School as Center for Community Development and Learning for Life

Building on decades of work in leadership development and education, Haiti Partners opened its own school in 2012. From the ground up, we're building it as a place that's cultivating learning and innovation for children and adults of all ages, a center of activity that brings the whole community together. (Haiti Partners, 2015a)

Haiti Partners opened the ADECA school in October 2012, with the first pre-school class of 30 three-year-olds. Those first 30 children will grow up with the school, as each year one additional grade is added. As Figure 2.12 shows, by 2020, there will be a full primary school cohort, up to 6th grade. In 2021, the plan is to start a high school from grade 7, and continue to add one grade per year. As of fall 2015, there were three preschool grades and one primary grade with a total of 155 students. Haiti Partners intends to enroll an additional 30-60 students per year until there are approximately 1,000 students. Tuition is affordable for local families. The main contribution of parents to school operations is four hours per week in unpaid service. Currently, school parent activities involve: cultivating school gardens, maintaining composting latrines and school facilities, carrying out building and digging projects, assisting teachers in the classroom, and serving as community health agents. More recently, parents are also contributing their hours to become community organizers and trainers of SASA!, a program to end violence against women and girls, and ESK, an initiative which aims to end child servitude and protect the rights of children.

The ADECA school is both the physical and metaphorical center of the community; it is a gathering place for people, ideas, learning, and action – a 'community hub'. There are English classes ten hours per week for young people and adults, and a choir of 50 local young people, called WOZO, practices or performs at least twice per week. A variety of other trainings and activities happen on a regular basis. The school has become the central hive of activity and events for the area.

Figure 2.4: Elements of Education-centered Community Development: Approach of Haiti Partners



2. Education and Social Entrepreneurship

ADECA is preparing and inspiring Haitians to succeed as changemakers.

Haiti Partners Entrepreneurship Program report, 2015

Haiti Partners is working towards a plan where revenue from social businesses will cover school operating expenses. The first social business was a bakery which was open from December 2014 through July 2015. Yunus Social Business developed a business plan with the community and there seemed to be sufficient demand and market feasibility to establish a bakery.

Unfortunately, the business model turned out to be flawed, in that the operating cost estimates

were too low, primarily due to elevated transport costs to the remote community and its poor roads. The bakery was open for six months during which time it had a grace period on its loan from Yunus Social Business. Subsequently, Haiti Partners, Yunus, and the community 'productive cooperative' established to run the enterprise worked on a plan together for a second social business. As for the bakery, they have found a successful bakery operator with another location in Haiti who will lease the on-site space and pilot a venture to re-launch the bakery in summer 2016, using a different business model.

Figure 2.5: Haiti Partners' school building, with its earthquake resistant, open-air design, houses four large classrooms, a health clinic and a pharmacy.



Haiti Partners sees an additional potential opportunity for social enterprise and entrepreneurship with the parent volunteers at school. They believe that there is better potential to change the educational paradigm in Haiti if parents build collective enterprises to support the school as a strategy for long-term sustainable funding, rather than have parents employed elsewhere to earn a living and pay school fees to pay operating costs. While the latter may be the longer term solution, leaders doubt that there will be enough jobs in the foreseeable future for parents to find employment that would make paying school fees possible. Also, Haiti

Partners and community residents need more experience in collaborative enterprise and thus will benefit from the training and learning that happens at the school based social businesses. In 2016, they are studying the feasibility of collective enterprises, among them an artisan papermaking social business — greeting cards, gift bags, packaging, journals, etc.—from recycled paper, cardboard, banana bark and other organic material. They hypothesize that the ever-growing number of hours that parents contribute to the school could be put to more productive use and translate to funding. Parents could provide labour toward making products that get exported and sold, generating funds that help cover school operating budgets. They see benefits not only for ADECA, but also as a model for other schools and communities to follow.

Figure 2.6: Inside a classroom: 1st grade teacher, Francesse Antoine, guides a story time exercise with kindergarteners on a play parachute donated by a volunteer visiting from the US.



Figure 2.7: Bakery operations: set up in 2014 as a social enterprise cooperative designed to meet a local need and provide a sustainable funding source for school operations.



Figure 2.8: Muhammad Yunus, Founder of Grameen Bank and Yunus Social Business Haiti, visits Bellevue-La-Montagne, where his Haiti team helped with business advice and finance.



3. Education, Community Planning and Construction

Before the earthquake, Haiti Partners was not involved in community planning and construction. But afterwards, when their partner schools were destroyed in the earthquake and needed to be rebuilt, they realized that destruction and population growth meant that schools were needed and that construction practices needed to change. So, they got into the construction business. After contracting Haitian firms for school construction for two years, they decided to partner with Extollo International to train locals, supervise, and provide oversight on earthquake-resistant construction of the ADECA school. Architecture for Humanity Haiti and BAR Architects of San Francisco are partners in site planning and building design.

Figure 2.9: Rendering of social enterprise building: first floor houses bakery operations, upper floors to house vocational and teacher training facilities.



As of late 2015, five structures have been built on the ADECA site: the main school building which houses classrooms, a health clinic and pharmacy; the first two floors (of three) of a building to house the social enterprise bakery and training facilities; mens' and womens' composting toilets; and two small buildings for administrative offices. Landscaping and

vegetable gardens have also been installed. Thirteen local people (including four women) were on the construction team and received professional training in earthquake-resistant masonry and carpentry. Two additional buildings are planned to be built over the next five years to house additional classrooms, an auditorium and kitchen (also see Figure 10.). A longer-term aspiration of Haiti Partners is to build space to accommodate online university education for students that graduate from ADECA high school.

Figure 2.10: Site plan by BAR Architects: plans include five classroom buildings and an open air amphitheatre.



Figure 2.11: Construction with Extollo: local people were trained in masonry and carpentry and employed to construct the buildings. School parent volunteers contribute to site planning and maintenance work.



Table 2.1: Education-centered Community Development Elements in Haiti Partners' Approach

Key aims	Partners	Accomplishments / activities	Main challenges
1. School as Community Center and Learning for Life			
Quality school education; Lifelong learning; Parental engagement; School as 'community hub'	AMURT, Life is Good, WOZO youth choir, WorldBlu	As of late 2015: 155 children in pre-school - Grade 1; Daily English language learning courses/ hangouts; Youth choir engages 50 local young people; Youth group meets every Sunday; underway: vocational training curriculum	- Changing mindsets and culture around shared vision: positive, open, engaged, collaborative, curious, motivated. - Galvanizing parent engagement of 4 hours/week in service + 2 hours/week of parent education.
2. Education and Social Entrepreneurship			
Entrepreneurship training; Creation of social enterprises and productive cooperatives to benefit community & provide school revenue; Grow a culture of social entrepreneurship	Yunus Social Business (formerly Grameen Creative Labs), Ashoka	2015: Trained 7 local people in entrepreneurship; Started a micro-credit lending program for local residents (called a 'Village Savings and Loan'; In development: determining curriculum to use for Entrepreneurial Program in new training center; determining entrepreneur/financial literacy curriculum to use	-Finding right social business idea to support school operations + serve the community -Finding partner and curriculum for entrepreneurship program; then ongoing mentorship, coaching, etc. -Building momentum with CPBM (the cooperative set up to operate the social business): need good practices and culture, and good leadership.
3. Education, Community Planning and Construction			
Planning, design and construction of site and buildings (school, social enterprise, and other-community serving buildings); skills training in earthquake-resistant construction; and job creation	Architecture f Humanity, Extollo, Miyamoto, Architects: BAR & Ken Linsteadt, Degenkolb & DCI engs	As of late 2015, 4 structures on site: 1) main school building with classrooms + health clinic; 2) first two floors (of three) of 7500 s.f. building for social business, training center and guest house to sleep 28; 3) mens' and womens' composting toilets; and 4) small office building. Landscaping and vegetable gardens are installed. 13 people (4 women) received professional training in masonry and carpentry.	-Lack of local government planning and lack of basic service provision (waste collection, electricity, road repair, water and sanitation, etc.) -Finding funding partners -Leadership staffing of construction company -Instilling a positive culture with construction team
4. Education and Ecology			
Improve ag + ecological practices; foster culture of environ. stewardship; maintain composting latrines; local reforestation	Give Love, local orgs and agronomists	Aim for 2016: Create and begin implementation of a 5-year project that establishes environmental stewardship and highly effective gardening practices as a norm.	-Finding good agronomist partner. -Finding funding to do more. -Identifying best way to cultivate school garden as social business, eg.: moringa, masketi (castor oil), tilapia, hydroponics, coffee
5. Education and Health			
Healthcare and medicine for locals; improve child nutrition; first aid training; end gender-based violence; end 'restavèk' practices	Haiti Clinic (local and US staff), Beyond Borders, Vitamin Angels	Health clinic sees 120-140 patients per week. Training to end practices of violence against women and girls and to end child domestic servitude. Training of residents as community health agents to visit neighbours, provide first aid, deliver medicine, etc. Provide multivitamins daily to students under 5.	-Students (and other local people) need more protein and nutrients. Malnutrition is chronic. [Exploring if moringa and/or Tilapia could be part of the solution.]
6. Education and Participation			
Nurture civic engagement culture; instill values of respect, learning, collaboration + accountability into edu + community life	Dozens of local orgs, hundreds of local residents, WorldBlu	Democracy building and participation are cross-cutting across all elements above; ADECA staff using WorldBlu scorecard assessment in 2016 (first school in Haiti to do this). Circles of Change 6-month trainings in civic engagement in 2011-12 with 80 local residents. Parent projects: landscaping, road work, classroom aid	-Deepening 'culture of participation' to 'culture of changemaking', in which each person feels empowered + responsible for collective action.

Figure 2.12

ADECA Timeline

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Community Engagement and Lifelong Learning	Hire Haitian project staff									
					Ongoing leadership training					
					Monthly community meetings (2nd Sunday of every month at 3 pm)					
					Local Wozo youth choir practices each weekend (Saturday & Sunday 3-4pm; travelled for performances to US in 2011 and 2012)					
					Policy requires that parents contribute 4 hours weekly toward school and community projects					
		Create school committee			School committee meets periodically					
					Edikasyon Se yon Konvèsasyon (ESK) - weekly education sessions for parents on children's rights, positive discipline, restavec, healthy family relationships, etc.					
					Earthquake-resistant construction training and construction jobs for some parents and other members of the community					
					Weekly spiritual and personal development meetings with local youth (Sunday 4-6pm)					
					English classes (4-6pm Monday-Friday)					
Construction					Literacy classes for parents and other community members - in cooperation secrétaire d'État à l'alphabétisation (4 times per week)					
					Training for parents and community members in gender equality and women's rights toward ending violence against women and girls					
					Entrepreneurship training for parents, youth and other community members					
		Planning and construction of first building - 450 square meters plus composting latrines								
Academic Education					Planning and construction of 2nd building - 500 square meters					
						Planning and construction of 3rd building - 450 square meters plus composting latrines				
							Planning and construction of 4th building - 550 square meter auditorium/kitchen/amphitheater			
		Start 1st preschool class	Start 2nd preschool class	Start 3rd preschool class	Start 1st grade class	Start 2nd grade class	Start 3rd grade class	Start 4th grade class	Start 5th grade class	Start 6th grade class
					Hire teachers and support staff (2 teachers plus assistant per classroom)					
					Weekly staff meetings and ongoing staff development					
					Partnering with AMURT for teacher training seminars, on-site coaching and ongoing professional development					
					Agricultural and environmental education - includes maintaining school gardens and using fertilizer from school's composting latrines					
					Partnering with Life is Good for teacher training seminars, on-site coaching and ongoing professional development					
					Entrepreneurship education for teachers and all school staff		Integrating financial literacy and entrepreneurship training in grades K-6			

Source: Haiti Partners

4. Education and Ecology

The first initiative of ecological stewardship, composting latrines, served the dual benefit of providing a much-needed sanitation solution and fertilizer for gardens. The partner is US-based GiveLove, which was founded by actor Patricia Arquette. GiveLove is known in Haiti for its culturally-appropriate technology and design, and innovative process and maintenance system for human waste composting, which provides an excellent alternative to the typical pit latrines. Pit latrines can contaminate groundwater and are not a long-term solution, and water-based sewage is not possible. Human waste compost provides an excellent and sustainable fertilizer for crops in Haiti, where chemical fertilizers that risk depleting soil nutrients over time are all too common.

In partnership with local agronomists and other organizations, Haiti Partners and local residents are developing a five-year project to build on existing community gardens on site to establish environmental stewardship and more effective gardening and produce cultivation practices as the cultural norm. A focus will include local re-forestation. Similar to other parts of Haiti, the Bellevue-La-Montagne area is 98.0-98.5% deforested. Environmental stewardship training and ecological agricultural practices are being integrated into the school curriculum.

5. Education and Health

Before Haiti Clinic set up in 2013, there was very limited local access to healthcare services or medicine in the area. Hospitals are far away and difficult to reach. Care is often of low quality. Many local residents reported that they were accustomed to living with pain or discomfort, and that often people would die when they became sick because they were unable to access medical care. Given the chronic challenge of malnutrition and related problems among large numbers of local people, including children, it is essential to be able to directly address matters of health.

As of early 2016, Haiti Clinic sees 120-140 patients per week. On-site staff include a Haitian physician, dentist, nurse and health agent. The Haitian physician has a strong background in community and preventative medicine having received medical training in Cuba and, following the earthquake, a Global Health Delivery Systems degree at Harvard. In addition to daily outpatient services and the pharmacy, a number of community health initiatives and training programs are underway. Dozens of local residents received training to act as community health agents to visit neighbours, provide first aid, deliver medicine, etc. Ten community health agents are school parents who apply their four hours of weekly school service to this work. At ADECA school, lunches were originally provided to all children, but funding reductions prevented continuing the program. They hope to reinstate meal provision in the future. In the meantime, multivitamin supplements continue to be provided to pre-school children through the support of an organization called Vitamin Angels.

Figure 2.13: Human waste composting latrines: designed by Give Love and maintained by local people, these latrines address a sanitation need, and the harvested compost is used in community gardens or sold.



Figure 2.14: Gardening lesson: School children are trained in environmental stewardship, including ecological and organic growing practices.



As for food, the school provides healthy snacks daily, such as peanut butter, locally-grown bananas, and hard-boiled eggs. Parents are encouraged as well to provide children with snacks, including locally-grown fruits and vegetables.

In partnership with Beyond Borders, Haiti Partners is implementing programs to end practices of violence against women and girls and to end child domestic servitude. They aspire in the future to provide accelerated learning at the school for the former '*restavèk*' children – including those who were sent away by local families into servitude, as well as any local children who were in servitude and did not attend school.

Figure 2.15: Haiti Clinic: equipped with outpatient rooms and a pharmacy, the clinic's doctor and nurse – along with regularly visiting volunteer doctors from the US -- serve thousands of local residents each year.



6. Education and Participation

Through a carefully developed experiential program, called Circles of Change, we've promoted leadership and civic engagement with more than 10,000 Haitians. They have been exposed to leadership practices that honor human dignity and nurture respect. They're infecting others. This approach to leadership, that is completely new in Haiti, is helping to create a "can do" collaborative culture where innovation and entrepreneurship can thrive. Haiti Changemakers, Ashoka, 2014

Democracy building and participation englobe all aspects of education and community development wherever Haiti Partners works. Consistently over two decades, its leaders and associates have trained people in methods to change traditional leadership and education paradigms through participatory practices (as discussed above). They have earned an excellent

reputation with international agencies and community leaders for the effectiveness of their participatory processes, as I heard from multiple interview sources.

Community involvement and engaging parents in the life of the school have been core values and practices from the beginning of discussions between Haiti Partners and residents of Bellevue-La-Montagne. Architects shared early-stage drawings with residents inviting input and feedback every step of the way, frequently making changes based on learning from local knowledge. They held public open space meetings to invite dialogue on themes such as ‘What does education mean, and what is the role of a school in the development of a community?’ Even prior to embarking on detailed planning, design or construction for the ADECA school, Haiti Partners invited 80 local residents to take part in one of its six month Circles of Change training programs in civic engagement, which was implemented in 2011-12. Many of those 80 participants remain actively engaged years later in the school and community development projects. Some are now school parents, who are active volunteers in improving the school, keeping it running, and offering ongoing education programs.

Haiti Partners draws on WorldBlu’s ten guiding principles for democratic organizations for its work in communities, schools and its own organizational practices.¹³ As part of its commitment, Haiti Partners’ own employees anonymously evaluate the organization annually based on those principles. It consistently receives high assessments. In the spring of 2016, staff at the ADECA school assessed leadership using this method, and it has become the first school in the world to apply and now be listed on the official ‘World Blu List’. Relatedly, Haiti Partners believes that continuing to model participatory practices and instill values of respect, learning, collaboration and accountability into education and community life will help to foster a culture of changemaking. This would mean that local residents would feel a sense of agency to act, initiating projects with others and making changes that will improve local social, economic and environmental outcomes.

¹³ WorldBlu’s ten principles for democratic organizations are here: <http://www.worldblu.com/democratic-design/principles.php>.

In short, transformative community development is what Haiti Partners aims to achieve through its education-centered approach. For them, that means inspiring and preparing Haitians to be changemakers, and supporting collaborations and movements to realize the change to which they aspire.

Figure 2.16: Public Open Space meeting on the role of education in community development: 300 people gathered to discuss the topic together; many led small discussion groups on related matters of their choosing.



On the surface, these education-centered community development efforts underway appear to be successful in many ways, but what do they mean for local people, as well as possibilities for social transformation? We turn now to view the community development from the perspectives and lived experiences of some area residents.

2.3 Stories from behind the scenes: What does the development mean to local people?

I would really like to see a change [in my life and the community] but I don't see how to do it. Only God can change things.

This section provides a view from ‘behind the scenes’ of the community development projects, drawing on the lived experiences and views of 12 local residents. As described in the methodology section above, we carried out in depth participatory research with 12 local people in 2013: two had children attending ADECA school¹⁴, two were employed at ADECA, six others had participated occasionally or regularly in local activities, and two had minimal involvement in the community developments projects. The 12 research participants are represented as the ‘embedded cases’ in Figure 2.1. Fifty percent of participants were women, and the group ranged in age from 17 to 47 years. The number of participants was capped at 12 people to provide for social learning during the course of the fieldwork.

The aim of this qualitative research with local residents was to go beyond where the usual development perspective stops in order to expose the dynamics of *community* change and also to gauge whether *social* transformation is occurring. This latter means revealing what is less visible from the outside and what the community development means to people and implies in their lives. While building schools, providing quality education, starting social enterprises, and fostering a culture of environmental stewardship can contribute to positive *community transformation*, as the case description below makes evident is initiated or underway, a deeper understanding of the implications of these developments on local people’s lives is essential to revealing the extent of *social transformation*. I investigated these dynamics in the field primarily through participatory methods (see Engle, 2015) and semi-structured in-depth household interviews with questions in six topic areas, namely: household living conditions and livelihoods; earthquake stories and experiences of life since then; perceptions of the community development underway and their participation in change and ‘voice’ in decision making; subjective well being; and visions and concerns for the future of the community.

¹⁴ As of this writing in 2016, five participants have children enrolled at the school.

The findings in this section are based primarily on field work in 2013, and to a lesser extent preliminary field work in 2011 and 2012 as well as remote follow up in 2014-2016.

Incorporating a temporal aspect to this research enables study of social change dynamics over time and longer-term impacts of community development and education projects. Therefore, it is designed as Qualitative Longitudinal Research (QLR).¹⁵ Data collected during household interviews and participatory research in 2013 serve as a baseline; the intention is to go back to the same participants every few years in order to track changes over time.

Hearing voices of local resident participants

To analyze and interpret participants' interview responses, I drew on phronesis inquiry questions, which had also informed the context-specific research design¹⁶. The phronesis questions are: *1) Of what stories do I (we) find myself (ourselves) a part? 2) Where are we going as a community, and is it desirable? 3) Who wins and who loses and by what mechanisms of power? 4) What do we want to do? / What should be done?* This line of inquiry revealed several overarching narratives, which I illustrate below with direct quotations from participants (translated from Haitian Creole). (Also see Table 2.2.) The 'tension points' revealed through synthesizing case data and 'behind the scenes' participant views follow later in this section.¹⁷

¹⁵ QLR (Qualitative Longitudinal Research) is about employing qualitative methods to explore phenomena or communities over time. The unit of analysis is usually the individual, and it is particularly useful when aiming to understand change over time between agency and structural determinants (McLeod and Thomson 2009: 63-64). For example, how *pathways* are constituted; how *changes* and *adaptations* take place; and/or the *impact* of major events or changing circumstances.

¹⁶ Phronesis means 'practical knowledge' or wisdom. 'Phronetic social science' posits that a different and highly relevant kind of knowledge is produced through 'intimate familiarity with practice in contextualized settings' (Schram 2012: 17).

¹⁷ Additional findings exposed through the participatory photography and participatory mapping carried out with the same 12 participants, as well as the 'community core story' I interpreted from these data are set out in a separate paper (Engle, 2015).

Table 2.2: Narratives and Tension Points in Bellevue-La-Montagne case

Phronesis inquiry questions	Narratives exposed	Tension points
Of what stories do I (we) find myself (ourselves) a part?	Vulnerability, scarcity, violence	1. MEMORY. Collective community memory exposed the turbulent history of slavery, disasters, dependency, and oppression; a nostalgia for Duvalier era; and a broken education system that perpetuates societal problems of distrust and classism.
Where are we going as a community? Is it desirable?	Community progress, yet individuals' stagnation and structural inequality	2. OUTCOMES. Community development outcomes vis-à-vis individual and household circumstances pose challenges, as many local residents' lived experience of hardship remains unimproved.
Who wins and who loses and by what mechanisms of power?	Sense of powerlessness, acceptance, resignation	3. CULTURE. Participatory culture is not necessarily 'changemaker' culture. Local residents have come to actively participate and take great pride in the school and community development, however, a sense of agency to bring about change is not yet evident.
What do we want to do? What should be done?	Aspirations: 1) collective action to become a 'model' community; 2) connections with others in Haiti and abroad; 3) a better life and future (e.g. lower food prices, jobs, education, electricity)	4. RELATIONSHIPS. Dynamics in the relationships of governments, civil society, NGOs and the 'international community' are fraught with mistrust, lack of accountability and inertia; there is a sense of paralysis about how to structurally improve the situation and move forward.

1. Narratives of vulnerability, scarcity and violence

The day of the earthquake, the sky was dark [January 12, 2010]; we thought it was going to rain... my mother was cooking... the beans were in the pot... [and she told me to] 'go light the fire'. I was holding the baby. All of a sudden I heard the house go 'too toot, too toot', I felt a stone hit me... I felt the house shaking... I thought everything was over. I yelled, 'be prepared, Jesus is coming!'. I looked down toward the city and saw a lot of smoke. I went to my neighbour's house, and her child was killed ...rocks had fallen on her bed and crushed him. All the houses around were destroyed. If I had put my baby in bed as I normally did at that time, he would have been dead, as that room was completely destroyed. We lost everything.

Following 'Mr. Earthquake', I have become very sensitive to noise... I was traumatized after the quake and my heart was constantly beating fast. Sometimes I still have headaches for no reason; I had hit my head too. [From a woman who was seriously injured when an iron bar punctured her back in the quake, and she directly witnessed many other dead and dying, including two people right next to her on whom a concrete wall fell and severed both their bodies.]

Research participants were devastated by the earthquake. All 12 knew precisely where they were when the earthquake occurred at 4:53pm on January 12, 2010, and all suffered great losses. Each of their homes was destroyed in the quake, as were most local residents'.

Representative of the area population in this sense, participants had lived in small homes of one, two or three rooms, of concrete or dirt floors, metal roofs, and concrete block or stone-and-stucco walls. Before as after the quake, most have no electricity and none have indoor plumbing. Six years post-earthquake, only a few local residents have been able to rebuild their homes; none of the research participants have done so. Most have made repairs or built new 'temporary' shelters with corrugated sheet metal or plastic tarps. When it rains, the homes flood, and in frequent hurricanes they worry that the shelters will be blown over by high winds. People expect to face disasters regularly – hurricanes, flooding, and perhaps, another earthquake. This sense of precariousness pervades decision-making and contributes to short-term thinking and lack of agency about the future.

People of Bellevue-La-Montagne were first victimized by the earthquake, and then again by scams and promises post-earthquake [such as to rebuild homes].

Further devastation immediately post-earthquake occurred with unfilled promises and outright scams by people who would take homeowners' cash deposits for housing materials and either never be heard from again or bring small amounts of cement to appear legitimate, and then never return. Understandably, people were discouraged, and frustrated that they had no way of knowing who or when to trust others. Given the lack of enforceable contracts in Haiti, matters of trust are hugely important to almost all relationships and transactions, as shown in the research.

Everyday life is a struggle for most participants. Most are subsistence farmers or market traders who live day-to-day trying to earn enough to feed their families. A regularly visiting doctor claims that malnutrition in the community is chronic¹⁸. When people have the means, they make coffee in the morning and eat it with bread. One or two cooked meals during the day generally consist of rice and beans; also cornmeal, spaghetti, sweet potatoes, avocados, mangoes, plantains, tomatoes and peppers are common. Many report that they and their children sometimes go to bed hungry. Only two of 12 participants have jobs with regular salaries. Market traders in the group reported average net incomes of roughly \$1 – 2 US for a day's work. The subsistence farmers either own or rent small garden plots.

When we can get it we eat meat; also rice, beans, plantains, corn, sweet potatoes, avocados, oranges. We get them from our gardens and the market. We eat 2-3 times per day, or once per day when things are tight. Sometimes we go to bed without having eaten, we wake up, make coffee, and have nothing else all day. Or a good Samaritan comes and brings some food for us, we cook a meal and go to bed. Sometimes we don't have salt or oil, so we just boil whatever it is, take some greens from the bushes, and eat them. We can't buy on credit, because we won't have money to repay it.

What I heard from elders in the community, during Duvalier, life was very good because if they went to town with 20 [Haitian] dollars, they would not be able to carry the goods. But now if you have 1,000 [Haitian] dollars, you will be holding only a little plastic bag to carry what you purchased. 100 [Haitian] dollars cannot buy a good pair of sandals. Life has become very hard for us.

¹⁸ This American doctor with Haiti Clinic sees hundreds of local residents during visits several times per year. The doctor cited malnutrition then sexual health problems as the most pervasive concerns, the latter found in nearly all women and girls from age 13.

The high cost of food relative to income and the labour required to meet daily needs -- such as carrying water, hand washing clothing, and charcoal cooking -- contributes to the daily struggle. Additional costs for healthcare, housing materials, school fees, and funeral expenses add to people's daily struggles and stressors. Participants expressed desire for electricity (only a few have occasional access) and for better roads. They suffer disaster setbacks, particularly hurricanes, at fairly regular intervals.

Participants expressed desire to improve themselves and the area's reputation. They feel a stigma as a 'backward', violent community, and a few expressed that 'God is shining a light' on them through the local development. The community is changing; people are proud to have the school, the construction training, outsiders visiting, and new connections. They want to 'rise to the occasion'. Many participants want to shed their reputation as a violent, 'backward' place -- and to change certain behaviours and practices of violence.

What I would like to see change [in the community], I would like for us to collaborate, for us to not be fighting, because we're beginning to develop here. There are certain things we shouldn't do. For example, I hear noises, fighting, rock throwing, and machetes hitting. That shouldn't be, because now we have important people coming to the community. It's up to us to show that we respect ourselves; there are certain things we shouldn't do.

Participants were nostalgic for the Duvalier dictatorship era. They claimed that food was more affordable and that they felt safer. Following the fall of the dictatorship, in 1987 Haiti began its ongoing transition to democracy. As suggested below, people feel that life has become more difficult and less secure during this period.

During Duvalier it was safer. You were not afraid; you'd see people outside playing dominoes, drinking. Well, if you're in the street [now], you're walking, someone comes up to you, he asks you a question and you don't answer well, he crushes you right there.

After [President] Aristide left, they were going around in broad daylight, killing people, robbing people, taking everything they had. Although people slept in bushes and trees, they had to sleep with one eye opened.

The reason it was better and there was more security during Duvalier was that there were no gangs at the time. Maybe there were bandits, but no gangs yet. I think the TV brought a number of things here in Haiti. The biggest gangsters, they come hiding here in Haiti; there are children out in the streets; they are the most dangerous ones. There used to be [tonton] macoutes [who were recognizable for their uniforms and signature sunglasses] before, but now people don't know who people are.¹⁹

For me, there is no government that doesn't make mistakes. But I think Jean Claude [Duvalier] and his Dad [Papa Doc Duvalier] spent 29 years in power. The only thing I can blame Jean Claude for is the pigs he killed, because they were like life. They killed our pigs, they gave us 40 [Haitian dollars] for a large pig, 20 for an average, 5 for a small. And our life was finished since then, because it was our asset. For me, that's the only mistake I can blame him for. After they killed our pigs, they came with other pigs and you needed a lot of money to buy one.

His [Duvalier's] government was a good one, you found food easily. It was a good government as long as you didn't make trouble.

That's what we would like from government – to provide food, to provide peace, to provide jobs.

I asked participants if there were many *tonton macoutes* (members of Duvalier's notoriously brutal security force) who had lived in this area, and if so, is that why local residents had a sense of security?

There were many. Most of the people around here were [tonton] macoutes. It would be better if we had them again.

¹⁹ *'Tonton macoutes'* were the members of the security force under the Duvalier dictatorships. They were notorious for their brutality and for perpetrating violence and fear, and for nighttime raids where many people would 'disappear' from their homes and were usually never seen or heard from again. Some say that the sole functioning institution of the Duvalier years was the military apparatus, when there were as many as 300,000 *tonton macoutes*. A striking contrast: in 2015 in Haiti, there are estimated to be 200,000 formal jobs of all sectors in the entire country.

2. Narratives of community progress, yet individuals' stagnation and structural inequality.

All 12 research participants reported that, in general, the school and community development represented positive change for the life of the community and children's opportunities for the future. However, only two of the 12 have regular jobs as a result of the development, and none of the participants had been able to afford materials to rebuild their earthquake-ravaged homes. Of the ten without salaried jobs, they reported that their own livelihoods have not significantly changed as a result of development; nonetheless, they have great hopes for the community's future. Participants indicated that the school and development projects underway have become deeply significant for the community's identity and people's aspirations for the future.

... every other locality is advanced, this locality has never been advanced. It wasn't until [Haiti Partners] came to build the school here; the locality has changed. I can say, well, we're not living in the woods anymore. That's what I see; we didn't have a school nearby, sometimes one of my children went to school up there in the mountain, when he was going to the official 6th grade exams, I had to take him all the way down [to the city] for the exams. Moreover, to go to the doctor, you had to go all the way to Pétion-ville to see the doctor. But now, we have doctors in the locality and [nearly] free of charge on top of it. Our school, nearby. And we are going to have bread; everything will be close by. In the future, you will have a supermarket; if you need certain things, you'll be able to buy them. You see it is a good thing.

Participants expressed pride and a sense that their voices had been heard in decision-making about the new school and other development projects. They are encouraged by the attention from outsiders, and expressed that they like to see foreigners coming to visit.

Every time Mr. John [Haiti Partners] is doing an activity, he always invites us so we can brainstorm together and determine what is good for the community.

Amidst what they consider to be positive community change, 10 of 12 participants expressed that their own personal circumstances have not improved as a result of local development. They do not have the means to rebuild their homes and their incomes have not increased. Those with young children who attend or will attend the school are hopeful that their children will have better lives with more opportunity as a result of their education.

A number of new jobs have been created for school staff and construction workers, which has been generally positive, but has had some unintended consequences that surface gender-based structural inequalities; in at least of couple of cases, men who have jobs have used their income/power to have additional partners and children, and their wives and older children are now worse off.

3. Narratives of a sense of powerlessness, acceptance, and resignation.

Participants shared stories and sentiments that reveal a sense of powerlessness and resignation that ‘God decides, so there is not much we can do.’ Besides God, they expressed that, to a far lesser extent, power can come from their working collectively (‘putting their heads together’) and from trusted international allies, such as Haiti Partners. In terms of leadership, a vacuum was left when the local *vodou* priest, who was seen as the primary local leader, was killed several years earlier.

There’s not a leader in this community; the leader we had was murdered. After that, others looked down on us. Some people are angry that the school was built here; they say we don’t deserve it. They didn’t think something great could happen here... It was God who sent this project here to help us.

Some feel a lack of agency to make change, not only for reasons of ‘God deciding’ or resource constraints, but also due to uncertainty about the future, particularly regarding the next disaster, ‘which could happen anytime’, as many participants expressed. This sense of acceptance and lack of agency keeps people stuck and accepting of their circumstances, rather than organizing to fight for systemic change. Relatedly, while there is evidence that a culture of participation is evolving locally, it is still far from a culture of ‘changemaking’, in which people feel empowered, motivated, and responsible for changing their situation.

In reporting on their well-being, most individuals claimed to be generally content with their lives, citing a main reason being that neither they nor any family members were in hospital. Most also reported that they felt their lives and daily activities were valuable and had meaning.

Those reported to be the least happy with their lives were young men with higher levels of education (high school) who were unable to find jobs.

A sense of powerlessness is connected with the lack of available jobs. There are far fewer jobs than people who want and need them, and in some cases new jobs created through the community development have caused tensions and family difficulties. Some people are jealous of others for being hired for coveted jobs.

People also do not have a sense of power or voice to be heard by government. In our participatory actor mapping session in which we named all organizations, actors, groups, and agencies who have any engagement or provide services in the community, after two hours of identifying and discussing, not one state agency or governing body had been mentioned – not even police. It is worth noting that one participant is himself a local government representative!

The Haitian state doesn't even think about us, even the mayor is not giving us support; if one section of the road gets damaged, we are the ones to find a way [to repair it], friends, we buy them sugar and sweet drinks to give drinks to other people to do it. There is no mayor thinking about us where we are, it's like we ourselves need to have our own mayor here in the 4th [section of the ward], or our own president. A president never came here, let alone the mayor. Since I'm a CASEC's assistant [local government representative], when there is a problem with robbers, I usually call the Pétion-ville police station; when I tell them where I am they tell me they don't know the place Blanchard 2, I should go down to the Pétion-ville police station to get them. They tell me they don't have any fuel and that if I can find some men I should bring the robber down to Pétion-ville. I feel hopeless when that happens.

Consistent with what I have heard from many Haitians, participants do not expect that the state will ever act in their interests. This is rational. There is not evidence that it ever has, and there is no history nor experience of the state providing services to the people. Expectations of the state are very low.

As long as you have a population, they have security, they can eat, the people feel they have a good president. Nowadays they don't feel any president tried to work to bring down the cost of living. They take their money and hide it in Swiss banks, they won't be

staying [here in Haiti], and they have a place to go. They don't work toward bringing down the high cost of living.

Where there is good, there has to be bad. A government never comes into power with destruction. If not, you're not a real government. Here's how it happened. We Haitian people, this is what we need: beating, food, entertainment and if there needs to be a killing, they will kill you. Here's how it was during that government. Duvalier himself gave an order in the morning, later if the order had not been followed, immediately the day after he sanctions. The bandits causing trouble, he calls you to the [Presidential] palace, before we used the name bandit, he calls you and asks you how many presidents there are. He says he's the only one and he has you taken away to be killed. When the rest of them heard that you went there and didn't return, they walked straight and stopped doing what they were doing. This is how the Duvalier government functioned that made it good for the population. If a market trader increased the price of food, he [Duvalier] decreased it immediately – he set the prices. ... What does he do? [Duvalier] gives you food at a cheap price to fill your stomach, he has you beaten up to keep you from being violent and he gives you milk and sugar at a cheap price, what else do you need? A government needs to give the population food, drink, entertainment, and beating.

On my way to my market stall the other day, I stopped on the side of the road to sell someone some tomatoes, and a person from City government hit me on the arm with a stick! It's forbidden now to sell in the street, you know.

On the notion of 'a right to human flourishing' that I introduced, one person responded:

I think it's a nice idea but I don't know about those governments; if it's up to governments, we will never flourish. Ask the government how many people are living in Haiti, they will not be able to tell you. The state is supposed to know how much electricity, how much money is spent on food, water, they're very strict about that elsewhere, but the governments here don't know anything about you.

4. Narratives of aspirations for more connections with the outside world; collective action to be a 'model' community; and a better life and future.

Participants were eager to share their views, life experiences, and earthquake stories during the course of this research, and asked to be identified in its representation. When I returned and shared videos about them that I had produced and shared with others in the 'outside world', participants seemed pleased. I carried out 'probe' interviews to document their reactions and whether, and how, their lives had changed in the interim period. Participants are pleased and

proud that visitors from elsewhere in Haiti and abroad come to see their community and new school. While many participants know of relatives in other regions of Haiti or in the US, Canada, or France, only one person of 12 had ever travelled outside of the Port-au-Prince region. None receives remittances from outside.

If it were not for the meetings related to the school, ADECA, I would not be sitting face to face with you today for an interview and I would not know you either... it is thanks to the school that we're working in partnership and, as a result, you and me meet today.

People aspire to live in a community with quality schools, health services, electricity, roads, visitors. While aspirations for the collective seem clear to people, none reported specifically what action they personally would like to take. They spoke generally about 'putting their heads together' to work for change, but they did not give evidence of a sense of agency to move forward. School parents, or those who expected to be, showed particular interest in engaging in the life of the school and in participating in volunteering and education activities.

I'm very happy about the school. One good thing for me with the school is that I became president of the parents' committee. I am the one who, along with other parents, plant flowers and keep the school yard nice. In the future, I would like for the school to educate the kids well and for the kids to be able to speak the three languages [Haitian Creole, French, and English], and also for the school to grow for more children to come in future years.

If we all cooperate, in five years, we can have a village – a model area. It could have a park, a swimming pool, a grocery store so that people don't have to go all the way to town for their goods; a soccer field, a dance club for entertainment and stress relief. There will be churches, schools for all levels of education – preschool, elementary, secondary and college.

Ten years from now, I hope that everyone whose house was destroyed will have a new house and will live in a nice community and have a better life.

Tension points revealed through the research

In this discussion section, I integrate interpretations from the descriptive case study section with the 'voices' heard from local people to identify tension points. 'Tension points' are power relations that are particularly susceptible to change, "because they are fraught with dubious

practices, contestable knowledge and potential conflict” (Flyvbjerg, 2012: 288). Focusing on tension points is central to phronetic social science, and is meant to highlight how power relations stand in the way of addressing problems. They are revealed primarily through field work (including participatory research, household interviews and observation), as well as document study, and interviews with Haiti Partners. Four such tension points, as revealed through fieldwork and participants’ and NGO narratives, are around: memory; developmental outcomes; a culture of change; and relationships between the state and the people. Each is described below.

Tension point 1: MEMORY. Collective community memory exposed the turbulent history of slavery, disasters, dependency, and oppression; a nostalgia for Duvalier era; and a broken education system that perpetuates societal problems of distrust and classism. Most Haitians have not had access to a decent quality formal education system. Sadly, even those that do have access to education are usually part of a system that is classist and perpetuates patterns of oppression and mistrust. Of those that do expect anything from the state, it is typically some level of security and affordable prices for food. That is how many judge a regime, which were the reasons that most residents interviewed gave for being nostalgic for the Duvalier years – they were less hungry, and they felt safer. It was difficult to have a critical dialogue about Duvalier years given the hardships of life today for local residents. The tensions around history and memory suggest that it will be important for Haitians to develop culturally-relevant curricula and education programs about Haiti’s past and present, that incorporate Freirian critical consciousness analysis, as part of the country’s path toward a quality and accessible education system.

Tension point 2: OUTCOMES. Community development outcomes vis-à-vis individual and household circumstances pose challenges, as many local residents’ lived experience of hardship remains unimproved. It is agreed by visitors and locals alike that community change is underway in Bellevue-La-Montagne around the ADECA school and associated initiatives. However, change for individual residents and households, for the most part, is far less apparent.

As of 2013, only a few of hundreds of immediately local households had been able to rebuild their earthquake-destroyed homes. According to a regularly visiting American doctor, most people in the area suffer from malnutrition and many struggle to meet basic needs on a daily basis. What does this mean for social change, in a longer term perspective? Research participants reported that it was fine with them, for now, that the community is advancing while their circumstances remain unchanged for the most part, and they hypothesize that over time, as the community changes, their individual and household circumstances will improve as well. Those participants with children who attend ADECA or will attend ADECA, and those who are employed at ADECA are most optimistic. All participants seemed to derive hope and a sense of pride from the attention that the new school and community development brings from visitors from outside the area and abroad. And they sense that their reputation among surrounding communities is improving.

While the community as a whole is improving in terms of education, amenities and connections with outsiders, living conditions and circumstances of most individual resident households do not seem to have improved. In part, the setback of the earthquake contributes to this. Likewise, while there seems to be evidence of *community* transformation in the case study, whether *social* transformation is occurring is unclear. This study is designed as qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) to enable tracking changes in household outcomes over time. A related tension with participants is wanting a better life for their children (a long-term aspiration), juxtaposed with potential disasters and losing everything (short-term fear). People value community well-being over their own personal living conditions. All 12 participants lost their homes in the earthquake, and none have been able to rebuild, primarily because they lack resources for materials. Yet, they are so pleased that their kids can attend a beautiful new school and that other people in surrounding communities are impressed by the local development.

Tension point 3: CULTURE. Participatory culture is not necessarily ‘changemaker’ culture. Local residents have come to actively engage in community development activities, however, a sense of agency to initiate change is not yet evident. Thousands of people have been involved in

participatory activities led by Haiti Partners and other local groups, taking part in public Open Space meetings, weekly Sunday community meetings to discuss design and implementation plans, health training, and community gardening projects. There is evidence of a growing culture of participation, where people attend meetings and trainings, are actively involved in community development activities, express themselves and feel that their voices are heard and taken into consideration in decision making. The key challenge now is to evolve that culture in a way that people would have a stronger sense of agency, or self-efficacy, and would take collective action to express themselves not only to Haiti Partners and local community members, but also to local government, larger organizations, and others in power working outside the community and whose work affects (or could affect) their lives. Importantly, an evolution to such a 'changemaker' culture would mean that local people would initiate their own projects including (social) enterprises and other activities that demonstrate a stronger sense of agency for taking collective action to bring about change.

Tension point 4: RELATIONSHIPS. Dynamics in the relationships of governments, civil society, NGOs and the 'international community' are fraught with mistrust, lack of accountability and inertia. Haiti's tumultuous history and perpetual lack of functioning institutions that operate in the public interest have left a void, and hence a lack of trust by people in institutions of the state, as clearly reflected in participants' comments and participatory mapping methods. There is simply not a perception that governing institutions – Haitian or international – have provided sustained support in a way that was in the interests of local people or communities bettering themselves. Historical evidence shows that, those in power have typically been top-down in their aid regimes in ways that would perpetuate dependence. At worst Haitian governments have been predatory or ruthless, while international agencies have acted more in their host countries' or donor agencies' countries' interests, than in the interests of 'ordinary' Haitians. This has led to a situation where people tend not to trust institutions and have no expectation that a government would ever act in their interests. If aid is bestowed, it is often carried out in a short-term, 'relief' perspective, and is not about building capacity of residents so that they can change their longer-term livelihood, education, or development trajectories. Haitians I spoke

with judge a government's success based on whether food was affordable and they felt safe under the regime. By these measures, participants were highly nostalgic for Duvalier years. A number of *tonton macoutes* lived in the area, which seems to have provided a sense a protection to local people during the Duvalier dictatorship era from 1957-1986. People in this area feel less secure in the post-dictatorship years from 1987 to the present, which coincide with the years of transitioning to democracy and attempts toward a decentralized state.

In this context, people have become highly reliant on themselves, their neighbours and social networks for basic survival. That Haitians are 'socially resilient' has become a euphemism for 'self-reliant'. And living conditions appear to have deteriorated in the post-earthquake period for the vast majority of people. During the same period, Haiti has been reduced to a 'virtual trusteeship' of the international community, according to Robert Fatton, Jr. (2014 and 2016), who characterizes Haiti as one of a handful of countries on the planet (and the only in the Americas) which has fallen to the 'outer periphery' of the world economic system. With this backdrop, bringing about social transformation at community level is extremely challenging, yet equally imperative. Fundamental to social transformation is changing relationships and improving accountability as well as transparency of state agencies, NGOs operating in the country, and importantly, rendering international agencies responsible for the results of their policies and practices to ordinary citizens of Haiti.

This would imply moving from goals of 'social resilience' in Haiti to 'transformative resilience', which would be cultivated through practices of 'transformative community development', such as the ADECA case. 'Transformative community development' means community development which is contributing not only to community transformation but also to social and systems transformation. Glimpses of systems transformation are underway at ADECA, such as forging new relationships with police and getting them involved at the school with education programs. Much more is needed if state/society relationships are to be improved.

In the next section I address how tension points revealed in this case can be addressed through existing and potential levers of transformation, which are instructive for broader policy and practice change in Haiti as well as systemic change proposals put forward as priorities in the report 'Haiti: Toward a New Narrative' (Singh and Barton-Dock, 2015).]

2.4 Leverage points for transformation

‘Leverage points’ in systems theory are ‘places within a complex system (a corporation, an economy, a living body, a city, an ecosystem) where a small shift in one thing can produce big changes in everything’ (Meadows, 1997: 1). Leverage points represent possibilities for transformative change. I have identified existing and potential ‘levers of transformation’ based on synthesizing analyses of: the tension points revealed from ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ perspectives; literature in the theory and methodology sections above; and my research in Haiti (notably Engle, 2014; Engle, 2015; Engle *et al.*, 2016; Engle *et al.* 2013) as well as my own professional experience in community development and social change. Learning from the Bellevue-La-Montagne case points to a number of possible strategies to activate levers of change.

Lever of Transformation 1: Education

The slave rebellion history and struggle for independence in 1804 to become the world’s first black republic seem to be widely known in Haiti. However, there appears a lack of a collectively understood and shared ‘critical consciousness’ about subjugation and oppression perpetrated in various ways particularly in the 20th century through, for example, the American occupation, the genocide of Haitians by Dominicans, and the extent of the Duvalier brutality. Also there seems to be a lack of information among Haitians about other countries with similar struggles, and about Haiti’s role in the world and what it has in common with many other countries, such as former dictatorships transitioning to democracy and which also have suffered ongoing ‘conflict-poverty’ traps. By creating context-appropriate curricula and mechanisms for sharing historical knowledge and engaging in collective critical analysis, Haitians would have tools to together forge pathways toward reducing their vulnerabilities and strengthening resilience.

Beyond the content of education, as mentioned previously, traditional education in Haiti does not encourage critical thinking, creativity, questioning, or solutions-based thinking, but rather has been one of rote memorization and often corporal punishment. The participatory approach

Table 2.3: Levers of transformation from community to structural levels in Haiti

Narratives exposed in Bellevue-La-Montagne case	Tension points Revealed	Levers of transformation: community to structural levels	Priorities for Haiti (Singh and Barton-Dock, 2015)
Vulnerability, scarcity, violence	<p>1. MEMORY. Turbulent history of slavery, disasters, dependency, and oppression; nostalgia for Duvalier era; broken education system that perpetuates societal problems of distrust and classism.</p>	<p>Education: Develop culturally-relevant curricula and education programs about Haiti’s past and present, that incorporate Freirian critical consciousness analysis. Expand the reach of character strengthening and values-based educational and education-centered community development approaches and practices of Haiti Partners to existing and new schools in Haiti, including public schools. Relatedly: Strengthen literacy skills, improve education system, and increase access to education.</p>	<p><i>Reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience.</i></p>
Community progress, yet individuals’ stagnation and structural inequality	<p>2. OUTCOMES. Community development outcomes vis-à-vis individual and household circumstances.</p>	<p>Place Identity, Networks and Research: Support, connect and profile place-based examples of education-centered community development across Haiti that are committed to quality planning and architecture and show promise of transformative change / transformative resilience, and track changes in individual and community outcomes over time through longitudinal study.</p>	
Sense of powerlessness, acceptance, resignation	<p>3. CULTURE. Participatory culture is not necessarily ‘changemaker’ culture.</p>	<p>Social Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation: Invest in social enterprise creation and foster a culture of social innovation at community level, and nationally through networks. Build on, strengthen and share ADECA aspirational model of social enterprise for financial sustainability to support school operations, provide jobs, training, and long-term social and economic development.</p>	<p><i>Creating greater economic opportunities and better jobs.</i></p>
Aspirations for connections, a ‘model’ community, and a better life and future	<p>4. RELATIONSHIPS. state, society, NGOs and international community relationship dynamics fraught with mistrust, lack of accountability, inertia.</p>	<p>State/Society Trust and Accountability: Build new state-society relationships that engender trust and engage outsiders constructively -- such as international agencies and NGOs, but that do not continue to institutionalize dependence and exploitation.</p>	<p><i>(Re)building the social contract.</i></p>

to education at ADECA is directly counter to traditional ways and involves cultivating a love of learning, integrating parents into the life of school, and working to change the educational system to one that helps children develop strong character through values-based education. Values of mutual respect, integrity, compassion, empathy, trust, and collaboration are central to the approach and aim to contribute to strengthening ethical citizenship and leadership from an early age. Also, a positive culture of learning and lifelong education pervades each element of the community development at ADECA, which is slowly taking hold in terms of social attitudes and practices, as evidenced through local residents' engagement in regular dialogue to review and plan the community's future and their own roles in it.

Lever of Transformation 2: Place Identity, Networks and Research

The importance of location and 'place' – including history, environmental conditions, amenities, and visual imagery – contribute to collective identity among local residents. Place matters. Bawosya is now 'on the map' because of the new school, local development, and visits from outsiders. Local people expressed a place attachment and pride to live there, when until recently they felt shame. The context-sensitive and high quality planning, architecture, and construction contribute to the place dimension. Earthquake-resistant construction and excellent site and building design of the school, social enterprise and training facility, composting sanitation, and recreation area and gardens are hallmarks of this case and provide important examples for other communities. To address what is perceived as uneven outcomes among individuals and for the community as a whole (e.g. high quality construction of the school, and poor housing and living conditions of local residents), it would seem important to connect this case community with others in Haiti which are attempting similar efforts so that they can exchange experiences, learn from each other, and potentially join forces to effect wider practice and policy change. Establishing networks of community development practitioners that are taking education-centered approaches would potentially lead to more examples of transformative change in Haitian communities where transformative community development and transformative resilience seem to be operative. Profiling and networking such communities and supporting a movement among them would help to inform and inspire

others. Learning exchanges could be topic specific, such as ecological education and agricultural practices that draw on and improve local knowledge. Research documentation of learning and exchanges could then be shared with additional communities. In addition, research over time within and across communities will be critical to understanding dynamics of change which is truly transformational. Consistent with and building on the World Bank goal of reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience, Haiti must move beyond 'social resilience', which is already apparent, to a transformative resilience that would permanently alter social, economic and environmental practices, beginning at the community level. Field-based community-level research over time will be important to track whether community development interventions are having a positive impact on the lives of local people as well as on broader societal systems and state/society relations.

Lever of Transformation 3: Social Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation

While establishing a 'participatory' culture is an important step toward facilitating a sense of agency among people, it is not sufficient. If the goal is a 'changemaker' culture where each person has a sense of self-efficacy and empowerment to initiate change, then it is important to build a culture of social entrepreneurship and social innovation in local communities and schools, and to provide recognition and investment at national level. Also, direct investment in social enterprise creation at community level will help to inspire such practices. A culturally-relevant means for doing this would be to build on and recognize the validity and power of the '*konbit*' culture described in Robillard (2013). Beginning December 2015, Haiti Partners supported local community members in doing just that through the creation of several Village Savings and loans groups. Haiti Partners sees this as a key strategy to have an impact on local individuals and their families. Group participants are provided with access to credit as well as training on how to save and spend money well. As of March 2016, 100 local people are members, and Haiti Partners intends to scale the initiative further. They see it as a critical strategy to nurture changemaker culture.

As of 2016, there is some evidence that a culture of collective changemaking may be slowly emerging. Not only do school parents volunteer four hours per week as described previously, but recently, young people and adults in the English language class and the 49 members of the local social enterprise cooperative decided to commit to 4-8 service hours per month for collective community projects.

An additional way to support social innovators would be to recognize and reward social innovations and to connect social entrepreneurs who are working at the community level. Supporting the kind of community-driven social entrepreneurship, such as Haiti Partners' work with Yunus Social Business and PADF in creating social enterprises and cooperative businesses, such as the bakery in the Bellevue-La-Montagne case, provides one long-term strategy for creating better economic opportunities and jobs in Haiti.

Lever of Transformation 4: State-Society Trust and Accountability

Given that there is no history or experience of a true social contract in Haiti, it is essential to build new state-civil society relationships through new forms of engagement. Given the long history and current situation where international agencies hold so much power in Haiti, they must be part of the solution initially but not long-term if Haiti is to break its historic patterns of 'top-down' aid. Relatedly, international NGOs typically lack accountability to either the Haitian state or local communities. Most of them are not even registered in Haiti. Haiti Partners provides a notable exception to this pattern. It is important to increase the accountability of NGOs operating in Haiti in a systematic way, so that local embeddedness, transparency, and true long-term capacity-building and investment are the norm, rather than the exception. Local NGOs offer an opportunity to build better inter-connected networks of communities that have a direct voice in policymaking. Haiti will remain extremely limited if a functional and accountable state is not established, but it is not something that can be built overnight. Because formal institutions are unreliable and typically dysfunctional, informal institutions -- such as relationships of trust, reciprocity, and respect -- are central to social interactions and successful development engagement. Also, building a social contract between people and the state could

be nurtured by connecting to community level participatory practice and research and to academics, governments, and partners inside and outside of Haiti. As appropriate, this collaborative work can draw on new technologies particularly in areas where Haiti has been able to leap-frog, such as mobile telephones, mobile data collection and citizen science applications.

2.5 Conclusion

Is Bellevue-La-Montagne on a pathway to transformative community development, and what learning from this case is instructive for development practice and policy in Haiti and similar contexts? The education-centered and highly collaborative community development approach that Haiti Partners has taken at Bellevue-La-Montagne is innovative and appropriate for Haiti and the local context. The participatory community development efforts underway there have placed construction of a new school and education at the heart of rebuilding efforts. Education and participatory practices are embedded in all aspects of the community development -- including social entrepreneurship, healthcare, environmental stewardship, community agriculture, site planning and building construction. These efforts involve participation of people and organizations (local and international) in dialogical negotiations that appear to aim to share power and build capabilities of local people, and to create, change, or preserve structures and institutions consistent with the interests of local people. Multiple methods and narrative analysis, including context-specific participatory methods, expose the validity of that proposition from the local participant point of view. Findings reveal the highly fragile nature of state/society relations, the importance of trust, new pride and possibility for the community, as well as tension points that potentially threaten the long-term sustainability of development projects, such as differences between outcomes for the community as a whole and individual households.

Nonetheless, the Bellevue-La-Montagne case shows promising results so far in terms of community amenities, education, local cohesion, hope, pride, jobs, training, and connections with others in Haiti and elsewhere. It is evident from this case study that *community* transformation is occurring, and glimpses of *social* transformation seem to be present, but it is

early days to assess clearly. The former does not require a change in culture necessarily, while the latter does, and it happens more slowly. Following household level changes over time will be imperative in order to clearly understand the extent to which social transformation is in process, particularly in ways that contribute to transformative resilience and long-term sustainability of the community development projects. Critically, social transformation that would render the community transformation resilient and lasting in the face of the absence of Haiti Partners, is not clear. If Haiti Partners were gone tomorrow, would the community development underway continue in its current trajectory? Have the gains made during the first five years of work of this remarkable effort rendered the community more resilient? While it is too early to assess with certainty, it is clear that there is potential for *transformative community development* -- that is, community development that leads to permanent changes in values and institutions. The intention is to carry out Qualitative Longitudinal Research every few years with the same 12 participant households.

Following local residents' stories over time will enable tracking of outcomes and dynamics of social transformation. For example, to return to Lisa's story from the opening quote of this article, we will follow her and her children's lived experiences and outcomes over time. Lisa currently has two children – both enrolled at ADECA school. She earns a livelihood of approximately \$1 per day as a subsistence farmer and market trader, and is an active parent at the school, and a board member of the new local cooperative set up to create social businesses to provide sustainable funding for school operations. Lisa currently lives with her children and partner in one small room of her mother-in-law's two room metal shanty, and she dreams that they will have their own home one day. Her hope is for her children to continue with a quality education that she could not, and to work with others to create a community that would serve as a model for all of Haiti. By tracking results related to these aspirations and the social and economic outcomes of Lisa's and other local children – and perhaps one day, their children's children -- we will make visible whether, and to what extent, this education-centered approach to community development contributes to social transformation over the long term.

At practical and policy levels, learning from this case can inform design and implementation of improved strategies for participatory and education-centered community development that provide important roles for local people and civil society, and a nuanced role for international organizations which is sensitive to power dynamics. Such development strategies would similarly give ‘voice’ to communities in their struggles for change and would activate key levers of transformation such as those identified in this case, including: 1) education; 2) place identity, networks, and research; 3) social entrepreneurship and social innovation; and 4) strengthening trust and accountability among the state, civil society and NGOs. These levers are in line with the medium-term priorities for policy action proposed by the World Bank in its 2015 report, *‘Haiti: Toward a New Narrative’*, which are: *(re)building the social contract; creating greater economic opportunities and better jobs; and reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience* (Singh and Barton-Dock, 2015). These worthy and important goals will need to be vigorously pursued at all levels if significant progress is to be made toward them. The local community level has a particularly important role to play, given the lack of functional formal institutions of the state and the reliance of people on themselves, neighbours, and communities in order to meet their basic needs.

This case provides an example of strategies for change at community level that have the potential to contribute to changing narratives in Haiti, and of Haiti. By scaling and connecting similar community level initiatives, Haiti may create a narrative of social transformation that would permanently change its development trajectory and outcomes for communities across the country. It has the potential to provide a beacon for other outer periphery countries and marginalized societies. Education-centered community development, as exemplified in the Bellevue-La-Montagne case, shows promise as one pathway for scaling toward such transformation.

Preface to Chapter 3: Participatory Practice and Research Videos

Haiti: From Tragedy to Transformation? Participatory practice and research for community development and social change

This chapter is presented in video format. It consists of two versions of a video I produced. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are the 13-minute and 6-minute versions, respectively.²⁰ The videos represent a part of the research carried out at the principal case study site of Bellevue-La-Montagne. They provide a brief overview of the post-earthquake situation and a rationale for carrying out participatory research to investigate community development and social change. Each video includes interview footage with a sampling of local residents as well as photographs taken by research participants. The two videos are similar, except that the longer version provides more information about the research methodology and findings.

²⁰ Both video versions may also be accessed online at: vimeo.com/jayneew or via the Vimeo channel on participation in Haiti: vimeo.com/channels/haitiparticipation.

Preface to Chapter 4: Participatory Methods Paper

Can Disasters Open Pathways to Social Change? Investigating community development through participatory methodologies and qualitative longitudinal research

Chapter 4 is focused on methods – particularly participatory photography – carried out at Bellevue-La-Montagne. I have analyzed the results generated by carrying out the methods, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the methods themselves. The study is designed as qualitative longitudinal research in order to expose dynamics of social change over time.

When the earthquake hit, I was working in the field. While I was turning the ground, I was lifting the pickaxe, I felt I was swinging, something was sweeping me away. I didn't know what to do, so I dropped the pickaxe. I lay down on the ground. There were other people at home, I heard them calling me. I asked what was wrong. They said they didn't know. I learned the house was destroyed. I asked if there were people inside. They said there was noone. Everybody was outside. I said thank God, if everyone was outside, there was noone inside, to heck with it. No problem, we can build houses, but we can't buy human beings. As long as you were not inside, if there was food inside, everything inside got broken, that's not a problem. All I care about is that you were not inside.

Research participant, 2013

The way I see it, five years from now, if everyone in the community puts their heads together, we work, we collaborate with one another, it can become a village. In the sense that this area will make a name for itself and will be considered a model area. I think we could have a park. Since this area is not near the ocean, there could be a swimming pool... A market where people can buy everything they need, they won't have to go downtown for their goods; a soccer field for them to play, a dance club where people can access entertainment and get rid of their stress. Then, I think there will be churches, the school, all levels – pre-school, elementary, secondary, college.

Research participant, 2013

Chapter 4:
Can Disasters Open Pathways to Social Change?
Investigating community development through participatory methodologies
and qualitative longitudinal research

4.1 Introduction

In the aftermath of any disaster social and political change can come about from either new power struggles or ‘from the new sense of self and society that emerges’ (Solnit, 2009: 21).

Many had hoped that such would be the case in Haiti, following the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010; the earthquake left some 220,000 people dead and 1.5 million homeless, and it destroyed most buildings of central government and thousands of schools, hospitals, and local institutions.

Following the disaster, former Prime Minister, Michèle Pierre-Louis, called for the *deconstruction* of the current paradigm in Haiti – the basis of production, education, access to employment, human rights, social systems, technology, infrastructure; she then called for *reconstruction* of society. She argued that *local civil society organizations should lead the way in these efforts by valuing local knowledge, and building on small scale successes* (Pierre-Louis, 2011; emphasis added). One community taking this approach is called Bellevue-La-Montagne, located in the mountains south of Port-au-Prince. In collaboration with international and local civil society organizations, primarily Haiti Partners, they adopted a participatory approach to community development, one which has involved ongoing dialogue with community residents about what is needed to build a better community.

Five years post-earthquake, the hoped for social change is not clearly evident in Bellevue-La-Montagne, nor elsewhere in Haiti. According to many, Haitian reconstruction can only succeed if efforts entail improved collaborations with Haiti’s complex and resilient social institutions (Dubois, 2012). More broadly, international development researchers recognize the importance of locally-based ‘people-centered’ approaches, ‘participatory development’ and ‘agency’ (Friedmann, 1992; Korten and Klauss, 1984; Mohan 2008). However, social institutions in Haiti

have substantially eluded conventional strategies of international development. Qualitative analyses that investigate community development in a context-specific and distinctly human way are lacking. Such analyses are needed in order to reveal patterns of social change in communities, which is a long-term and often elusive endeavour.

This research is designed to investigate community development and social change using methods that recognize local social institutions, that value and draw out local knowledge, and that elicit narratives from residents about their lived experience and community development processes underway. Frequently in international development research, the effects of what would appear on the outside as 'positive' community development (e.g., creation of new jobs in the community) are invisible. The unseen reality for local people (e.g., mixed consequences of new jobs) and effects on communities can be surprising and devastating.

An aim of this paper is to address a gap in literature that provides methods linking community development to social change, particularly in a post-disaster setting of fragility and extreme poverty, and in a country characterized by Fatton (2014) as the 'outer periphery' of the world economic system. More generally, this research questions: Under what conditions does community development lead to social change? And, what new insights can be gained about this question from experiences in Haiti? What research methods are appropriate and useful for eliciting this kind of information?

The methodology for this paper combines participatory methods and narrative analysis with a qualitative longitudinal research ('QLR') 'sensitivity' (Thomson and McLeod, 2015). This strategy attempts to give 'voice' to communities in their struggles to overcome the main barriers to realizing change, including how power relationships shape community development and decision-making processes. I use methods of participatory photography, participatory mapping, community walks, probe-based and household interviews, focus groups, and video interviews. This research methodology has as its lens participatory and transformative theories that have embedded values of social justice, sustainability, participation, and an ideology of equality

(Freire, 1972 and Ledwith, 2011). The focus is on exposing what participatory photography and participatory mapping can reveal about early outcomes in community development and potential for social change in this community.

In the following sections, I describe the participatory methods used and their context-specific design that aimed to expose nuanced realities of lived experience and the community development underway in Bellevue-La-Montagne. I then discuss both 1) learning *from* the participatory methods: including a ‘community core story’, themes that emerged and what they expose about the dynamics of community development and social change; and 2) learning *about* the methods: what are strengths and shortcomings of the methods in this particular context, and what does the mixing of methods reveal? First, I turn to the field setting and my positionality within it.

Field setting and researcher positionality

The research site is Bellevue-La-Montagne, a semi-rural area in the mountains southeast of Port-au-Prince, which suffered substantial destruction in the 2010 earthquake. Five years later, few people had been able to rebuild their homes and most now live in ‘temporary’ shelters made of metal sheets and plastic tarps, or still in their partially-destroyed homes. Construction of community facilities has been more successful with residents collaborating with local and international organizations, one of which is Haiti Partners.²¹ Through participatory practices, residents decided on an education-centered approach to community development that incorporates social enterprise, sustainability goals, and community health. They began with building a new school; the first phase of construction was completed in 2012, and as of 2015, 153 students were enrolled from pre-school through first grade. (See Chapter 3.)

²¹ Other partners involved in community development efforts include: 1) Architecture for Humanity and BAR Architects, for site and building design; 2) Extollo Construction, for construction of buildings, as well as training and jobs for local people; 3) Miyamoto for seismic structural engineering; 4) Give Love, for toilet composting systems; 5) Haiti Clinic, for healthcare; 6) Yunus Social Business (formerly Grameen Creative Labs) for setting up social enterprises; 7) AMURT, for teacher education; and 8) Beyond Borders for training to end child domestic servitude practices and gender-based violence. For further details, see Engle (2015), which provides a detailed case study about Bellevue-La-Montagne’s school-centered community development.

Haiti Partners is a small not-for-profit organization with offices in Haiti and the US. The founders are Americans who have worked in Haiti for many years, earlier as Beyond Borders, and have a network of hundreds of Haitian colleagues in education and community leadership across the country.²² Their work has focused on participatory education and democracy building. A founder of Haiti Partners, John Engle, has lived in Bellevue-La-Montagne since 1990, is well known to local residents, and is my brother. From a research perspective, this family connection is double-edged. On one hand, I would not be carrying out this research if it were not for this family connection, given the difficulty of gaining access and trust of local people as an outsider. On the other hand, John's leadership role and reputation in the community affect how people see and behave towards me. Most Haitians rely heavily on reputation and relationships of trust to conduct daily transactions and meet their basic needs. Because people trust John, as his sister, I am automatically considered trustworthy by most people.

Beyond matters of access, I selected this community for study based on a purposive, information-oriented sampling strategy, which combines instrumental and paradigmatic selection. It is instrumental in that the issues of the community and learning which is more widely applicable are dominant (Stake, 1995), and it is paradigmatic because an intention is "to develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case concerns" (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 79), which is post-disaster community development that is participatory, collaborative, and education-centered.

In research design and in the field, I have been sensitive to my positionality as a white middle-class woman from the global north working in a predominantly black society where positions of power are overwhelmingly held by men. I am conscious of the history of slavery and oppression by white people in Haiti's past, and of the ongoing imperialism of the 'international community' exacerbated in the post-earthquake period through policy and structural interventions that have reduced Haiti's sovereignty (Deshommes, 2012; Fatton, 2014).

²² John Engle and David Diggs co-founded Beyond Borders in 1993 and served as co-directors until 2009, at which time John Engle and a colleague, Kent Annan, spun off Haiti Partners as an independent organization.

Participatory methodology to explore community development and social change

This section outlines a central proposition of this research, and describes the methodology and methods that were carried out in the field to explore that proposition.

Existing literature – both academic and practitioner, as well as my professional work in diverse settings suggests that community development has potential to catalyze social change (Oliver-Smith, 2002; Pelling, 2003). Moreover, in a post-disaster context, a window of opportunity for such change seems to open, if only ephemerally (Pelling and Dill, 2010; Solnit, 2009). Social change, including institutional adaptations, can be effected through social innovation²³ combined with participatory collaborative approaches which are sustained through ongoing dialogue processes that allow for continual negotiation between organizations and community participants (Healey 2006, Innes and Booher, 2010; Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Ostrom, 1990). Haiti Partners and local residents aim for such change; a goal of this research is to explore, from the residents' viewpoint, how that is working. I turn now to explain what is meant here by *community development and social change*.

Community development is an interdisciplinary field that combines spatial and material development with development of people and their capacity to manage change. Community development is meant to enable people to mobilize existing skills, reframe problems, work collaboratively and find new ways to use community assets, and involves flexible processes guided by principles of participation and self-help. The key purpose of community development is “collective action for social change, principled on social justice and a sustainable world”, according to Ledwith and Springett (2010: 14). *Community development* here is based on values of social and environmental justice, social innovation (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Mulgan, 2007; Kendra and Wachtendorf 2007), and dialogical participation, and aimed at social and systemic change through informal networks and local praxis (as in Freire, 1972; Kennedy, 2011).

²³ Social innovation refers to ‘new ideas that work to meet pressing unmet needs and improve peoples’ lives’ (Mulgan 2007: 7). Moulaert *et al.* 2010 asserts that demonstrating that processes of social innovation are occurring provides the linkage between community development and social change.

Social change is change in personal and social life and involves a public learning process that leads to permanent shifts in institutions and values (McLeod and Thomson, 2009; Sandercock, 2000). Social change involves “continuous interaction between the creative activity of agency in relation with others, re-thinking, affirming and changing situations, and the organizing power of structural forces” Healey (2006: 91). Social change, according to Friedmann (1987: 250, 297), is spatially cultivated in local communities: “A political practice aimed at social transformation can be effective only when it is based on the extra-political actions of ordinary people gathered in their own communities.”

Participatory methodology with a Qualitative Longitudinal Research (QLR) sensibility

Participatory methodologies are now well established in fields such as education, urban planning, human geography, public health, and community development (Forester, 1999; Somekh, 2006; Ledwith and Springett, 2010; Sarkissian and Hurford, 2010; and Wates, 2000). They are applied as well in international development and in post-disaster contexts (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004; Nakkiran and Ramesh, 2009; Narayanasamy, 2009; and Özerdem and Bowd, 2010).²⁴ According to Creswell (2007: 102),²⁴ the rationale for a qualitative study is that ‘a need exists to add to or fill a gap in the literature or to provide a voice for individuals not heard in the literature.’ With this article I aim both to add to existing literature on post-disaster and participatory strategies toward social change, as well as to elicit narratives and provide a voice for those not heard, namely community residents in Haiti who have endured tremendous hardship, most recently as a result of the 2010 earthquake. According to Ledwith and Springett (2010: 93), participatory research entails that

researchers, acting as facilitators and guarding against their own biases, seek to minimize any power differentials between them and the researched. The research design, therefore, is flexible, able to respond to changing contexts and emergent findings as they arise. Methods are often visual and interactive to allow participants with all backgrounds to participate in both generating and analyzing the data.

²⁴ Participatory methodologies in international development include participatory learning and action (PLA) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA).

With regard to social change, it is not possible to convincingly argue that dynamic change processes are occurring without a temporal aspect to the research study. I conducted field work over several years, which provides limited understanding of change over time, but the research is designed with an eye to carrying out qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) with the same participants longer term. QLR is connected to a recent ‘temporal’ turn in social science research, which can provide ‘strikingly different insights into policy problems’ (Thomson and McLeod, 2015).²⁵

The strategy of inquiry, therefore, focuses on understanding *from within* and *from outside* and engages participatory approaches within a wider aim or ‘sensibility’ of qualitative longitudinal research.²⁶ Consistent with phronesis research (as in Flyvbjerg, 2001 and Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2012), guiding questions to elicit narratives from the point of view of participants, were the following:

1. *Of what story or stories do I (we) find myself (ourselves) a part?*
2. *Where are we going (as a community)? And is it desirable?*
3. *Who wins and who loses and by which mechanisms of power?*
4. *What, if anything, do we want to do? What should be done?*

I used multiple methods at three levels of engagement: individual, collective activities, and institutions (See Table 4.1; format adapted from Mdee, 2010). The scope of this article is limited to work with individuals and collective activities. With individuals we listened to local perspectives, often coming at the same questions from multiple angles in order to triangulate data collected and analysis.

²⁵ Janice Perlman’s *Favela* (2010), while not technically QLR, provides an excellent example of research that ‘revisits’ families in Rio de Janeiro favelas 40 years after the original interviews were conducted. The study provides unique insights about changes that occurred in dozens of families at two points in time, forty years apart. However, because participants were not interviewed in the intervening period, the study did not enable adaptive learning over time that might have revealed trends to point toward changes that might have been made along the way in local decision making and policy.

²⁶ The detailed case study and agency-structure analysis is a separate article (Engle 2015).

Table 4.1: Overview of Research Methods and Data Collection

Level of Engagement	Methods (Year)	Sampling/Scale (# participants: year)	Recording (language) *
Individuals: listening to voices and perspectives	Participatory photography (2012, 2013)	Self-selected (20: 2012); Purposive (12: 2013) mix of age, gender, and levels of engagement in community development	Photographs
	Participatory mapping: Mobility (2013)	Purposive (12: 2013) All participatory photography participants	Hand-drawn maps showing daily trips and spatial connections
	Household interviews (2013)		Audio, photographs, interview forms (Haitian Creole)
	Earthquake story interviews (2012, 2013)	Purposive (5: 2012; 12: 2013)	Audio, video (Haitian Creole)
	Probe interviews (2012, 2013)	Purposive (5: 2012; 5:2013)	Audio, video, notes (Haitian Creole)
Participant observation / field notes (2012, 2013)	Activities chosen collectively by participants: community walking tour + market visit (with one camera)	Field notes, audio and video of walking tour guided by participants; photos of market visit (English/Haitian Creole)	
Collective activities: revealing interfaces of structure and agency	Informal discussions with research collaborators and key informants / researcher reflections (2011, 2012, 2013)	Haiti Partners staff, family,colleagues, housemates (5: 2011, 2012, 2013)	Field notes (English)
	Photo Dialogue Circles (2013)	Purposive (12: 2013) All participatory photography participants	Audio recording and notes; Community timeline with photographs, dates, and drawings (Haitian Creole)
	Participatory mapping: Places (2013)		Drawn in chalk by participants on concrete floor, then transposed to paper
	Community walks (2013)		Audio and video (Haitian Creole)
	Participatory mapping: Actors (2013)		Flipchart lists of organizations and agencies by sector; photographs of floor maps
Key informant and organizational representative interviews (2011, 2012, 2013)	Purposive, snowball (25: 2011, 2012, 2013)		Audio; in some cases video (French/English)
Institutional evolution: understanding processes of change	Informal discussions with key informants and field collaborators / researcher reflections, document review (2011, 2012, 2013)	Haiti Partners staff, family, colleagues, housemates (10: 2011, 2012, 2013)	Documents and field notes (English)
	Participant observation / field notes (2011, 2012, 2013)	Public community meetings; various HP meetings; Open Space Haiti conference; school governing council; cultural activities	Field notes (English)

* Interviews and Dialogue Circle recordings were subsequently transcribed and translated to English

Collective activities were intended to reveal interfaces of structure and agency (as in Flyvbjerg 2001). Table 4.1 sets out the methods used to investigate each level of engagement. Column two lists the methods which were implemented and the time frame.²⁷ The third column provides the sampling strategy and number of participants. The last column indicates the main recording media used, and where applicable, the original language of the data.

Participatory methods

Participatory methods represent a subset of my research methods and are the focus of this article. These methods recognize that people have their own community based, local knowledge systems that are often invisible from the outside, particularly to foreigners. They have the potential to yield more accurate data by drawing out and hearing the voices of those who are impoverished and excluded, thereby deepening understanding about community development impacts on local people and power dynamics at play. In order to maximize the potential of participatory methods, I designed them in a way that is specific to the local context. I used primarily participatory photography and mapping, and I chose to work with the same group of 12 people throughout in order to facilitate social learning of the group (Friedmann, 1987). The 12 participants, of whom six were women, ranged in age from 17 through 50. Some had been involved in the community development projects underway, and some had not. The level of formal education varied from zero years to post-high school training.

In method design, I drew on qualitative research sources (Berg, 1998; Crang, 2005; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Özerdem and Bowd, 2010; Patton, 2002; Reason and Bradbury, 2001; and Somekh, 2006), participatory planning literature (Sandercock and Attili, 2012; Sarkissian and Bunjamin-Mau, 2009; Sarkissian and Hurford, 2010; and Wates, 2000), as well as my own experience practicing these methods. Table 4.2 provides the schedule for the main phase of field work. Interviews and dialogue circles served as means for collective analysis of data

²⁷ The present article is limited to discussion of the participatory methods. Descriptions and data collected from additional methods, such as probe and household interviews, are provided in a separate community case study article (Engle 2015).

gathered through photographs and maps. Community walks – including a local tour and a walk to the regional market – were decided upon collectively by participants and research collaborators. As column two highlights in bold, activities were designed to address phronesis research questions.

Participatory photography

Participatory photography involves providing cameras to participants to record their lived experiences and perceptions. It has been used for decades in urban planning practice, and was used by Paulo Freire in the 1970s as a means for dialogue and *conscientisation* (critical awareness of one's social reality through reflection and action). More recently, it has become widespread in multiple disciplines, particularly public health, geography and community-based participatory research (CBPR), which brought a specific set of steps to participatory photography, and named it *Photovoice* (Wang and Burris, 1997).²⁸

In Bellevue-La-Montagne, I used participatory photography as the primary structuring element for addressing the research questions and for communicating the research project to participants. Given the potential barriers to clarity between researcher and participants, such as differences in language, culture, worldviews, and life experiences, I used photography as a common language and framed the work as 'Photo dialogue' ('Dyalòg Foto' in Haitian Creole). Prior to the main phase of participatory photography, I sent invitation letters to the 12 participants to explain the research and expectations. Once in the field, I took the first full day with participants to read through together the ethics consent forms and discuss in detail what we were embarking on together. The second and third days of field work were devoted to photography training with a professional. In the weeks that followed we interspersed photo-taking exercises with the methods below (also see Table 4.2).

²⁸ *Photovoice* is a type of participatory photography that has prescribed steps with the following aims in knowledge production: (1) enable participants to document and reflect on their community's concerns and strengths; (2) facilitate critical dialogue and learning about important issues through group discussion of photographs; and (3) be heard by policy makers (Wang and Burris 1997).

- *Dialogue circles* (akin to focus groups) to discuss photos and explore topics in a forum designed for knowledge generation, collective sense making, and social learning;
- *Probe-based interviews* where I showed participants videos of themselves from the previous year to invite reactions and probe how their lives and the community have changed since;
- *Earthquake story interviews* which were video-recorded to hear earthquake experiences and what life has been like since the disaster; and
- *Household interviews* in each participant's home to collect baseline data on household members, housing types, livelihoods, socio-economic conditions, education, earthquake story, community development involvement and perceptions, and subjective well-being.

Participatory mapping

Participatory mapping is a process in which participants present information in a spatial form. It can involve mapping many kinds of environmental, social, or economic information, such as land use, health conditions, resources, skills, or vulnerabilities. In this research I carried out three mapping processes: mobility, places, and actors, in order to address the research questions and provide means for triangulation of data and methods. I drew on participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methods (primarily Narayanasamy, 2009) to design mapping exercises specific to the local context and research aims.

- 1) Mobility mapping.** Mobility maps are drawn in order to expose the movement patterns of individuals or groups. For this research, I chose to have each of the 12 individual participants depict on a map: 1) where each person travels on a daily and weekly basis; 2) whether each person has connections outside the region – elsewhere in Haiti or overseas, and if so, whether they have any contact with these connections or receive remittances; and 3) whether participants have travelled outside of the local region, and if so, where.

Table 4.2: Fieldwork Schedule: Participatory Research Activities, July 2013

Activity	Description / aims / questions	Participants	Materials
Information session (day 1)	Provide participants with details of Photo Dialogue process; explain expectations, time commitments, ethics forms. Introduce question for week: <i>'Of what story or stories do I (we) find myself (ourselves) a part?'</i>	All 12 participatory research participants, researcher and collaborator	Ethics consent forms
Probe-based individual interviews (day 1)	Questions for participants: <i>What do you think of your video/photos from last year? What in your own life or in community life has changed/stayed the same since then? How have your aspirations for or concerns about the future changed?</i>	6 video interviewees from 2012, researcher and collaborator	Videos from Photo Forum, summer 2012; audio and video recorders
Photography training and photo taking (days 2-3)	Training on camera use, (photography, downloading, editing, printing); Photos to answer: <i>'What is our current story?'</i> photos of selves, homes, sacred/favourite places (day 2); community problem spots, places essential for everyday life (day 3) food, water, washing, sanitation	All participants, professional photographer, researcher and collaborator	12 digital cameras and accessories, printer, computer, hard drive, audio and video recorders
Mapping activities (days 5-7)	1: Places: Map on floor community places: lakous/housing, water sources, gardens/food sources, waste disposal, livelihoods, social spaces, sacred/favourite places, sensitive/problem areas, transportation, schools, healthcare, etc. 1: Social map (resources); 2: Mobility map (movement); 3: Actors (importance vs. effectiveness)	All participants, researcher and collaborator	Chalk, paper, markers, participant photos, post-its
Community timeline and Dialogue circles (day 12)	Intended to address: past (<i>from where have we come?</i>) <i>key events, changes, and landmarks</i> ; present (<i>where are we now?</i>); and future (<i>where are we headed as a community?</i>).	All participants, researcher and collaborator	large paper roll, markers, drawing paper, scissors, photos
Design of guided community walk and test tour (day 14)	Based on mapping activities and community timeline, participants collaborate to design a guided walking tour of the community (contributes to 'community core story')	All participants (researcher and collaborator as resources)	paper, pens, camera, audio and video recorders
Guided community walk (day 15)	Participants lead researcher and collaborators on a guided community walk (1-2 hour tour).	All participants, researcher and collaborator, videographer and photographer	Guided walk plan, camera, audio and video recorders
Photo workshop and Dialogue circles (focus group) (days 17-18)	Photo taking: Images that provide glimpses into the future. Dialogue session: address <i>'Where are we going (as a community and as individuals)?'</i> (hopes, aspirations, fears, concerns associated with school and development projects underway and how they affect the community)	All participants, researcher and collaborator	cameras and accessories, printer, flipchart markers, audio recorder
Dialogue circles (day 19)	Address: <i>'Is where we are headed desirable? 'Who wins and who loses and by which mechanisms of power?' Do the new initiatives change everyday life for me (feelings/actions)? How could the NGO-community collaborations work better, and be more mutually accountable? How can community members ensure that they have independent voices, and be collaborative without being overly-reliant on NGOs?</i>	All participants, researcher and collaborator	flipchart, markers, audio recorder
Dialogue circles (day 19)	Address: <i>"What, if anything, do we want to do about it?" And how do our evolving stories relate to broader stories of Haiti and the rest of the world? What are the trends in recent years and what do they mean for us?</i>	All participants, researcher and collaborator	flipchart, markers, audio recorder
Household interviews (throughout the month)	Demographic and socio-economic data (Grameen and FONKOZE questions); plus the following: <i>Tell us about yourself and your life (ie name, age, where from, family, household, education). Where were you when the earthquake happened? What has life been like since then? What are your everyday life strategies to earn a livelihood and care for your family? What would you like to do to improve your family or community? What are your main concerns about and aspirations for the future?</i>	Household of each participant, researcher and collaborator	Interview sheets, audio recorder
Video interviews (+ video of guided walk + photo exhibit) (days 27-28)	Contributes to baseline data for QLR (qualitative longitudinal research). Questions: <i>Did the earthquake affect your life, and if so, how? (What does the earthquake mean for Haiti?) What does current community development mean to you (i.e. school, social enterprises, outsiders)? Have you been involved in planning and carrying out these projects, and if so, how? How have they affected your life, your community? How would you like to change things? What are your main concerns now and for the future? (What do you think about the Dyalòg Foto project?)</i>	All participants, researcher and collaborator	Audio and video recorders, interview sheets, tripod
Photo Dialogue closing celebration (day 30)	Closing event of Photo Dialogue	Participants, family/friends, researcher, collaborators + others from Haiti Partners	Participation certificates, slide show + photo exhibit

2) Places mapping. In order to explore how participants perceive their everyday spatial surroundings, we mapped the geographic places and spaces of the community together. We used chalk on the concrete floor of the school to indicate the main geographic features of the area, as well as roads, sacred places (churches, vodou temple), their homes, community facilities (school, dance hall, cockfight pit, health clinic), and the water source. We then transposed the map to paper, made copies, and invited participants to work in groups of three to discuss the maps and to develop a community walk trajectory, i.e. how they would like to share the story of their community through a walking tour. Participants decided which places and homes would be visited and who would provide commentary at each stop, and then rehearsed the tour together.

3) Actor mapping. The goal of actor mapping was to 1) identify by sector all of the organizations and agencies operating locally; and 2) together assess the relative importance to the community and effectiveness of the work of each organization. We carried out the process collectively, and agreed to group actors according to sectors of: education, health, environment, spiritual life, finance, and a catch-all 'other services'. We had a discussion about each organization, sector by sector, and depicted group assessments together on the floor. A paper star in the center represented the community. Each actor was identified by a circle; the larger the circle, the more important the actor to the community. A next step was to place each circle on the floor in relation to the center star according to how effectively it works – the closer to the star, the more effective in the community. The product is a 'mapping' of all actors in the community including the participants' collective assessment of each actor's local importance and effectiveness.

4.2 Learning *from* the methods: community core story and themes revealed

One of the challenges of making sense of data from participatory methods is the quantity and multiple forms it takes; in this case: transcripts from dialogue circles and interviews, audio and video recordings, photographs, maps, and field notes. In order to make sense of the various

data, stories and topics heard in the field, I decided to use primarily narrative analysis and thematic coding, and I tested my interpretations with research collaborators. There are a variety of ways that the findings could be represented; the following narrative is but one (also see Table 4.3.) In keeping with the ‘listening to stories’ theme of this research and with a ‘sensitivity’ of long-term study of social change in this community, I share the findings as a meta-narrative, or ‘community core story’ followed by a discussion of three ‘social change dynamics’ revealed.

Community Core Story

We have woven together findings from the methods -- individual stories, image and mapping analysis, and collective dialogue sessions -- and searched for patterns to create a meta-narrative, or ‘community core story’ (see also Dunstan and Sarkissian, 1994). This narrative is one interpretation and is by no means a complete representation of all the qualitative data collected. As a next step in this longitudinal research I will take this core story back to the community, as a means for both ‘member checking’ that I have understood what participants intended, as well as a basis for discussion about how life has changed in the intervening period and how participants would want to have the community core story evolve over time. The core story consists of six vignettes: ‘forgotten’ place; the ‘good years’; violence and insecurity; never-ending transition; the earthquake; and community pride and connections. Each vignette is briefly described in first person plural – intended to represent voices of community residents, and direct quotations from participants provide sample illustrations.²⁹

❖ **‘Forgotten’ place.** *We are considered by surrounding communities to be ‘backward’, and some say we’re violent. We are a ‘forgotten’ place – development happened around us, but never came here. When people are sick here, they live with pain, or die because health clinics are too far away and medicine is too expensive. If we need the police and call for them, they usually say they don’t know where we are, or they want us to pay for their fuel to*

²⁹ All participant quotes in this article are from July 2013. I have not attributed participant names in keeping with academic ethics norms.

come find us. We don't have money for that. Some of our kids go to school, some of the time, but it's hard because the schools are far away and cost money. Sometimes we have to choose whether to eat or send our kids to school.

... every other locality is advanced, this locality has never been advanced. It wasn't until [Haiti Partners] came to build the school here; the locality has changed. I can say, well, we're not living the woods anymore. That's what I see; we didn't have a school nearby, sometimes one of my children went to school up there in the mountain, when he was going to the official 6th grade exams, I had to take him all the way down [to the city] for the exams. Moreover, to go to the doctor, you had to go all the way to Pétionville to see the doctor. But now, we have doctors in the locality and free of charge on top of it. Our school, nearby. And we are going to have bread; everything will be close by. In the future, you will have a supermarket; if you need certain things, you'll be able to buy them. You see it is a good thing. Research participant, 2013

- ❖ **'Good years' under Duvalier dictatorships.** *When Papa Doc and then his son, Jean-Claude, Duvalier were in power (1957-1986), life was much better here. We could afford to eat and we were safer. The tonton macoutes [Duvaliers' police, many of whom lived nearby] only gave you trouble if you were making trouble yourself. As long as you minded your own business, life was much better.*

During Duvalier it was safer. You were not afraid; you'd see people outside playing dominoes, drinking. Well, if you're in the street [now], you're walking, someone comes up to you, he asks you a question and you don't answer well, he crushes you right there. Research participant, 2013

- ❖ **Post-Aristide violence and insecurity.** *Following the coup d'état and exile of Aristide in the early 1990s, life became insecure. Food prices surged, there was little opportunity to improve our livelihoods, and criminals often came up through our village. On the bright side, during that time, in 1997, the Germany Embassy paid to have water piped here.*

After Aristide left, they were going around in broad daylight, killing people, robbing people, taking everything they had. Although people slept in bushes and trees, they had to sleep with one eye opened. Research participant, 2013

- ❖ **Never-ending transition.** *Throughout the 2000s, food prices increased; we had regular disaster setbacks that affected our homes, roads, and crops – primarily hurricanes and floods; and we continued to lack connections to the outside world. Few of us had telephones or ever left the region. We continue today to lack electricity, good sanitation, good roads. Democracy and decentralisation of government never came about as expected.*

I used to buy a small canister of rice for 5 cents, after the coup d'état against Aristide in 1991, it started increasing. Aristide had another term, he won and then had another coup d'état. If the rice cost 10 cents, it increased to 20. There was another President, then Aristide came again in 2004, the small canister of rice cost 5 dollars, a gallon of fuel was about 50 gourdes. As soon as he left, it increased, and it kept increasing. Everything increased that way. That's because of the coups d'état. As long as there is no President, goods cannot enter in the country and because of that the market traders increased prices, but they didn't decrease them when goods started coming in. It continues like this until now; we don't know what it will be like tomorrow. Research participant, 2013

- ❖ **The earthquake.** *The 2010 earthquake [known as 'goudougoudou'] was devastating. We suffered huge material losses; some of us were injured or saw others die. Most of us had small one to three room homes; nearly all were destroyed, and none of us can afford materials to rebuild. Scam artists made it worse in the aftermath. We paid what meagre money we had for the promise of materials, which never came. Who knows when the next quake or other disaster will come?*

When the earthquake hit, I was working in the field. While I was turning the ground, I was lifting the pickaxe, I felt I was swinging, something was sweeping me away. I didn't know what to do, so I dropped the pickaxe. I lay down on the ground. There were other people at home, I heard them calling me. I asked what was wrong. They said they didn't know. I learned the house was destroyed. I asked if there were people inside. They said there was noone. Everybody was outside. I said thank God, if everyone was outside, there was noone inside, to heck with it. No problem, we can build houses, but we can't buy human beings. As long as you were not inside, if there was food inside, everything inside got broken, that's not a problem. All I care about is that you were not inside. Research participant, 2013

People of Bellevue-La-Montagne were first victimized by the earthquake, and then again by scams and promises post-earthquake [such as to rebuild homes]. Research participant, 2013

- ❖ **Community pride and connections.** *With the construction of the school, the health clinic, the bakery and all the training and participation activities happening here, we feel less forgotten and have a sense of pride and hope for the future. Our community is improving, and surrounding communities no longer look down on us. Even though food prices are still high, there is little opportunity for work, we have droughts and floods that threaten our crops, and we still have not been able to rebuild our homes, we are grateful for the school and the other community development projects, and we think life will be better for our kids because they will get a good education and have connections with the outside world. We don't expect the Haitian government to ever care about us or provide services here, but we will work together and with trustworthy international partners to build a better community.*

I am so happy about the new school. The good thing for me with the school is that I became president of the Parents' Committee. I am the one who, along with other parents, plants flowers and keeps the school yard nice and clean. In the future, I would like for the school to educate the kids well and for the kids to be able to speak the three languages [French, Haitian Creole and English] and also for the school to grow for more children to come in the future. Research participant, 2013

The school is a great thing for the community... There are 10-year-old children who go to other schools who haven't learned certain things the three-year-olds who go to our school have learned. Research participant, 2013

The way I see it, five years from now, if everyone in the community puts their heads together, we work, we collaborate with one another, it can become a village. In the sense that this area will make a name for itself and will be considered a model area. I think we could have a park. Since this area is not near the ocean, there could be a swimming pool... A supermarket where people can buy everything they need, they won't have to go downtown for their goods; a soccer field for them to play, a dance club where people can get entertainment and get rid of their stress. Then, I think there will be churches, the school, all levels – pre-school, elementary, secondary, college. Research participant, 2013

Social Change Dynamics

There are a number of themes as well as community development and social change dynamics that were revealed from the participatory methods, and which are listed in Table 4.3. Some themes are integrated into the community core story above; other recurring themes from dialogue circles included: post-earthquake housing challenges, multiple and conflicting views on religion and spirituality, folklore traditions, and the challenges associated with death of loved ones and funeral rites. In terms of social change dynamics, the following three dimensions came through strongly in data interpretation (and are highlighted in bold in Table 4.3).

- 1. People tend to value community outcomes over individual wellbeing** and despite challenges of everyday survival, people take a long view and hope for a better future for their children. They have great aspirations for community change, even though people have serious economic struggles, and many suffer from malnutrition.

You'll find some people who can afford coffee in the morning, and others, even among us here, who can't. Research participant, 2013

Participants are proud to value community and collaboration over individual gain. Some participants expressed that they felt their community had been 'chosen' by God for the school and other development projects underway, and they share a new sense of pride and hope for community change. They are encouraged as well to have foreign visitors to their area, as they claim that no '*blan*' (white people) had visited regularly in the past.

I would like to see all of us live like brothers and sisters; for instance, if I have an opportunity or money, I share with others or the other one shares with me. Or if I had 50 gourdes, and that lady needed 25 gourdes and she asked me to lend her 25 gourdes, I would like for us to remain friends Tomorrow, if she needs 25 gourdes again, she will have it. It's called collaboration. You need me today, I help you; tomorrow I need you, you help me, you need me, you help me. We need one another. Research participant, 2013

2. Participants feel that their voices have been heard in community development processes

and that they have contributed to shaping development decisions. This sense of agency seemed to be empowering to people, and they unanimously expressed that they felt that their opinions counted and they were welcome at the table by Haiti Partners regarding community development projects, and that decision-making processes were open and transparent. Also noteworthy, Haiti Partners received the highest ratings possible from participants in the actor mapping process for both its importance to the community and effectiveness in its work.

Every time [Haiti Partners] is doing an activity, they always invite us so we can brainstorm together and determine what is good for the community. Research participant, 2013

3. Participants do not expect the state will ever act in their interests. The state of state/society relations is lamentable. People do not rely on the state for even the most basic needs of clean water, sanitation, and housing, nor for services of police protection, health, education, road repairs, or electricity. Appallingly, many people expect the state to be violent. Perhaps because Haitians have no history or experience with a true social contract (Tippenhauer, 2010), and the state has been referred to as ‘predatory’ (Fatton, 2002; Locher, 1990) people do not expect that the state could be a force for good. Participants expressed that, for them, positive change will only come about through their working collaboratively and more effectively, including with international organizations.

One participant described a recent encounter with a local government worker.

On my way to my market stall the other day, I stopped on the side of the road to sell someone some tomatoes, and a person from City government hit me on the arm with a stick! It’s forbidden now to sell in the street. Research participant, 2013

I questioned whether people should be able to expect governments to uphold human rights or to provide services.

Table 4.3: Key Learnings from the Participatory Methods: Themes and Narratives

Key learnings from the methods	
Method	Themes that emerged directly
Participatory photography (and dialogue circles)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-earthquake housing challenges • Community as ‘forgotten’, ‘backward’ place • Everyday life and spaces: family, homes, kitchens, bathing, etc. • New hope and pride with school and community development projects • Livelihoods: challenges (cost of living); opportunities (jobs at school, construction, bakery) • Multiple and conflicting views on spirituality, religion, rituals, entertainment • Central role of spirituality (Christian and vodou – ‘si dye vie’) and its connection with entertainment (crusades, religious festivals) • Folklore traditions (often connect with slavery period) • Funerals and their challenges/expenses: expectations of the community to provide food + drink for 15 days of mourning
Participatory mapping: Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By far most trips are on foot • Trips to market may be with a donkey or tap-tap to haul goods • Little to no travel outside of the sector • Lack of connections to outside world; no participants receive remittances
Participatory mapping: Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disaster history and experience: hurricanes, flooding, earthquake • Ecologically-sensitive areas, e.g. that flood during hurricanes or heavy rains • New pride of place, home, community as a result of the new school
Participatory mapping: Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High heterogeneity in effectiveness and importance of organizations working in spheres of: education, health, environment, spiritual life, finance, and housing/infrastructure • Some organizations which are considered important for the community (e.g. Extollo Construction) are considered ineffective, and vice versa
Synthesis: Mixing Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflexivity and daily sense making with research collaborators • Relationships and field knowledge (researcher and collaborators as instrument/vectors of change) • Multiple participatory methods enabled deeper dialogue and triangulation by participants and researchers; themes revealed early on could be re-visited from different perspectives (e.g. state/society relations came up explicitly only in organization mapping, but it brought together various strands which had been raised earlier) • Violence by the State is seen as necessary by some • Participants do not expect the State to respect basic human rights
	<p>Dynamics of community development and social change revealed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants tend to value community outcomes over individual outcomes • Nostalgia for Duvalier years: people felt safer; food prices were lower: Many <i>tonton macoutes</i> (the Duvalier era security notorious for brutality) lived in the local community; this provided protection for local people. For them, violence began post-Aristide • Social learning in dialogue circles was revealed; this was enabled in part by sample size. Elicited stories, discussion, and collective sensemaking on topics of community history, cockfights, everyday life, livelihoods, local organizations, human rights, community problems and aspirations, community development and change
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants have little to no opportunity to travel outside their region and no current connections with family abroad • Sense of being ‘forgotten’
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People are very proud of living in this community because of new community development underway and attention from outside. They want their stories to be heard, as shown through their deciding to create and record a community walk
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State/society relations: no expectation for state to act in people’s interests • Importance of local civil society groups, collective action and intl orgs • Insecurity: no trust in police, have personal safety and food security concerns • People are self-reliant (euphemism for ‘resilient’): residents self-organize to repair roads, water pipes, etc.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meta Narrative: Community ‘Core Story’ interpretation • Multiple field visits over time allowed for reflection, testing, analysis, and adaptive learning to inform an iterative research design and strengthen relationships of trust • Dynamics of power and trust in community relationships are critical and permeate all aspects of life and possibilities for community development and social change, and yet they are often opaque to outsiders and to traditional international development research methods • People feel that their voices have been heard in community development decision making

What we would like from government – to provide food, to provide peace, to provide jobs. Research participant, 2013

As long as you have a population, they have security, they can eat, the people feel they have a good President. Now they don't feel any President tried to work to bring down the cost of living. They take their money and hide it in Swiss banks; they won't be staying [here in Haiti], and they have a place to go. They don't work toward bringing down the high cost of living. Research participant, 2013

I don't know if there will come a government that will respect human rights, but I don't think there will ever be a government to respect human rights in Haiti since 1986. Research participant, 2013

I introduced the notion of the 'right to human flourishing' as in Friedmann (2000).

I think it's a nice idea but I don't know about those governments; if it's up to governments, we will never flourish. Ask the government how many people are living in Haiti, they will not be able to tell you. The state is supposed to know how much electricity, how much money is spent on food, water, they're very strict about that elsewhere, but the governments here don't know anything about you. Research participant, 2013

It is true that vast numbers of Haitians are 'invisible to the legal system', meaning that they do not possess official documentation, such as a birth certificate or identity card, let alone a bank account. This represents yet one symptom of the immense challenge of state/society relations in Haiti.

This set of findings on state/society relations of which we have only begun to scratch the surface, has important implications for structure and policy, an analysis of which is outside the scope of this article. Further analysis of structure/agency dynamics in this case is provided in Engle (2015), and recent works that explore in depth the topic of the role of the state in Haiti are Fatton (2014 and 2016), and Singh and Barton-Dock (2015).

Issues Ahead

A qualitative longitudinal research sensibility gives close consideration to temporal aspects of research, and a transformative theory lens entails analyzing interactions of the agency of people with respect to broader structures and institutions, as well as favouring participatory methods with potential to contribute to critical consciousness and direct action. Following are some of the questions that such a perspective begs regarding future research at the level of: 1) the case community; 2) Haiti; and 3) other post-disaster and outer-periphery contexts; as well as 4) the potential for change afforded through the practice of participatory methods.

- What will this community look like in five to ten years and how can/will local people and participatory processes shape its evolution?
- What agency do people have to improve state/society relations and major systemic and structural challenges in Haiti?
- What learning from this particular community is instructive for other communities in Haiti as well as for Haitian government and international agencies to inform community development policies, practices and funding mechanisms?
- How can this research benefit this community, Haiti, and other post-disaster or outer-periphery countries?
- How to expose, as well as contribute to, social change and better community development outcomes through participatory research?

4.3 Learning *about* the methods: strengths and shortcomings encountered

In participatory methodologies, an aim is not only to collect data and conduct analysis to generate results, such as the themes and community core story in the last section, but importantly to contribute to change through the process of carrying out the methods. I now turn to what we have learned in that process about the methods themselves. We draw attention here to strengths and shortcomings of each participatory method and then reflect

more broadly on benefits and drawbacks of mixing methods. Table 4.4 provides a summary of the strengths and shortcomings of the methods; a discussion of a subset of the points follows.

With participatory photography, we had the benefit of testing and learning in a first phase of field work, before redesigning and implementing an improved version one year later. We learned in phase one that the use of cameras and photo taking in Haiti has special meaning. Many Haitians are accustomed to being 'subjects' of photos by outsiders, but most rarely have an opportunity to hold cameras themselves to take their own photos of what they choose. Photos of themselves and loved ones are cherished by Haitians, but are too expensive for most people to afford. We also found that photos enabled people to see themselves, their lives, and their work differently. One participant remarked that the wooden chairs he had made were even more beautiful in photographs, and that seeing them in this way led him to look at his work differently and take more pride in his craft. In terms of our adaptive learning about the method between phases, participants expressed in phase one that they would have appreciated using 'real' cameras instead of the 'toy' (disposable) cameras provided. In phase two, we used digital cameras and provided professional photography training, which substantially improved the experience for participants as well as the quality of data collection and research.

Two of the main strengths of participatory photography were 1) the photographs themselves provide visual documentation of community life from participants' perspectives; and 2) the photographs provide a means for eliciting dialogue as participants are invited to discuss why they took photographs and what they mean to them. This creates space and opportunity for deeper discussion on topics and a critical analysis of community development underway as well as larger issues of unintended consequences of community development efforts. The main themes that emerged through dialogue circles are listed in Table 4.3.

The three types of participatory mapping were quite distinct and had different strengths and weaknesses. The methods might have provided more locally-useful data with higher technology

Table 4.4: Key Learnings about the Participatory Methods: Strengths and Shortcomings

Method	Key learnings about the methods	
	Strengths	Shortcomings
Participatory photography (and dialogue circles)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two phases of fieldwork enabled adaptive research design • Photographs and photo taking highly valued by participants and provides for creative expression of likes/dislikes, values, concerns, aspirations • Literacy not required for photo learning/taking • Participants appreciated learning/seeing new digital tech of cameras, computer, printing, video (for many, this was first time) • Dialogue circles provided for social learning and revealed meta-narrative • Photos as visual documentation of area from local perspective • Orientation sessions outlining expectations and responsibilities with written consent forms • Correspondence from researcher between phases in the field was appreciated by participants and appeared to build trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In testing phase, participants not pleased with 'toy' (disposable) cameras and bricolage albums • Expectations may be elevated about research results (both in terms of stories communicated outside and receiving cameras and photographs) • The researcher occasionally let participants borrow cameras for personal use on weekends, which likely disrupted some relationships and sense of collaboration and trust • Participants were disappointed not to be able to access the cameras when the research process was completed • Participants tended to view process as a photography training exercise
Participatory mapping: Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposed where and how participants get around and whether they have connections outside of the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maps do not indicate frequency or duration of trips
Participatory mapping: Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provided a spatial depiction of the community, which was new to and appreciated by a number of participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very low tech and minimal data (i.e. no topo, no precise scale or proportioning, and lack of detail represented on geographic elements and existing buildings)
Participatory mapping: Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produced a comprehensive list of all local and international organizations, agencies, and groups whose work affects the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult, and not necessarily desirable, to get to group consensus on effectiveness and importance
Synthesis: Mixing Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enabled hearing of voices and stories as well as multiple narratives and perspectives; empowering aspect of sharing stories outside • Flexibility and adaptive design of methods in response to changing conditions in the field and learning from participants • Thorough advance preparations (timetables, interview protocols, participant lists and invitations, research questions, activity design, and materials needed for each day) combined with flexible nature of research design • Triangulating both methods and analysis: toolbox of methods and multiple means of analysis, e.g. narrative to collectively interpret 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical concerns and risks: earthquake and other trauma, power relationships, positionality • Elevated expectations of what might come as a result of researcher's sharing stories to the outside world • The high quantity and variety of types of data collected present challenges for systematic analysis: More time or frequency in the field would likely enable further nuanced understandings • More participants may have provided fuller picture of community • Participants were compensated for their time, and in some cases saw their engagement as a 'job'

tools such as geographic information systems, particularly for place mapping. The actor mapping might have produced slightly different results if the thirty local organizations had been analyzed for importance and effectiveness by individuals or small groups, rather than collectively as a group of 12 participants. On the up side, the actor mapping exercise produced a comprehensive list of all agencies and organizations whose work affects the community, which provided new knowledge to many members of the group. Participants' collective analysis of the actors served as a way to expose key issues, notably the grave lack of local public services and lamentable state/society relations, which were subsequently further explored in dialogue circles.

With respect to the benefits of mixing methods, having a flexible approach and repertoire of methods available in the 'toolbox' enabled us to adjust according to what was happening in the field. If an important topic came up that we felt warranted further exploration, or we needed to allow different perspectives from the same respondents to provide windows into community social relations and power dynamics, we could bring out another tool. This triangulation of both methods and analysis for exploring the same themes from a different perspective was also an important mechanism for validating data. And not least, the importance of thorough preparations and organization with a detailed plan and schedule for all research activities, protocols, and materials should not be understated (as in Table 4.2). The point is to be flexible to change the plan as needed based on field learning.

In terms of time spent in the field, designing multiple phases of field work with periods of time in between for reflecting on findings and modifying research design was a way to build in adaptive learning. This was hugely beneficial, not only for improving the quality of the research design, but also for strengthening relationships with participants and building trust, which contributed to improved research results.

Hearing and sharing stories was a key strength of the methods. As is usual in participatory methodologies, I put emphasis on story and narrative analysis to learn from local knowledge. Why story? Young (1995) argues that story is particularly helpful in cross-cultural settings

where the research is trying to gain understanding of participants' ways of seeing and situated knowledges. Sandercock (1998) claims that our attention to peoples' stories can be empowering, by validating and respecting peoples' local knowledge and moving forward to enable a context of mutual learning. Story can have the power to communicate ways of knowing that are especially appropriate in particular cultural settings, such as those with predominantly oral traditions (Sandercock, 2003a). One of the most important ways of acquiring knowledge in Haiti has traditionally been through stories and storytelling. Patton (2002) claims that narrative analysis can provide windows into cultural and social meanings by addressing two foundational questions: *What does this story reveal about the person and world from which it came? How can this narrative be interpreted so that it provides an understanding of and illuminates the life and culture that created it?* According to Flyvbjerg (2001), there is a forward-looking reason to study stories. He claims that not only is narrative our most basic form for making sense of our experiences already lived, but also that narratives can provide a forward glance, and help us to anticipate situations before they are encountered, and enable us to envision alternative futures. Using story and narrative in qualitative research is now well established in the fields of planning and human geography (for example, see Berg, 1998; Bird *et al.*, 2009; Crang, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Eckstein, 2003; Patton, 2002; Sandercock, 2003b; Sandercock and Attili, 2012; Throgmorton, 2003; and Wiles *et al.*, 2005).

My experience with participants was that framing this research project as 'story' was helpful, because storytelling tends to cut across cultures and class distinctions. Describing a research aim as 'the hearing and understanding of your and your communities' stories, and learning effective ways to retell those stories', was more comprehensible, ethically and culturally appropriate, and factual than saying explicitly or implicitly, 'I am here to study (or teach) you.'

Along with the power of listening to participants' stories comes risks. For example, promising to share community stories with the 'outside' world can raise expectations for what might happen as a result of the research. Other risks and ethical issues are woven throughout the research design and field work. In order to be continually reflexive about ethical issues as well as the

effects of our presence in the field, I debriefed with Haitian research collaborators at the end of each day in the field, and we collectively analyzed experiences and discussed together adjustments that might be made the following day – whether modifying the methods or exploring topics further in dialogue circles or interviews.

4.4 Conclusion

Participatory research recognizes that people have their own community based, local knowledge systems that researchers have not well or fully tapped. We have seen that engaging participatory methods in Haiti's post-disaster context enabled hearing from the least heard and eliciting local knowledge, providing a window into dynamics of community development and social change, which is typically opaque to outsiders. By inviting research participants' active engagement through photography, dialogue circles, mapping, community walks, video, and various interview types, we facilitated self-expression, social learning, and sharing of stories, views, ideas, hopes, aspirations, and fears. The methods themselves provided possibilities for change, beyond the data that they revealed.

Participatory photography and participatory mapping exposed a 'community core story' and several recurring themes: 1) Participants tend to value community over individual wellbeing, and despite struggles with everyday survival, people take a long view and hope for a better future for their children; 2) People feel that their voices have been heard and that they have contributed to shaping community development decisions; and 3) People do not expect the state to act in their interests. We have seen a dark side of state/society relations exposed through participatory research, in a community that faces multiple pressures of coping in a disaster aftermath in conditions of extreme deprivation and a virtual absence of the state.

These methods have afforded us ways of thinking and collaborative tools, notably Freirian critical consciousness and dialogue circles, to illuminate possibility regarding the kind of change that is necessary if Haiti is to alter its development trajectory. Given that participatory practices

are reinforced in ongoing development in this case community by local organizations, primarily Haiti Partners, and we plan to revisit the community over the years, we can study the nature and extent of social change over time in participant households, as well as the broader impacts of community development projects.

By designing context-specific participatory methods with an underlying QLR (qualitative longitudinal research) sensibility, we were able to make visible some emerging challenges and dynamics of social change. A flexible, iterative research design entailed making daily adjustments in the field when needed based on circumstances or to revisit important questions. Also, by testing participatory methods in a first phase, we could adaptively learn, redesign the research and modify methods for a more in-depth phase of field work the following year.

The combination of research findings, experiences in the field, and relationships with research participants and collaborators provides a solid springboard for continuing to learn from people's lived experiences over time. An aim is to expose dynamics of social change over the years that will track conditions, perceptions, and outcomes of participants, their families and local communities. We hope to contribute to improved community development policy, research, and practice in Haiti and broader structural transformation where citizens' voices are heard and communities are empowered to realize their aspirations for change.

Figure 4.1: Addendum to Chapter 4, Participatory Methods Paper

Twelve local residents of Bellevue-La-Montagne took part in this participatory research project. Each participant is pictured in the following pages along with one illustrative photograph that s/he took to represent some aspect or narrative of daily life or an aspiration for change. Participants' photos provided a tool for inciting dialogue on topics related to community development. The research aim was to address the following questions of phronesis research from the perspectives of local people through the participatory research process.

1. Of what stories do I (we) find myself (ourselves) a part?
2. Where are we going (as a community)? Is it desirable?
3. Who wins and who loses and by which mechanisms of power?
4. What do we want to do? What should be done?

All photographs were taken in July 2013, and participants' ages indicated are as of that date. The study was designed with Qualitative Longitudinal Research (QLR) in mind, as we intend to follow over time the outcomes of these residents and their households and families.

Cindy Josef



Cindy Josef, 23 years old, hanging out on a tree along the road, painted with Haitian colours.



The kitchen at Cindy's home. Cooking over a wood charcoal fire is typical in Haiti



Francesse Antoine



Francesse Antoine, 28 years old, seen here leading a tour of the ADECA school where she is a teacher.



A native flamboyant tree which Francesse passes on her walk home from school. She is engaged as a volunteer in environmental and reforestation work.



Guerline Ernest



Guerline Ernest, 27 years old, in her home made of plastic tarps with wood branches to provide structure. Two of her sons live with her in this one room shelter.



Guerline's 'dream home'. This is one of only several new homes that were built in the area to replace destroyed homes following the earthquake. Funds were provided through a local NGO.



Jacqueline St-Vaudré



Jacqueline St-Vaudré, 47 years old, in her two-room home. One of her kids hides at the doorway.



Jacqueline's daughter at the community water source. These faucets are the drinking, cooking and washing source for residents. When it is not working, residents walk an extra mile or so to the next source. The sign on the tree reads 'Land for sale' with a telephone number.



Jacques Lucet



Jacques Lucet, 31 years old, poses with his mother following a 'Photo Dialogue' session and community walk.



Jacques' home and kitten. His house was destroyed in the earthquake and his family now lives in this temporary shelter of metal and plastic built on the foundation of the original house. He is a devout Christian and wants to let the world know so wrote his message 'I love you Jesus' in English.



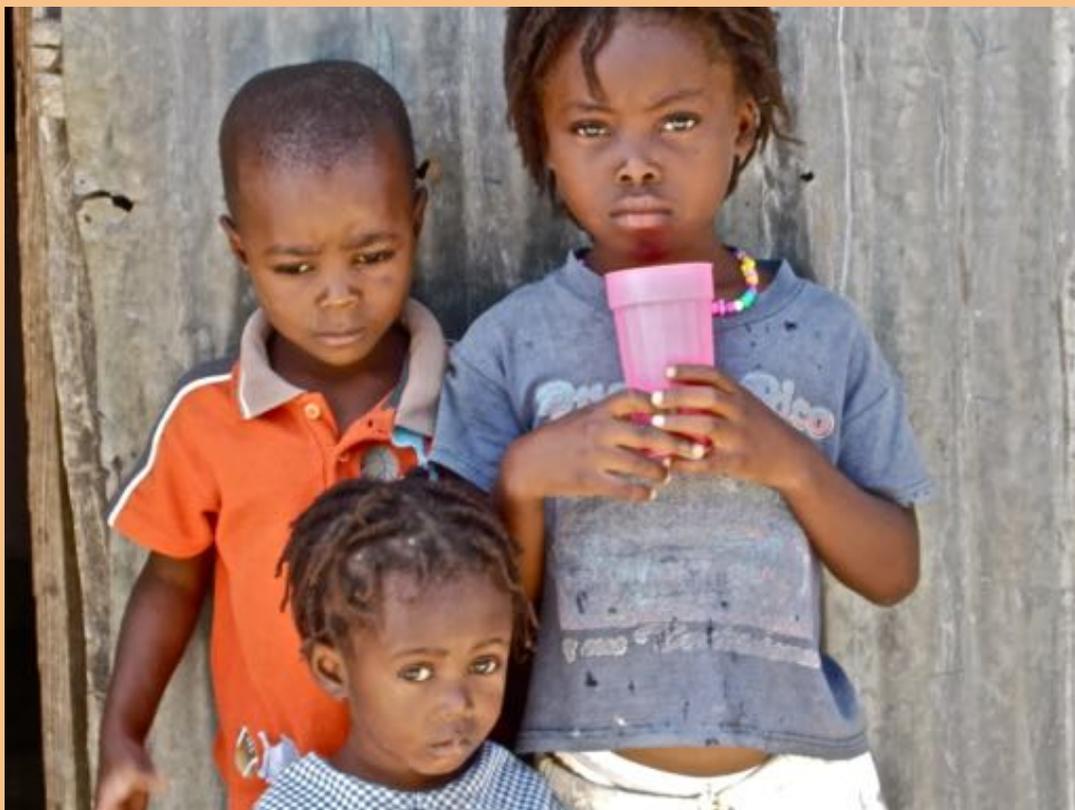
Marie-Ange Meristyl



Marie-Ange Meristyl, 32 years old, poses with her participatory photography camera in the school.



Marie-Ange's son and nieces, pictured next to her temporary metal home; her family jokingly refers to it as the 'albatross'. Her home made of concrete and stone collapsed in the earthquake.



Mesilus Bien-Aimé



Mesilus Bien-Aimé, 49 years old, next to a coffin he built. He is a woodworker and furniture maker.



Mesilus stages his own death for the camera. In the background is his home that was destroyed in the earthquake. His family is separated staying with friends until he can rebuild his own home.



Patrickson Bien-Aimé



Patrickson Bien-Aimé, 17 years old, enjoying tunes on his mobile phone.



Patrickson's friend poses with a donkey in front of the *gagè*, or cockfight pit.



Prophète Antoine



Prophète Antoine, 47 years old, with his daughter and new granddaughter.



The local *mambo* (vodou priestess) in front of the community vodou temple, a gathering place for healing, rituals and entertainment. Like the cockfight pit, the role of the vodou temple in the community is controversial among participants.



Sherlyne Bien-Aimé



Sherlyne Bien-Aimé, 25 years old, with her two daughters.



Motorcycles and four-wheel-drive vehicles are the sole modes of motorized transport which can reach the school community. Motorcycles are increasingly used in Haiti as public transport.



Talamas Jean



Talamas Jean, 47 years old, on a walk with the author to visit his home for an interview. He is a local government representative of the area.



Talamas' daughter sweeps up the area outside her home.



Yolande Bien-Aimé



Yolande Bien-Aimé, 45 years old, walking home from market with produce to resell. The visit to the market was one of the participatory research activities of the group.



Yolande's mother, now deaf, in her kitchen. Yolande began going to market every day with her mother when she was three years old and never had the opportunity to go to school.





Participatory research group photos in July 2013: 1) on the first photography training day; and 2) the final day to give certificates, invite family members to view the participant photo exhibit, and to celebrate!



Preface to Chapter 5: Community Governance Paper

Participatory Governance in Post-earthquake Haiti: Creating collaborative dialogue in a ‘community of desperation’

This chapter’s topic is the collaboratively-designed community governance process at Habitat Santo Village, which is the secondary case study of this thesis. Habitat Santo Village was built by Habitat for Humanity Haiti on the site of a tent camp at the epicentre of the 2010 earthquake. A collaborative dialogue process, called ‘Good Neighbour’, was carried out at Habitat Santo Village over the course of six months with the aim of designing a local governance process and structure that would provide for community sustainability when Habitat for Humanity was no longer on site. With co-authors Lisa Bornstein and Gonzalo Lizarralde, I analyzed the process through the lens of collaborative rationality theory based both on participant perceptions and expected contributions to the community over time. Findings reveal that this community-oriented approach of participatory and adaptive governance builds on social resilience in Haiti and institutionalizes engagement of local government with community groups and NGOs. These results contribute to a better understanding of community governance, collaborative approaches during post-disaster reconstruction, and narrative research that values local voices.

... Collaborative processes can lead to changes in the larger system that help make our institutions more effective and adaptive and make the system itself more resilient. These processes do not just produce immediate outcomes like agreements and joint activities, but participants’ experiences with them often lead them to extend collaboration to other contexts. Participants learn more deeply about issues and other interests which they transfer to their organizations. They develop new skills. They build new networks that they use to get new sorts of things done that they could not have otherwise considered. As they extend their ambitions and activities, they discover that the norms and structures of traditional government constrain adaptation and impede resilience in response to stresses.

Judith Innes and David Booher (2010: 10)

Chapter 5:
Participatory Governance in Post-earthquake Haiti:
Creating collaborative dialogue in a ‘community of desperation’

5.1 Introduction

On January 12, 2010 in Léogâne, Haiti, Marie Veronila Antoine was at home with her three children. At 4:53pm a 7.0 earthquake violently shook the house, and as it collapsed, she and her children managed to escape. Her husband perished when a nearby building collapsed. Marie had no time to grieve; she faced struggles of daily survival. She lost her income from teaching at a school that was now gone. She improvised a tent ‘home’ for her family on land in nearby Santo. Marie could no longer afford to send her children to school, and the youngest was sick from conditions of life in the tent. Most of the family’s material possessions were stolen. It would not be until two years after the earthquake that Marie would finally have a house in Habitat Santo Village.¹

In Haiti’s 2010 earthquake, more than 200,000 people lost their lives and an estimated 1.5 million people lost their homes. A devastated landscape, widespread poverty, and a fragile state are but some of the problems that complicate recovery. Three years later, most substantial reconstruction efforts have stalled prior to implementation. Equally troubling, of the post-disaster housing projects that have been implemented, few address governance in a comprehensive or mid- to long-term manner. A notable exception is Habitat Santo Village, a reconstruction project that exceeds the scale – and, seemingly, the success – of most efforts.

This paper investigates the Habitat Santo Village (or Santo) in light of the relationships between efforts to build the settlement and mechanisms for maintaining appropriate living conditions for residents over time. Qualitative data from interviews, observations, and local project documentation support the analysis. Three aspects of our research are emphasized in this paper. First, the data on governance is analysed in light of Innes and Booher’s (2010) collaborative rationality theory; the criteria of analysis include: diversity and interdependence of actors,

¹ Interview with Marie Veronila Antoine, Habitat Santo Village resident, July, 2012.

authentic dialogue and collective learning, and system adaptations associated with shared identities, meanings, and heuristics. Second, we explore how projects that focus on local governance contribute, or not, to wider efforts to build state capacity, an essential need in Haiti, where the state is often viewed as lacking legitimacy and effectiveness. We closely document the iterative processes of creating a governance system in the near-absence of a state. Our research provides support to assertions in the literature that specific governance elements can contribute to enhanced adaptive capacity and social resilience in the context of Haiti, where community-level governance contributes substantially to reconstruction efforts and to wider governance processes. Third, at the end of the paper, we reflect on methods appropriate to the topics under study, arguing that the narratives of participants in the governance project provide invaluable insights into its functioning, associated learning and the gradual enhancement of governance capacity.

5.2 Analytical Framework

Haiti, in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, faces a set ‘wicked’ problems that include a dysfunctional state with institutions that neither serve people’s needs nor fit the post disaster context; very fragile social, political, and environmental circumstances; and an overall lack of consensus regarding goals, priorities and how to address these complex problems. Most housing projects developed after the disaster have failed to recognize the importance of developing long lasting structures and mechanisms of governance that can make them sustainable in the long run (Aquilino, 2013). However, given the recognized and proven strengths of Haitian society, is it possible for new forms of collaboration to develop where the resilient societal institutions can be harnessed to contribute to change? Laurent Dubois (2012) contends that collaboration amongst complex societal institutions is needed for Haitian rebuilding to succeed.² In line with that observation, we sought an analytical framework for

² Dubois (2012: 12) argues that successful reconstruction depends on collaboration with social institutions: “Despite its massive poverty and its almost total lack of a functioning government, [Haiti] is not a place of chaos. Life in Haiti is not organized by the state... But it does draw on a set of complex and resilient social institutions that have emerged from a historic commitment to self-sufficiency and self-reliance. And it is only through collaboration with those institutions that reconstruction can truly succeed.”

assessing the processes and mechanisms for collaboration among community groups, local governments, and international organizations.

Moreover, Santo can be characterized as a 'community of desperation'. In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, people at Santo were 'thrown together, finding themselves in geographical proximity and economic interdependence, which means that the activities and pursuits of some affect the ability of others to conduct their activities' (Young, 1995: 141-142). For such a 'polity' to operate as a functional democracy with good communication, Young argues that a 'minimal unity' of three conditions is needed: 'significant interdependence, formally equal respect, and agreement on procedures' (1995: 142). We also drew on Healey's call for attention to 'the potential, in the evolution of new collaborative forms, to widen the range of voices and values which get to shape governance agendas' (2006: 323). Consistent with Healey's claim that 'there are no standard answers to the specification of the systemic institutional design of governance systems for inclusionary participatory democratic practice' (2006: 294), we sought a framework that, rather than comparing the design of the governance system against a prescribed model, allowed assessment of how effectively the governance approach facilitated context-specific collaboration.

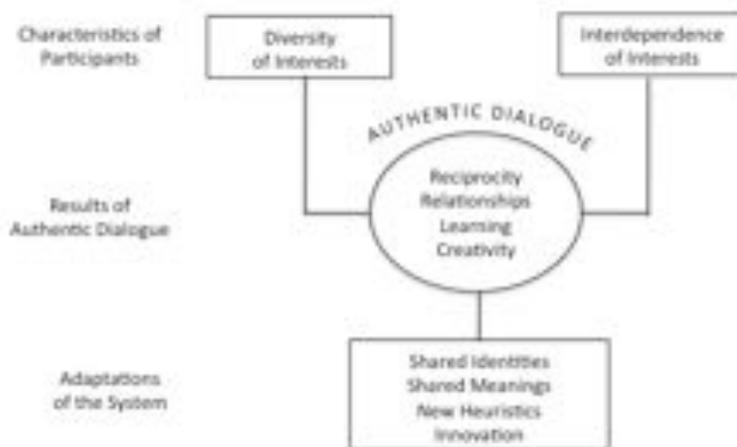
These aims led to adoption of collaborative rationality (Innes and Booher, 2010: 1) approaches, which call for 'thinking differently for an age of complexity' in order to address wicked problems associated with urban governance. The theory of *collaborative rationality* is emerging as an alternative to *instrumental rationality* that has dominated planning thought and practice (cf. North, 1990).³ Innes and Booher (2010) build an argument about the value of collaborative decision making processes based on collaborative dialogues. The logic of this argument consists of three parts, for each of which examples are provided later. First, some, but not all, collaborative processes are *collaboratively rational*; those that are in the latter category are characterized by a *diversity of interests*, an *interdependence of interests*, and *authentic dialogue*

³ *Collaborative rationality* is grounded in the work of Jürgen Habermas (1981) and *communicative rationality*, and in lessons from practitioners involved in multiple stakeholder and cross-sectoral collaborative governance processes. For example, Hollander (2011) examines recent web-based technologies for urban planning in light of collaborative rationality.

(see Figure 5.1). Second, processes of collaborative rationality offer individual and collective learning opportunities that have the potential to strengthen a community’s adaptive capacity and resilience. Third, these processes may produce systemic changes that lead to institutions being more adaptive and effective.

Innes and Booher (2010) suggest that collaborative rationality brings about four results: 1) participants discover the reciprocal nature of their interests; 2) participants develop new relationships that engender trust; 3) both single and double loop learning occur; and 4) as a result of this individual and collective learning, ‘second and third order effects’ or ‘adaptations’ occur. Adaptations often take the form of developing shared identities, shared meanings, new heuristics, and innovative practices and mechanisms for governance.

Figure 5.1: DIAD Theory (Diversity, Interdependence, and Authentic Dialogue) Network Dynamics



Source: Innes & Booher (2010: 35)

The governance processes under study are those that are likely to lead to transformation of existing patterns of societal interaction at the local scale, and thereby contribute to the functioning of political processes of territorial, social and economic management in a re-built Haiti. As defined in the literature, this type of governance is termed *community governance*, referring to political governance of a territory (usually fairly small) that allows for a high degree

of democratization by giving citizens participation rights, decision making power, and often direct control through institutions such as community councils (Somerville, 2005).⁴ Other terms used in the wider literature include *participatory governance* and *collaborative governance*, used interchangeably with community governance in this paper, which emphasize the roles of NGOs, community organisations and government in governance, drawing on theories of social mobilization (Friedmann, 1987; Friedmann, 1992), inclusive, participatory governance (Healey 2006) and collaborative governance (Innes and Booher, 2010). Community governance also includes elements of what Fung and Wright (2003: 5) refer to as ‘empowered participatory governance,’ meaning that governance relies on ‘the commitment and capacities of ordinary people to make sensible decisions through reasoned deliberation and... attempts to tie action to discussion’. *Adaptive governance* is a distinct process, one in which formal and informal institutions evolve to better use and manage shared resources in collaborative, flexible, learning-based ways (Ostrom, 2005; Innes and Booher, 2010).

5.3 Methodology

A qualitative research methodology was adopted because of its potential to enable understanding of complexities and richness of human experience within its own context, and of meanings and processes that provide structure to socio-spatial life (Herbert, 2010). Our methods of data collection during fieldwork in July 2012 can be broadly categorized as interviews, observation, and document study. Because the governance plan was completed and the first Village Council elections held subsequent to field visits, we continued data collection remotely through document gathering and follow-up interviews by telephone and email. The following paragraphs set out how and with whom each method was employed, followed by our approach to data analysis. Three different sets of interviews were conducted in Haiti: with NGOs, with residents, and with local government.⁵ During fieldwork, four NGO interviews were

⁴ Our focus is on community governance, the structures of co-existence in shared space aimed at serving long-term needs, as opposed to ‘project governance,’ which refers to structures in place to manage a project during design and building phases.

⁵ All interviews were conducted by Jayne Engle, with assistance from Alex Myril. NGO and local government interviews were conducted in French or English, and resident interviews were conducted in Haitian Creole. Field interviews were audio-recorded and the resident interviews were video recorded.

conducted with staff of Habitat for Humanity ('HfH')⁶ and Haiti Partners ('HP')⁷. Two interviews were conducted with female residents of Santo, and a discussion was held with the Mayor of Léogâne. The interviews could be characterized as 'semi-structured' with Habitat for Humanity and Haiti Partners representatives; as 'open-ended' with Santo residents; and 'unstandardized' with the local mayor.⁸ Informal discussions were carried out with additional Santo residents and NGO staff during neighborhood walks. Observation and visual data consist of field notes, photographs, and video.

We collected plans, reports and promotional material from three NGOs involved with the project: Habitat for Humanity, Haiti Partners, and Architecture for Humanity ('AfH'). AfH played a key role in planning and design of Santo from early stages of the project in 2010 and prepared a master plan.⁹ On-site staff shared project documents, including a household survey and beneficiary selection criteria. Haiti Partners provided access to all documentation of the Good Neighbor community governance project, including pedagogical material for trainings, notes from participatory and dialogue sessions, monthly project reports, and the Habitat Santo Village Governance Plan, consisting of founding by-laws of the governing body, SIDDEVAS ('Dedicated citizens for the Development of Habitat Santo Village') and the Good Neighbor Code of Conduct.

Our analytic strategy relies on theoretical propositions along with learning from narratives (Yin, 2009: 130). A first proposition is that, in spite of good intentions and major efforts on the part of many organizations and aid bodies, it has been difficult to carry out substantial reconstruction projects in Haiti following the 2010 earthquake, in part due to challenges of governance (Bornstein, Lizarralde, Gould, and Davidson, 2013). Second, our analytic strategy emphasizes learning from community narratives, as revealed in interviews, observations, and documents. We have heard from residents through interviews and discussions, and particularly

⁶ Habitat for Humanity Haiti is the lead organization of constructing Habitat Santo Village. Interviews were conducted with the HfH country director and community engagement staff who work on site. Informal discussions provided supplemental information.

⁷ Haiti Partners, a smaller NGO, was contracted by HfH in 2012 to carry out dialogue training and participatory processes with Santo residents, and to prepare a community governance plan.

⁸ See Berg (1998) for interview definitions.

⁹ The Santo Village master plan may be accessed at: openarchitecturenetwork.org.

through their involvement in the Good Neighbor governance project. The theoretical proposition behind this focus on narratives is that stories have the power to ‘reveal cultural and social patterns through the lens of individual experiences’ (Patton, 2002: 116) and to ‘not only give meaningful form to experiences already lived, but also provide a forward glance, helping us anticipate situations before we encounter them, allowing us to envision alternative futures’ (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 137). According to Young (1995) and Sandercock (1998) the use of story is particularly appropriate in cross-cultural settings where the researcher is trying to gain understanding of participants’ ways of seeing and situated knowledges.

We analyzed the data using a two-tiered approach to coding the following sets of data: 1) field note summaries; 2) Haiti Partners’ draft narrative report and the Santo Governance Plan; 3) notes from three Open Space sessions; 4) by-laws for the newly-established Santo governing body, SIDDEVAS; 5) notes from the first meeting of the Santo Village Council; 6) the Good Neighbor Code of Conduct; and 7) interview transcripts¹⁰.

Our data analysis combined thematic coding with narrative interpretive inquiry. We used thematic coding as an organization and rigor device to analyze data according to the collaborative rationality theoretical framework, and also as a backup method for drawing out descriptive parts of the data. The first step was an ‘initial coding’ involving reading the eight data sets, and making notes of initial impressions, emerging patterns, and identifying ‘patches’, or quotations that capture important meanings. In the second stage of coding we re-read all data and identified where the following themes were present: general descriptive data; theme 1: diversity of actors and independence of actors; theme 2: authentic dialogue and collective learning; and theme 3: system adaptations and systemic changes through shared identities, meanings and heuristics. The thematic analysis provides a systematic basis for looking across

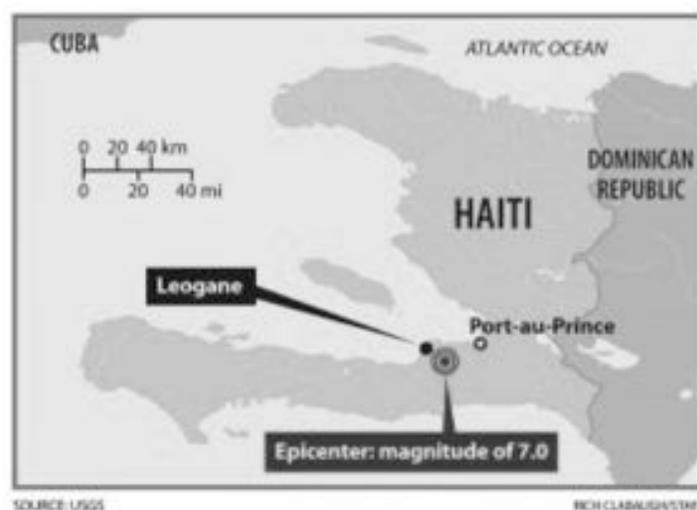
¹⁰ Interviews were conducted by Jayne Engle, with research assistance and Haitian Creole translation by Alex Myril. Eight interviews with NGOs and residents were audio-recorded, and several were also video-taped. Resident interviews were conducted in Haitian Creole, the local government interview was conducted in French, and NGO interviews were conducted in French or English, based on the choice of the interviewee. Informal discussions were conducted with several additional residents. Supplemental documents were collected from Haiti Partners in November 2012, and follow-up interviews were conducted by email through December 2012.

the data to interpretively analyze the narratives that emerge. Findings of this interpretive analysis are discussed in the next section.

5.4 The Housing Project

Thirty kilometres west of Haiti's capital Port-au-Prince, within the Léogâne commune (county) of the Ouest department (region), is the district of Santo (Figure 5.2). Located near the epicentre of the 2010 earthquake, Santo's visibility, proximity, topography, and security led to a large parcel of its land becoming a tent camp following the disaster. In the months after the earthquake Habitat for Humanity (HfH) was granted \$3 million from the Inter-American Development Bank's Multilateral Investment Funds (IDB-MIF). Grant funding was directed towards assisting earthquake-affected families through income-generating training and construction of their own homes. Léogâne was the focus of these efforts as it was understood to be the area most affected by the earthquake¹¹. HfH established the Habitat Resource Center and community engagement team on a plot of land ceded by the government for the project in February of 2011. The priority was to construct housing and related amenities for those made most vulnerable by the earthquake, which became the selection criteria for HfH's new homes.

Figure 5.2: Map of Léogâne, Haiti and 2010 Earthquake Epicentre



¹¹ Interview with Claude Jeudy, Haiti country director for Habitat for Humanity, July, 2012.

In partnership with Architecture for Humanity, HfH carried out a participatory process to develop a master plan for what would become Habitat Santo Village. Developed in 2011, the plan included: 500 homes for about 2,500 residents, schools, a community marketplace, recreational facilities (e.g., a sports center, playgrounds, and public spaces), and designated space for both agricultural plots and ecological corridors. The first beneficiary families were trained in financial literacy, disaster risk reduction and basic construction skills in August of 2011. In addition to these families, 570 local contractors and workers underwent training in improved construction techniques.¹² The first 155 families moved into newly-built residences in February 2012; homes had a standard format – detached, 26 square meters of floor area, built with a timber frame, fiber cement siding for walls, a concrete floor and a corrugated metal roof. Individual household latrines and shared water service are provided in back yards. (See Figure 5.3.) No electrical service is provided to houses, however there are solar-powered lights lining all village streets. Following move-in, residents quickly began to decorate, furnish and landscape around their homes (see Figure 5.4).

As of March 2013, 300 homes had been constructed at Santo. (Funds had not been secured to construct the originally planned for additional 200 homes or the planned community facilities, such as school and community center). With this project, Habitat Santo Village is the largest permanent housing settlement constructed in Léogâne since the earthquake.¹³ Although there have been some concerns that house sizes are too small, that latrines initially were poorly designed for local users, and that the design of the settlement constrains accommodation of extended family, (with a modified grid format that differs from traditional Haitian *lakou* settlement forms), the project is seen as ‘a symbol of newfound stability and permanence for families starting life anew’ (Shelter Centre, 2014).

¹² Interview with Mimz Diño, community engagement officer, Habitat for Humanity, July, 2012.

¹³ Interview with Claude Jeudy, July, 2012.

Figure 5.3: Original Site Plan of Habitat Santo Village (2011)



Source: Architecture for Humanity, Haiti Rebuilding Center

Figure 5.4: Typical Houses and Streetscape as Built (2012)



Source: Jayne Engle

5.5 Community Governance in Habitat Santo Village

Marie Veronila Antoine was among the first families to move into her Santo home; she describes receiving the house key as one of the happiest moments of her life. Marie participated in the Good Neighbor Governance Project. On September 13, 2012, she presented herself as a candidate of the new Habitat Santo Village Council, and she was democratically elected as its first treasurer.

This section sets out the broader context for Marie’s evolving story: the beginnings of Habitat Santo Village Council, and the structure and process of the Good Neighbor Governance Project.

Habitat for Humanity recognized the need to develop a community governance process and structure, given the scale and intensity of the problem of thousands of people living in tents or T-shelters¹⁷, including sites immediately adjacent to the Village, in addition to conflicts arising among Village residents. Santo was a ‘community of desperation’ where people came together to survive, similar to other tent camps and post-disaster settlements which do not organically evolve. HfH contracted Haiti Partners in April 2012, two months after the first residents moved in, to carry out a community governance program, which became known as ‘Bon Vwazen’ in Haitian Creole (‘Good Neighbor’ in English). Haiti Partners is a hybrid NGO-CSO (nongovernmental organization-civil society organization) with sister organizations based in Haiti and in the US.

Subject to an increase in scope and budget that permitted use of two of its cornerstone dialogical and participatory methods-- Circles of Change and Open Space--, Haiti Partners agreed to take on the community governance project¹⁸. Inspired by Paulo Freire and his seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2011, original 1970) the underlying principles of the Good Neighbor project included: 1) village residents being trained together to develop collaboration and dialogue skills; 2) training content initially comprising conceptual and value-based material; and

¹⁷ ‘T-shelters’ refers to Transitional Shelters, Temporary Shelters, transitional houses, consisting primarily of tent-like materials. Many have not withstood post-earthquake hurricanes.

¹⁸ The Circles of Change method is based on Reflection Circles practices of Touchstones (touchstones.org). Open Space, known officially as Open Space Technology, refers to a group facilitation method (openspaceworld.com).

3) the training materials evolving over the course of the six-month project to reflect participants' collaborative learning and the specifics of designing context-appropriate procedures and mechanisms for governing the village. As such, residents themselves designed the principles and practices for a governance system, with staff from Haiti Partners facilitating the process.²⁰

The objectives and milestones for the Good Neighbor project can be seen in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. The main outcome of the project is the Governance Plan, consisting of the founding by-laws of the governing body 'SIDDEVAS' (Dedicated Citizens for the Development of Habitat Santo Village) and a Code of Conduct (the rules and regulations that participants developed collaboratively). Figure 5.5 depicts the community governance bodies and structure.

Table 5.1: Good Neighbor Project Objectives

Nurture a community culture of respect, inclusion, transparency, and authentic dialogue.	Develop a leadership structure/decision making body in Santo.
Carry out action planning.	Establish community governance policies (rules and regulations).
Mobilize a group of leaders who can monitor Santo.	Carry out community education.

Table 5.2: Good Neighbor Project Key Milestones

Date	Milestone Event
May 7, 2012	Good Neighbor trainings on communication and dialogue begin
June 25-29, 2012	Open Space sessions on theme: 'What's the long-term dream for Santo Village and what are the immediate challenges that need to be addressed in the short-term?'
September 13, 2012	Official establishment by more than 100 residents of the governing body: 'Dedicated Citizens for the Development of Habitat Santo Village' (SIDDEVAS) and its sub-committees
	First elections of the Village Council
	Adoption of Code of Conduct (rules and regulations) developed by participants
October 15, 2012	Graduation ceremony for Good Neighbor training participants
October 18, 2012	First meeting of Village Council to set priorities and action plan for first two-year term

²⁰ Interview with Abelard Xavier, lead facilitator of the Good Neighbor project, Haiti Partners, July, 2012.

The Good Neighbor project through a collaborative rationality lens

In order to assess both the dynamics of the project and its potential longer-term impacts, Innes and Booher's (2010) collaborative rationality DIAD theory is employed here. The Good Neighbor project is analysed in light of three elements of effective community governance previously noted: diversity, interdependence, and authentic dialogue.

Diversity and interdependence

In order to allow for 'robust ideas to develop and for the system to build a capacity to adapt over time,' a diversity of interests, values, perspectives, skills, and types and sources of knowledge among actors must be included in a participatory process (Innes and Booher, 2010: 36). Interdependence implies that actors depend on each other in a reciprocal way within such processes.

Members of all 155 households were invited by the Good Neighbor project to take part in 22 weekly training sessions. These participants represented approximately 50 percent of households, with ages ranging from 16 to 60 plus. Approximately 60 percent of the group were women. Participants were not paid for their involvement.

According to their geographic location within Santo, participants were grouped for training sessions, meaning they had interdependencies of sharing water sources and the common land in the shared courtyard behind their homes. An examination of project meeting notes and interviews highlights that participants knew that collaborative efforts and coalitions were needed in order to deal with their problems. This interdependence required for collective change is formalized in official project documents, with the stated purpose of SIDDEVAS being 'collective action for the benefit of all' and the Code of Conduct specifying security is dependent on residents looking out for each other. SIDDEVAS membership consists of nearly equal numbers of men and women of a wide range of ages and includes residents of adjacent communities. Seats on the Village Council are reserved for representatives of local government,

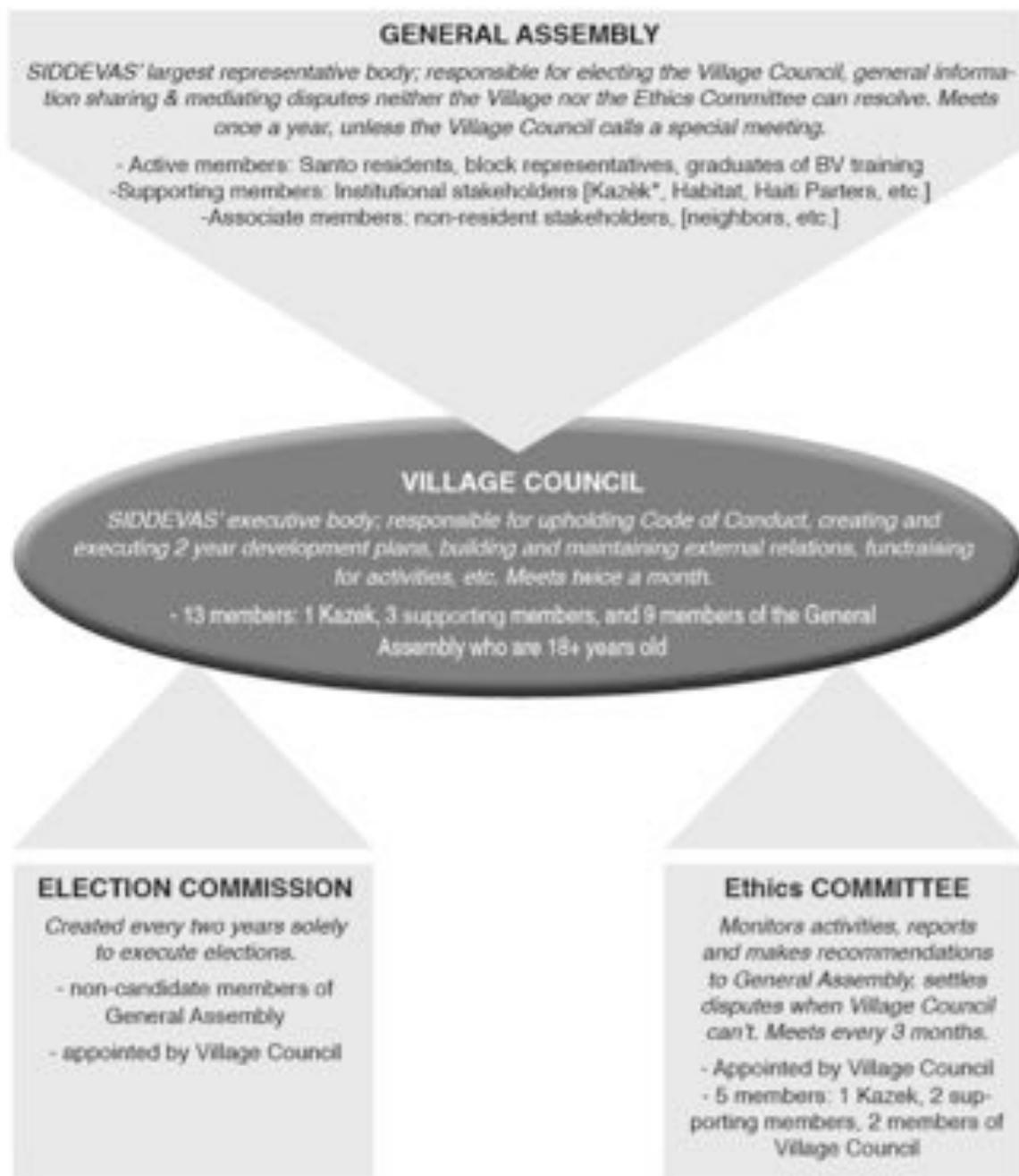
HfH, and an 'other local organization'.²¹ In reviewing meeting notes, it was clear that Village Council members showed a nuanced understanding of interdependencies, particularly concerning discussion of how to handle a resident breaking rules through unauthorized construction of new toilets, and concerns about precedent-setting. Negotiating roles and relationships of power, authority, and enforcement is clearly present in everyday life at Santo.

In our interview, the director of HfH pointed out that a culture of interdependency between residents and government in democracy building takes time to develop. This was particularly relevant given that while HfH and Haiti Partners representatives took full part in the Good Neighbor project, local government did not participate in the training. However, Good Neighbor staff members met on occasion with local government officials to provide updates and discuss village issues and relationships. Also, local government signed on as a full partner of the Habitat Santo Village Council with seats on both the Village Council (SIDDEVAS) and its Ethics Committee.

To create new ideas, change participants, and transform world views, authentic dialogue must be at the core of collaborative rationality (Innes and Booher, 2010: 97). New institutions, both formal and informal, are created through the cultivation of face to face interactions that promote new ways of thinking and talking. Effective dialogue emerges as participants learn and practice how to communicate productively. This type of dialogue is not merely conversation, and is not intuitive in large group settings, but rather it must be trained and repeatedly put into practice. The importance of authentic dialogue is made explicit in the Good Neighbor project, with the term being used in the first project objective (above).

²¹ Haiti Partners was invited by the new governing body, SIDDEVAS, to occupy the seat of 'other local organization' for the first governance term.

Figure 5.5: Community Governance Structure Established Through the Good Neighbor Project



* Local Authority

Source: Haiti Partners

Authentic dialogue and collective learning

The training for Circles of Change clearly specifies the aim of collective learning and dialogue, using selected texts as a basis for learning communication and dialogue skills during the 22-week training process. These training materials and the method of Circles of Change is consistent with Innes and Booher's definition of authentic dialogue. Working with local residents, Haiti Partners worked to build formal and informal institutions in a gradual, deliberate, collective learning process, with trainings teaching dialogue skills that built on learning from week to week and contributed to residents deciding together how to govern themselves. The organizational structure, the content of by-laws, the rules, the mechanisms, and the leadership roles were ultimately decided upon together.

Collective learning and authentic dialogue interacted in a number of ways during the Good Neighbor project. For example, residents proposed topics during the Open Space sessions, which together with small group discussions served as the basis for designing the Code of Conduct. The by-laws of SIDDEVAS indicate a clear value on learning and education, stating that it is the duty of the Village Council to promote education and participatory leadership. A further example can be seen during the first village elections, when the participants applied learning from the training in presentations given to persuade others they were qualified for the seat. Overall, participants claimed that Good Neighbor training taught them about transparency, democratic practice, respect, punctuality, conflict management, living in harmony, while also giving them important skills for listening, public speaking, advising others, and building consensus.

Shared identities, meanings, and heuristics

By developing and cultivating shared identities and meanings, which are reinforced through new and shared heuristics, social innovation, systemic change and system adaptations can occur.

Within this section, we now turn to discuss shared identities and meanings that emerged and were consolidated during the work of the Good Neighbor project.

Through observation of the Good Neighbor processes and during individual interviews, the emergence of shared identities and shared meanings was apparent. Identities as earthquake survivors and as residents of the Habitat Santo Village who had co-constructed their own homes were shared among Good Neighbor participants. Participants discussed, debated, and learned how to dialogue together concerning their shared values, aspirations, and everyday challenges during training sessions. However, such processes were not easy. As one HfH staff member pointed out, this was in part because ‘people in Santo are not used to living together’. Santo did not organically evolve. Rather, it is a community of people brought together out of desperation. However, it was revealed through interview and observational data that there are commonly-held participant values, including: solidarity (the importance of relationships, community cohesion, harmony, equality, fairness, and generosity); education (for oneself and one’s children); having a voice in decision making about the community; meeting basic needs (housing, health, water, food, livelihoods, sanitation); a sense of personal responsibility; and not least, an adherence to spirituality.

Four events in particular stand out in the data as being pivotal to consolidating shared identity and meaning—the Open Space sessions, the Graduation Ceremony, the first election, and the founding of the SIDDEVAS organization. In both content and process, the Open Space sessions contributed to cultivating stronger shared identities, meanings, and heuristics among residents, and with HfH and Haiti Partners. Participants in the various Circles of Change groups agreed the theme for the Open Space series would be *‘What’s the long-term dream for Santo Village and what immediate challenges need to be addressed in the short term?’* Agreed upon content for small group discussions also demonstrate evolving shared meaning, with the most pressing shared concerns being latrines and security, followed by healthcare, education, livelihoods, food, water, and electricity. Additionally, shared identity was expressed in a graduation ceremony, as many participants told stories or sang songs about what the training experience meant to them.

Shared meaning was also created between Good Neighbor participants during elections and the creation of SIDDEVAS. Participants were able to stand as Village Council candidates and to vote in elections. Shared identity was formalized by signing on as Founding Members of SIDDEVAS in the organization's by-laws, these being collaboratively developed and refined. After the election, the newly chosen head of the Village Council and the Country Director of Habitat for Humanity exchanged open letters of welcome and gratitude with the SIDDEVAS signing to mark the significance of this moment in the Village's history.

It was also apparent that there were new and evolving heuristics. By promoting dialogue and communication, the participants practiced new heuristics during training, and through special events between sessions. New heuristics were also internalized and practiced in everyday community life outside of sessions. As one participant noted: 'two people were having an argument and all I had to do to end the argument was to remind them what they've learned in the Good Neighbor training.'

Collaborative rationality in practice

Innes and Booher (2010), as noted in the framework discussion above, identify consequences emerging from collaboratively rational processes: shared and reciprocal interests; new relationships of 'collaboration' and 'trust'; single and double loop learning; and, longer-term systemic 'adaptations'. Our research suggests that the Good Neighbor Project is a form of collaborative rationality that is fostering precisely these kinds of changes at the micro-level of community interactions in governance.

Indeed, collaboratively rational processes like those within the Good Neighbor project have the potential to support adaptations and systemic change through the development of shared heuristics among participants. The Good Neighbor Governance Project promoted a sense of individual and collective capacities, new skills as well as democracy building. These can all lead to greater government accountability in providing basic services, while also increasing the

expectations of citizens concerning their rights and responsibilities. To achieve system changes at the community level, organizational adaptations were needed, with both Habitat for Humanity and Haiti Partners undergoing system adaptations. Santo was HfH's first foray into community development in its 27 years in Haiti. Likewise, Haiti Partners for the first time adapted its work in education and participatory dialogue to community governance. The potential of Habitat Santo Village to provide community governance is clearly demonstrated in this project. By strengthening shared meaning and heuristics over time, and building on the institutions that residents created in SIDDEVAS, there is clear potential for long-term systemic change. More broadly speaking, the collective action heuristics emerging in Haiti (in some cases re-emerging) require further consolidation so that citizen voices can effectively reach government structures, thereby contributing to systemic change needed in Haiti from the local community to the macro government scale.

Strengthening collaborative rationality has the potential to also contribute to the translation of existing societal strengths into governance capabilities. Society in Haiti is considered to be resilient and its people highly capable in many ways, but given the absence of formal institutions to provide the most basic level of services, such strengths are directed towards survival. New forms of collaboration, such as the ones that have occurred to some degree in the Good Neighbor Governance Project, can bring together community groups, NGOs and government. As the early findings from Santo suggest, collaborative rationality processes have the power to strengthen individual and collective capabilities for social resilience.

Investment in community vs. state capacity: a false dichotomy

This examination of the local participatory governance process underway in Santo offers important insight into wider understandings and debates concerning state capacity for governance. Characterized as 'failed', 'fragile', 'predatory', 'dysfunctional', 'defunct', and 'in near complete collapse' (Fatton, 2002; Locher, 1990; Menkhaus, 2010; Brinkerhoff, 2007; Heine and Thompson, 2011; World Bank, 2006), the country has been governed by authoritarian,

dictatorial, military, and occupation regimes. As such, 'there has never been an execution of a true social contract in Haiti' (Tippenhauer, 2010: 505). Government institutions are not reliable for most Haitians, unable to supply basic needs (potable water, sanitation, security, healthcare, and education) or any sort of social safety net. It is unsurprising then given this context that reconstruction efforts following the 2010 earthquake have met significant difficulties in spite of good intentions and major efforts on the part of many organizations, aid bodies, and local actors. An alternative form of governance is required to overcome the failures of government and to meet the need for successful collaboration with Haiti's complex societal institutions.

Decentralization has been touted as one way to re-build the state (see Bornstein *et al.*, 2013 for other plans). In Haiti, progress towards decentralization in government function, authority or budget has been limited, although it is outlined in the 1987 constitution and in subsequent plans. The Good Neighbor project provides an example of decentralized local governance extending beyond the state. Such an approach has the potential to be adapted and adopted elsewhere in Haiti as a means to support the building of governance capacities both within and outside of the state. The difficulty of establishing formal institutions in a context of informality is that informal institutions have long been more reliable and worthy of trust than formal institutions of the state. Given this long-term situation, people are deterred from trusting and investing themselves in formal state institutions.

This is not to say that the state should not exist. A formal state is essential in order to institutionalize a coherent and reliable land ownership and rights system, justice system and the like.²² Further, there is fear that Haiti has become a 'Republic of NGOs.' NGOs operating in the country often have more funding and capacity than the Haitian government itself (Kristoff & Panarelli, 2010). There is concern that with NGOs providing vital services that "the Haitian government had little chance to develop the human or institutional capacity to deliver services" (Kristoff & Panarelli, 2010: 1). As a consequence, Haitian citizens now look to NGOs for provision of essential services rather than to the government, and that the funnelling of aid through NGOs

²² The lack of a cadastre and effective land ownership and rights system repeatedly arises as one of the main impediments to development in Haiti.

has “perpetuated a cycle of low capacity, corruption and accountability among Haitian government institutions” (Kristoff & Panarelli, 2010: 1).

In light of this concern, what the experience of Habitat Santo Village and other initiatives of participatory governance suggest is that such efforts could inform the institutional design and policy development for Haiti’s governance decentralization, rather than replace the state itself. In addition, these participatory government programs directly contribute to the building of capabilities within the state. When government officials participate in these processes, they have the chance to know the local communities in different ways, with the potential of becoming more accountable to local people as government participants themselves undergo learning, and their government practices can meaningfully adapt. This is already apparent, to a limited extent, in the case of Santo’s Good Neighbor project.

Reflections on method

On the day of our interview with Marie Veronila, we were escorted by security to her Santo home, an exceptional precaution taken because of a violent outburst on site earlier that day. During that time there were daily conflicts on site, in part because people were fighting for the coveted jobs to construct the second phase of Santo homes. Marie was shaken but not discouraged, saying: ‘We know that one person cannot hold us back.... today we stood in protest to have that person leave so the project can continue. The project is good for many people.’ Nothing would bring down Marie’s spirits that day. As we met, her oldest daughter was at school taking an exam for re-entry. Marie had high hopes for her daughter’s success, and although she did not know how she would pay for school, she was confident there would be a way ‘si dye vle’ (if God wills).

Throughout this paper, we have drawn on interviews, participatory activities and stories told by the residents of Santo and participants in the Good Neighbor project. There are two main

observations we make at this point about method, both as employed in the governance project itself, and in our study of it. First, language matters; and second, local voices must count.

Umemoto observes (2001:23), 'language carries with it the power to discourage or encourage, repress or release, legitimize or degrade.' Issues of language are very present in Haiti but have been much-neglected. The official languages of the country are Haitian Creole and French but most international NGOs rarely work in Haitian Creole. Haitian Creole is the mother tongue of nearly all Haitians and the only language of the vast majority (Schuller, 2012). Our analysis reveals that language was a barrier to communication, particularly during the early stages of constructing the community. As an example, a major problem that emerged during the project in Santo was related to household latrines. The latrine training documentation had not been translated to Haitian Creole, so few residents would have understood it, which thereby contributed to their dissatisfaction with the system and lack of ownership of the problem. Unfortunately, this situation is not exceptional. Often internationally based organizations function internally in English, French, or Spanish, communicate with Haitian Government in French, and lack resources or recognition of the need to work in Haitian Creole. Throughout the Good Neighbour project, Haiti Partners conducted meetings and communications in Haitian Creole and provided written documentation in both Haitian Creole and English – the latter for external and funding partners.

A separate language issue which is more subtle, but deeply meaningful, involves the language of dependency that is often projected on Haiti.²³ Habitat for Humanity originally referred to residents as 'beneficiaries', a word that implies the passive receiving of a benefit, which is problematic for creating an identity of residents as full partners or participants in their housing projects. 'Beneficiary' implies being 'chosen' to 'receive' some benefit. This disempowering language sends a message that beneficiaries are passive recipients of assistance from a

²³ Paradoxically, Haiti's history reveals patterns of heroic independence and self-reliance, but because of its reliance on foreign aid and remittances in recent decades, policy and academic literature during that time has tended to recast Haiti in dependency terms.

benevolent organization. During the Good Neighbor project when participants were empowered to decide on their own governance structure and processes, they chose to call themselves 'dedicated citizens', implying active, engaged commitment. Residents then formalized the term in their naming of the Village Council body, '*Dedicated Citizens for the Development of Habitat Santo Village*' (emphasis added).

Second, local voices provide insight into the development of governance capabilities that could not otherwise be documented. Both the Good Neighbor governance process and our research methods have sought to emphasize the importance of giving voice to those who are often silenced. According to Ledwith and Springett (2011) 'giving voice' entails an openness to ways of knowing that go beyond the intellectual. Authors underline that self-reflexivity and dialogue are key, but also that different ways of knowing might be expressed in ways such as song, poetry, and storytelling, as was the case at Santo, particularly evidenced during participant presentations during the Graduation Ceremony. In his Good City framework, Amin (2006) talks of *participative parity* as the space that provides possibilities for new voices to emerge, and connects the notion of voice with the 'right to the city' where citizens are part of shaping urban life and benefitting from it. In a similar vein, both Young (1995) and Friedmann (1992), emphasize the importance of acquiring political voice for the disempowered poor. Young argues dialogue training and institutional infrastructure and opportunities are needed for marginalized people to be able to make their voices heard. She further holds that political voice can enable *reason* to prevail over *power* in political discussions, and we would argue that such *reason* may be akin to various *rationalities*, such as collaborative in this paper, or the value and practical rationalities of Flyvbjerg (2001) and Flyvbjerg *et al.* (2012). Young further articulates the need for political voice in this way:

... in a discussion situation in which different people with different aims, values, and interests seek to solve collective problems justly, it is not enough to make assertions and give reasons. One must also be heard (Young, 1995: 146).

Friedmann's warning is particularly relevant for the Santo governance case. He claims that 'the disempowered poor need to acquire a political voice of their own', which is distinct from that of

NGOs. Because NGOs 'walk the tightrope' negotiating relationships in contested space between civil society and state, they are not necessarily always reliable as effective advocates of the claims of the voices of the least heard that they might mean to represent (Friedmann, 1992: 161). This implies the need for SIDDEVAS to develop a distinct voice from Habitat for Humanity and Haiti Partners.

A limitation to studying voice in research is its tendency to elude measurement. Some have attempted gauging 'voice and participation', such as Raworth's (2012) measurement of same as the number of people who live in countries which are perceived to not allow freedom of expression or political participation. We argue that such a macro quantification is problematic and cannot adequately capture nuance of local cultural contexts, and that such a measure would risk broadly misrepresenting the voices that it would aim to value. More innovative methodologies that not only listen to silenced voices and make them evident in research representations, but also that can assess the effectiveness of programs and governance projects that aim to hear voices of the most marginalized, are sorely needed. We have attempted in this research to hear less heard voices through our choices of participants for discussions and interviews, fieldwork observations, and document analysis. It will be important in future work at Santo to continue to expand opportunities to listen to and hear silenced voices.

While the process of community building through participatory governance is now well underway, it is early days in the implementation process so outcomes are not yet fully known. Our lessons are preliminary and further studies will be needed to assess how the system operates over time, and with the addition of 145 new families in 2013.

5.6 Conclusion

In this paper we used a collaborative rationality theoretical lens to investigate the case of the Good Neighbor Governance Project within Habitat Santo Village in Haiti. By drawing on a diversity of interests and interdependencies, and by fostering authentic dialogue, qualitative

data from interviews, observations, and documentation suggest that initial processes in the project have contributed significantly to setting up a local governance system that is seen as legitimate, functional, democratic, and owned by its participants. This local governance system was supported by the establishment of an NGO-managed process that draws on Freirian approaches to dialogue, lived experience and learning. Findings reveal that the project has led to systemic changes, both within the involved NGOs and in Habitat Santo Village, and is contributing to the sustainability of the settlement. While there are aspects to improve on, there is much to learn from the strong participatory governance fundamentals which are present, particularly the embedded collaborative network of NGOs, local community groups, and local government. The skills and knowledge brought to bear in this project of managing complexity and facilitating communications contribute to making this an important demonstration project. Particularly noteworthy contributions are: 1) attention given to hearing local voices; 2) the emphasis on dialogic approaches; and 3) transformations of multiple levels, from individual and collective understandings, to new practices and relationships and the embedding of more functional and accountable adaptations to governance systems. Also and importantly, the national government and international agencies have played a role in supporting the project.

Despite the strong early results of this new participatory governance structure at one of the few substantial and permanent post-earthquake housing developments, the situation remains highly precarious. Current residents continue to lack many basic human services and face pressures of daily survival. The Village population doubled in 2013, and there remains little relief in sight for continued increasing housing demand pressure from many nearby who still lack decent housing. Among the many governance-related questions are the following. What will the Village look like in one, five, and ten years, and how should Village leaders best contribute to shaping its evolution? How will it be possible to realize the needed facilities drawn up in the master plan, such as a school and community center? How will the Village finance operations management, maintenance, service provision, and capital investment, given the lacks of resources and precedence for generating property taxes or homeowner association fees? Will gangs move in

and take over houses as some people in the community fear, and if so, what will be done about it? Obvious answers are not apparent to many imminent questions, which underlines the need to track the evolution of Habitat Santo Village over time. Research and learning from this significant project can potentially provide valuable contributions to planning, policy, and participatory local governance in Haiti as well as other post-disaster settings.

Chapter 6: Overall Conclusions

A society that maintains so much exclusion simply can't achieve development. No way. Development has to involve everyone. Progressive ideas have to come forth. And there has to be space for participation by all citizens who've courageously begun the development of their communities with their own means, however modest. Change will come when the people are engaged right at the heart of things.

Josette Pérard, Director of Lambi Fund Haiti, quoted in Bell (2013: 89)

That one of the greatest human catastrophes of our time occurred in Haiti in 2010 has largely fallen away from the world's collective memory – or at least media attention, as the earthquake anniversary is barely acknowledged and little news coverage of events in Haiti are featured in international papers only six years later. That Haiti is also the site of one of the greatest human catastrophes in recorded history as a former slave state is largely absent as well from collective memory. Perhaps even more troubling is that Haiti ranks today among the bottom of the world for incidence of slavery practices and for its lack of public education. Sorely needed are planning and community development policies and practices that would contribute to transforming narratives in Haiti, thereby addressing the massive structural inequalities, miserable living conditions for vast numbers, and the unacceptably lacking or negative state-society relationships.

As discussed throughout this dissertation, the January 12, 2010 earthquake left the majority of Haitian government institutions and thousands of schools, hospitals, and churches in ruins. Over 1.5 million people became immediately homeless and estimates are that over 200,000 people perished. The vast influx of humanitarian aid and attention in the immediate disaster aftermath paradoxically provided a glimmer of hope that the disaster would somehow rupture the cycle of massive poverty and increased dependency – particularly on imported food, and

would positively affect the never-ending transition to democracy, which has been in process since the fall of the Duvaliers in 1986 (now 30 years). Now, six years post-disaster, political and economic conditions have worsened (even if some would argue that social resilience is greater). Haiti is 'trapped in the outer periphery' of the global capitalist system and has become further dependent on the international community as a result of policies and structures imposed post-earthquake. Robert Fatton, Jr. (2014) calls for reversing reconstruction strategies in Haiti. Haiti deserves collective and scholarly attention and a new kind of investment, including in relationships that take into account voices of excluded Haitians – the vast majority -- and examples of a range of projects and initiatives. In this final chapter, I: 1) set out a theory of change and synthesize overall results of this research including its limitations; 2) outline the main contributions to knowledge of this work; 3) provide recommendations based on learnings; and 4) point to future directions for research, policy, and practice in Haiti and other international development or marginalized contexts.

6.1 Theory of Change and Key Results

An overall aim of this research is to expose in what ways participatory community development experiences are having an impact on community change and whether they are opening pathways to transformation. Synthesis results of previous chapters and key findings and learnings from the Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village cases are set out in this section. A 'theory of change' has emerged from my theoretical readings and perspective, the processes of field work, analyzing findings and interpreting results. That theory is depicted in Figure 6.1 and illustrated in a more linear way with a description, in Figure 6.2. This theory of change was derived through an inductive (also called 'bottom up' or 'grounded theory') approach to knowing, in which the researcher conducts field work to build an abstraction or to describe the issue being studied (Lodico *et al.*, 2010). In inductive research no established theories need to be tested during the research process, but rather, patterns are observed and theory is built from the ground up. Inductive reasoning is based on learning from experience. The community case data and synthesis findings that apply to the theory of change are illustrated in Figures 6.3 and summarized in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.1: Theory of Change: From Community Stories to Transformational Narratives

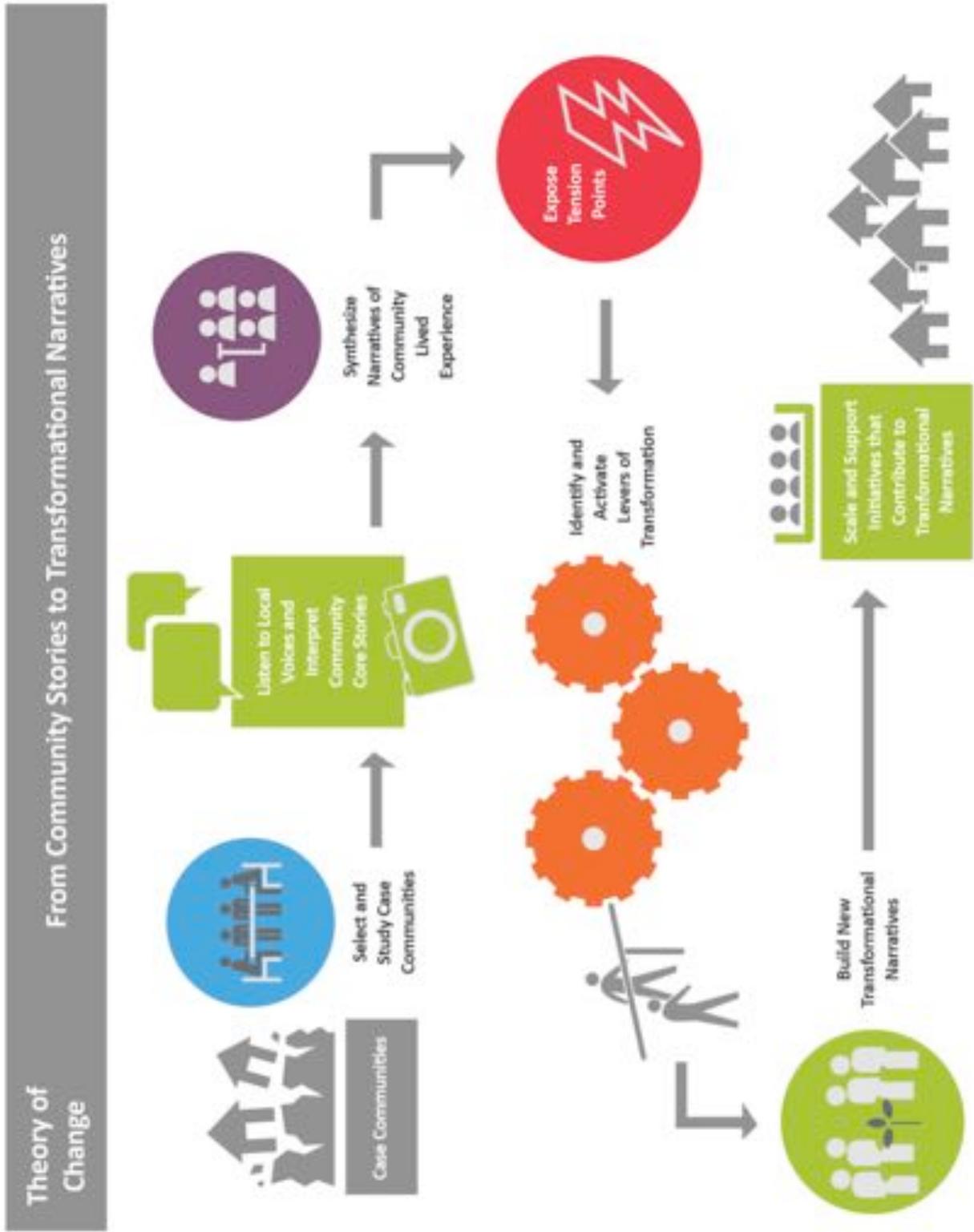


Figure 6.2: Theory of Change and Summary Description



This **Theory of Change** was derived through an inductive (also called ‘bottom up’ or ‘grounded theory’) approach, in which theory is built from the ground up through learning from experience in the field and patterns observed. Core elements are described below.

Select and Study Case Communities. Participatory community development case examples are selected based on an information-oriented sampling strategy and to develop a metaphor or establish a school of thought for the domain which the cases concern. In the case of Bellevue-La-Montagne, this is education-centered community development.

Listen to Local Voices and Interpret Community Core Stories. By listening to voices and stories of local people and engaging context-specific methods, including participatory photography, mapping and dialogue circles, we interpreted community core stories.

Synthesize Narratives of Community Lived Experience. Various methods are triangulated and data are analyzed to reveal narrative patterns. Data collection methods include interviews, observation, document study, and participatory methods. An aim is to value local knowledge and lived experience of community development processes and change underway.

Expose Tension Points. Scrutinizing emerging narratives from different perspectives exposed tension points, which involve relationships of power particularly susceptible to change because of dubious practices, contestable knowledge, and potential conflict.

Identify and Activate Levers of Transformation. Like crises, tension points open possibilities for change. Certain levers show promise for transformation with relevant community development processes underway, and others represent opportunities for developing new innovative interventions.

Build New Transformational Narratives, then Scale and Support Initiatives that Contribute to those Narratives. Activating levers of transformation opens pathways to new development trajectories and changing narratives. Resulting transformative community development experiences can be scaled up, scaled out and scaled deep.

Figure 6.3: Theory of Change Applied to Case Communities

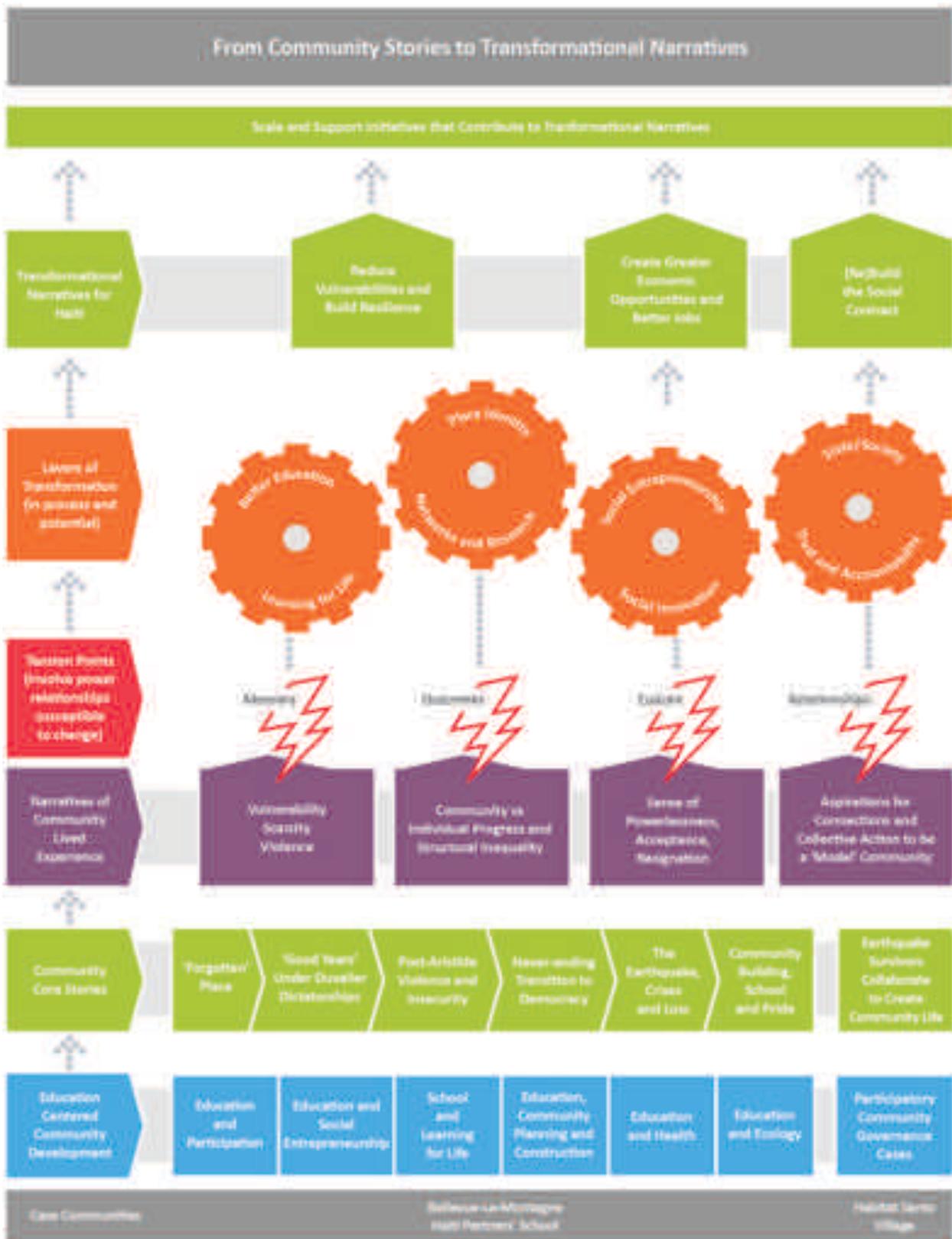


Figure 6.4 Summary Explanation of Theory of Change Applied to Case Communities

The diagram **'From Community Stories to Transformational Narratives'** is meant to be read starting at the bottom.

This research study **selected case communities** of Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village, where NGOs and community residents applied participatory approaches to education-centered community development and local self-governance, respectively.

I interpreted **'community core stories'** by listening to voices and stories of local people and designing context-specific methods, (including participatory photography, mapping and dialogue circles in the case of Bellevue-La-Montagne), in order to deepen understanding of development issues and power dynamics, with an emphasis on local people's perspectives. In Bellevue-La-Montagne a community core story with six aspects emerged. Habitat Santo Village is a new community built post-earthquake where the narrative was dominated by struggles of survival and building a new life and community.

I synthesized results from various methods of data collection (interviews, observation, document study, participatory methods) integrating 'outsider' and 'insider' perspectives on community development processes and changes underway and lived experience of community residents. Four main **narratives of community lived experience** were revealed for the Bellevue-La-Montagne case, and on reflection, we found that the same narratives were applicable to Habitat Santo Village.

Interpreting the revealed narratives from different perspectives exposed **'tension points'**, which involve relationships of power particularly susceptible to change due to their contestable knowledge, potential conflict, or dubious practices. Tension points highlight how power relations stand in the way of addressing problems. **'Memory'** refers to collective memories of turbulent histories, disasters, and nostalgia for the dictatorship era, as well as a broken education system that perpetuates societal problems of distrust and classism. **'Outcomes'** exposes the tension of improving community outcomes vis-à-vis stagnation in individual circumstances. **'Culture'** represents the lack of a sense of agency evident among residents; participatory culture is emerging, but it has not yet crossed the threshold into 'changemaker' culture. **'Relationships'** among governments, civil society, NGOs and the international community are fraught with mistrust, lack of accountability and inertia.

Leverage points are places in complex systems where small shifts in one thing can produce larger changes in everything. They represent possibilities for transformative change. In the two case communities, some **'levers of transformation'** are in early stages of activation or process of cultivation, such as **better education, place identity and social entrepreneurship**; and several represent promising directions for change, through such levers as **network building, research over time, and state-society trust and accountability**.

Activating levers of transformation opens pathways to new development trajectories that would change narratives. The three **medium term priorities** are to: **1) reduce vulnerability and build resilience; 2) create greater economic opportunities and better jobs; and 3) (re)build the social contract**. These specific priorities were identified in a World Bank report by Singh and Barton-Dock (2015), and they align with aspirations found in this research among NGOs and at local community level.

Community development efforts that are able to activate levers of transformation can scale up, scale out and scale deep, in order to effect shifts toward broader transformational narratives in policy, practice and culture.

In synthesizing findings of the case study experiences and local perspectives, three key results emerged: 1) The community level provides a site of transformation; 2) Story methods and giving voice to people illuminate change possibilities; and 3) Communities face challenges that threaten their change efforts. Each is further described below.

Key result 1: The community level provides a site of transformation.

A principal result of this research is that the community level is a site of transformation of the development paradigm operating in Haiti.

The case studies in this thesis provide two examples for how the community level can provide a site of transformation for a reconstruction paradigm that would value local people and knowledge; emphasize education-centered community development; and change paradigms for local decision-making and governance. They point to the importance, as well, of school-based learning, social entrepreneurship and community-based collective action strategies.

The education-centered and highly collaborative community development approach that Haiti Partners has taken at Bellevue-La-Montagne is innovative and appropriate for Haiti and the local context. The participatory community development efforts underway there have placed construction of a new school and education at the heart of rebuilding efforts. Education and participatory practices are embedded in all aspects of the community development -- including social entrepreneurship, healthcare, environmental stewardship, community agriculture, site planning and building construction. Generally, case efforts involve participation of people and organizations (local and international) in dialogical negotiations that appear to aim to share power and build capabilities of local people, and to create, change, or preserve structures and institutions consistent with the interests of local people. Multiple methods and narrative analysis, including context-specific participatory methods, exposed the validity of that proposition from the local participant point of view.

Early indications from Habitat Santo Village likewise show promise. Qualitative data from interviews, observations, and documentation suggest that initial processes in the Good Neighbor participatory governance project have contributed significantly to setting up a local governance system that is seen as legitimate, functional, democratic, and owned by its participants. This was enabled through drawing on a diversity of interests and interdependencies, and by fostering authentic dialogue. Based on results in this study, a hypothesis in the research moving forward is that collaborative community development that has built in mechanisms that engender long-term trust (and DIAD components of: diversity, interdependence, and authentic dialogue) can contribute to social transformation.

Related findings reveal the following.

- ❖ Participants tend to value community over individual wellbeing, and despite challenges of everyday survival, people take a long view and hope for a better future for their children. A strong ‘pride of place’ was revealed in community development efforts underway in both Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village. Many residents in both communities expressed that they aspire to become ‘model’ communities that others would visit as a destination from elsewhere in Haiti as well as from abroad.
- ❖ People feel that their voices have been heard and that they have contributed to shaping community development decisions (further explanation under Key Result 2).
- ❖ People do not expect the state to act in their interests (such as by providing police protection or reconstruction assistance). They expect that positive change can only come about through working together with others in the community more effectively and, to a lesser extent, with assistance from international organizations. Relatedly, the lack of accountability in state-society relations was made visible, as was the importance of trust, new pride of community residents, as well as tension points that potentially threaten the long-term sustainability of development projects.

So far, it is evident that *community* transformation is underway as a result of the participatory community development processes, and glimpses of *social* transformation seem to be present, but it is early days to assess clearly.

Key result 2: Story methods and giving voice to people illuminates change possibilities.

My methodology combined case study, participatory approaches, and narrative analysis. This strategy gave 'voice' to communities in their struggles to overcome the main barriers to realizing change, including how relationships of power shape community development and decision-making processes. The inquiry combined both actor and structural levels of analysis -- understanding from within and from outside.

Participatory research recognizes that people have their own community based, local knowledge systems that researchers have not well or fully tapped. We have seen that engaging participatory methods in Haiti's post-disaster context enabled hearing from the least heard and eliciting local knowledge, providing a window into dynamics of community development and social change, which is typically opaque to outsiders. By inviting research participants' active engagement through photography, dialogue circles, mapping, community walks, video, and various interview types, we facilitated self-expression, social learning, and sharing of stories, views, ideas, hopes, aspirations, and fears. The methods themselves provided possibilities for change, beyond the data that they revealed. Listening to voices in these ways facilitated understanding of nuanced realities 'behind the scenes' and interpretation of community 'core stories'.

Story also proved to be a useful and appropriate way to communicate the research locally. Storytelling tends to cut across cultures and class distinctions. By framing the research purpose as 'hearing and understanding your and your communities' stories, and learning effective ways to retell those stories', it seemed to be more comprehensible, and also ethically and culturally appropriate, than saying explicitly or implicitly, 'I am here to study (or teach) you.'

These methods have afforded us ways of thinking and collaborative tools, notably Freirian critical consciousness and dialogue circles, to illuminate possibility regarding the kind of change that is necessary if Haiti is to alter its development trajectory.

Key result 3: Communities face challenges that threaten their change efforts.

While there is evidence that community transformation is in process, there are substantial challenges. Among them are the following four, which taken together, pose a threat to the long-term sustainability of community development projects including progress which has been made to date and possibilities for advancement. These local challenges are to be seen against the backdrop of broader structural and national challenges outlined in Chapter 1.

- ❖ **Lack of local government planning and lack of state capacity to provide basic services.** Residents face an absence of basic services, such as water and sanitation, electricity, waste collection, road repair, and healthcare, and little prospect that government is acting to provide them.
- ❖ **The highly precarious nature of everyday life for most people.** Subsistence survival for most people, chronic malnutrition, and ever-present threat of disasters means that planning for the future can seem futile. Relatedly, cultivating a ‘changemaker’ culture in local communities is challenging.
- ❖ **Lack of institutional and resource supports.** Local leaders would like to increase investment and quality in education and social entrepreneurship, but the barriers to doing so in terms of missing or unsupportive institutional infrastructure and lack of resources are daunting.
- ❖ **Complex relationships of trust and dependency, and the dark side of informality.** While Haitian people are highly self-reliant because they do not have a state to rely on, dependency on NGOs can be an issue. It is not clear if developments underway would be resilient and lasting in the face of the absence of NGOs. Also, because Haiti lacks a well functioning legal system, people often have informal systems for implementing justice. Such complex informal systems have been necessary to evolve to maintain community order, but they can also contribute to a culture of fear, suspicion and violence.

Limitations to the Research

The following limitations to the research are recognized.

- ❖ **The in-depth nature of this research has necessitated that it be limited to a small number of participatory development case studies.** Amassing a larger number of cases over time can contribute to a body of work for learning, sharing with others, and informing theory, policy, practice and research.

- ❖ **Nuances in social institutions can be opaque to an outside researcher.** As Laurent Dubois (2012) has said, reconstruction efforts can only succeed through improved collaborations with Haiti's complex and resilient social institutions. As an outsider, it is particularly challenging to decipher a clear understanding of the manifold layers of Haitian communities' social institutions, including complex strategies of interdependence that people have developed over time to manage their co-existence in the virtual absence of a state.
- ❖ **Developing a robust and clear understanding of structure/agency dynamics is challenging.** People are highly disconnected from government and have no expectation that the state will act in their interests and so are highly self-reliant or 'socially resilient'. Furthermore, the worsening political economy of the country in the post-earthquake era may impede what would seem promising for social change at the community level. A lack of trust and accountability in state-society relationships is symptomatic of the fact that Haiti has never had a true social contract.
- ❖ **Social change needs time to study.** While this study took place over several years and incorporates some temporal aspects, it is not possible to clearly gauge social change over this relatively short period of time. In continuing to study these and other communities over time, it will be important to set up effective and robust data collection and storage. My NGO collaborators in Haiti have recently begun piloting new mobile data collection technologies and techniques that will help facilitate future data collection in the longitudinal research planned for these communities, as well as with additional communities.

6.2 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis provides narrative analysis of post-earthquake community development experiences in Haiti, along with portraits of community participants' aspirations for change, the main obstacles they face, and strategies that may point the way forward to change their 'future stories'. This research contributes as well to addressing gaps in international development planning, nonprofit and disaster literatures with respect to:

- 1) NGOs' participatory development work and implications for structural change;
- 2) phronesis research methodologies applied in a disaster setting; and
- 3) new approaches for linking community development planning with social change.

NGOs' participatory development work and implications for structural change

Haiti has come to be known as the 'Republic of NGOs', with a good deal of media attention to the proliferation of international NGOs. However, little academic attention has been paid to this important issue and its myriad implications for development and state-building in Haiti. Schuller (2012) provides an important contribution to study of NGOs in Haiti; however much more study is warranted, both to inform practice and policy in Haiti, and to provide analyses on dynamics between local level and structural change. By focusing research on NGO participatory development collaborations and strategies, and developing a theory of change that links community stories to transformational narratives, this thesis provides valuable additional knowledge.

Phronesis research integrating context-specific participatory methods

This thesis addresses a methodological and substantive gap. First, methodologically, or how we study community development, is addressed in a highly context-specific manner. I carried out research design iteratively based on testing methods, early fieldwork findings, and desk studies and designed methods specific not only to Haiti, but also to the specific locations of the research. In particular, the participatory research activities, *Fowòm Foto* and *Dyalòg Foto*, integrated participatory photography for story elicitation, community timeline and participatory mapping methods, dialogue-based processes, as well as video. The field methods were adapted iteratively based on findings and issues that arose during the course of the work with participants. The questions that provided the basis for design and adaptations of participatory methods were based on phronetic research (Flyvbjerg 2001, Flyvbjerg *et al.* 2012). Phronetic research is of growing academic interest in several disciplines, including planning literature, and this thesis provides a contribution to addressing its questions through context-specific participatory methods (as was done in Sandercock and Attili, 2012). I intend that this thesis provide a novel contribution to phronesis from a post-disaster, fragile-state context.

Community development planning link to social change

I aim as well to address a gap by contributing to a base of empirical evidence to link community development planning and social change literatures, particularly in a fragile setting. Moulaert *et al.* (2010) provides an excellent contribution of community development and social change interactions and dynamics applied to case examples in Western Europe, for example. Authors found that demonstrating the presence of social innovation processes provided the essential linkage between community development and social change. However, it is difficult to convincingly argue that social change is present without a temporal aspect to a research study. My thesis fieldwork was conducted over several years, which provides limited understanding of change over time, but I have designed the research so that it can be carried out as qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) with the same participants longer term. The thesis provides part of a baseline investigation for the QLR, which will have both methodological and substantive contributions longer term to literatures of international development planning, social change dynamics and phronesis research.

The research contributes to knowledge on several levels. It provides new knowledge about collaborative planning, institutional frameworks, education-centered community development, and other strategies and conditions that foster or hinder efforts toward local participatory governance and community and social transformation. I give special attention to the roles of non-governmental organizations and listening to voices of local people. This research recognizes the community level as a site of transformation in contributing to systemic change, and it contributes in four areas of knowledge: 1) methods; 2) theory; 3) practice; and 4) policy.

1. Methods contribution. I have designed context-specific methods, including participatory photography and participatory mapping, which are relevant for and sensitive to conditions of particular research sites, in order to study and understand dynamics of community development and social change over time.

I have adapted a range of qualitative and participatory methods to each community context according to local and structural conditions and the research questions investigated. I drew on well-established methods, including various interviewing techniques, participatory photography, and participatory mapping, which have been used often in international development planning settings. I adapted the methods based on local needs, participants' suggestions during field work, and my own experience as a participatory planning practitioner. Additional methods included designing and recording community walks, and dialogue circles to dive deeper into topics that participants chose. Given the context of post-earthquake trauma, difficult living conditions and deep human suffering of many local people, my priorities in method design were to: enable meaningful participation and voices to be heard; and facilitate collective dialogue and social learning in everyday places at the community level. The underlying set of values of social justice and participation is consistent with Freirian philosophy that would encourage people to cultivate agency to bring about change in their communities and society. With respect to a broader contribution around methods, this work is relevant for designing context-specific approaches in extreme conditions, such as with highly marginalized groups or in other outer periphery countries and contexts. The research is designed with a Qualitative Longitudinal Research (QLR) sensibility, so that I, or others, can go back to the same communities over time to continue the research and learn from experiences of the participants, their families, and development processes. This longitudinal analysis will reveal patterns of change (development or stagnation) regarding outcomes: 1) at the individual and household level, in living conditions, education, livelihoods, subjective well-being and lived experience; 2) at community level, in terms of development, social and economic outcomes including social enterprise creation, and local governance processes and results; and 3) at structural level, revealing whether community change efforts have influenced other communities approaches or policy change.

2. Theory contribution. This thesis develops a theory of change – called ‘From Community Stories to Transformational Narratives for Haiti’ -- that makes visible relationships between community development and pathways to transformation. Theory is developed inductively through study of participatory development processes underway, including education-centered community development, as well as listening to voices and lived experience of local people. The work contributes to broader theoretical debates of international development planning, the crucial role of non-governmental organizations, the value of participatory development and the importance of context-sensitive qualitative research inquiry.

I drew on questions of phronesis inquiry to interpret local people’s voices and experiences and to understand their stories, values, aspirations and fears. I applied a critical praxis lens in interpreting community patterns, such as the ‘community core story’ of Bellevue-La-Montagne and the co-designed participatory governance at Habitat Santo Village. I exposed narratives of community lived experience and tension points present, such as in relationships of power through narrative analysis. Based on findings (and my aspirations to contribute to achieving broader priorities for change in Haiti), I identified levers of transformation flowing from the narratives and tension points that could be activated or strengthened in the case experience and in communities across Haiti to advance transformative change. The theoretical contribution of this thesis will extend over time through carrying out a research agenda of Qualitative Longitudinal Research in the case communities. My hypothesis moving forward toward a longer term research agenda using qualitative longitudinal study is the following:

Participatory community development that has built-in mechanisms that (a) engender long-term trust among civil society, NGO and state actors, and that (b) encompass elements of collaborative rationality theory (a diversity of actors and interdependence among them, and authentic dialogue) has the potential to address systemic barriers to transformation in Haiti and contribute positively to advancing community and social change. More broadly, the theoretical contribution of this thesis to international development planning lies in addressing how agency at the local level has the potential to interact with structural level change through processes of participatory community development planning and governance.

3. Practice contribution. The documentation and sharing of cases of participatory community development, local governance, and lived experiences of local people in two Haitian communities provide learning and scaling opportunities for other communities seeking development pathways toward social change, as well as NGOs and funding agencies that may want to support them.

In terms of practice, both case communities in this thesis provide excellent opportunities for participatory community development that could be scaled. Ridell and Moore (2015) distinguish between three types of scaling: scaling up ('impacting laws and policy'), scaling out ('impacting greater numbers'), and scaling deep ('impacting cultural roots'). This thesis makes a contribution by enabling 'scaling out' experience and learnings to other communities across Haiti and around the world, and by 'scaling deep' within the Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village communities. In terms of dissemination, the articles in this thesis have been submitted for publication in academic journals. To reach a broader practitioner audience, I produced a 6-minute video about one of the case communities (see Chapter 3 and Engle, 2014), which focuses on the participatory community development and why and how we engaged participatory photography as a practice and research method. With respect to the thesis contribution to NGOs, preliminary versions of articles have been shared with funding agencies who have expressed that its rigor, qualitative aspect, and foci on lived experience and long-term social change were compelling, novel and consistent with their priorities. My research collaborator, Haiti Partners, has indicated that this research is highly valuable to their work – both for the insights and learning it provides to them in order to improve their practice, and as a tool for evaluation and sharing learnings with partners and prospective funders. The participatory methodologies, findings and outcomes of this thesis can contribute not only to the work of other researchers and students, but also to staff in international and Haitian organizations. Not least, direct beneficiaries of the research include my research collaborators and participants in Haiti – among them are Habitat for Humanity Haiti, Haiti Partners, Haitian students, teachers, NGOs, parents and other community residents.

4. Policy contribution. My research results reveal a direct linkage with medium-term policy priorities in Haiti to: 1) Reduce vulnerability and build resilience; 2) Create greater economic opportunities and better jobs; and 3) Re(build) the social contract.

The above policy priorities are set out in Singh and Barton-Dock (2015) and reflect a systematic analysis of the macro portrait of Haiti five years post earthquake. My thesis is at a granular community level and builds a case that learnings about community narratives reveal tension points as well as possibilities for broader transformation. The identified 'levers of transformation' in this thesis, which are either in process of activation or proposed in the case communities, represent opportunities for 'scaling up' to connect with Haitian governments' agenda setting and international development strategy and policy, particularly in the areas of community development, governance and education. The articles in this thesis, recommendations in the conclusion, and the 13-minute video (See Chapter 3 and Engle, 2014) are being shared with policymakers inside and outside of Haiti, and will be translated as requested. From the Canadian perspective, my research may be useful to agencies such as the Canadian International Development Research Centre in its community development planning, civil society, education, social and economic policy, and governance programs in Global South countries. At both practical and policy levels in Haiti, this thesis may be useful to designing and implementing successful strategies for sustainable and collaborative community development that provide an important role for local NGOs, civil society, and participatory local governance structures. Such strategies would give 'voice' to communities in their struggles to overcome the main barriers to realizing their aspirations for change.

In sum, this thesis contributes to more progressive international development planning, which places human and community well-being at the center of transformation efforts.

6.3 Recommendations for Policy

The following recommendations are aimed primarily at policymakers and those involved in resource allocation decisions, both within Haiti and the international community.

❖ **Learn from the outcomes of post-earthquake international intervention structures and strategies.**

While disasters may open pathways to change, the opportunities must be seized at all levels and scales in order to be transformative toward new development trajectories. Disasters can also contribute to further marginalization, as has happened in Haiti post-earthquake, not only because of the profound human and environmental damage of the catastrophes themselves, but because processes of relief and recovery can reinforce patterns of imperialism and international intervention, such as has occurred in Haiti.

❖ **Scale up community development experiences to inform policy change.**

At practical and policy levels, the Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village cases can usefully and critically inform design and implementation of improved strategies for participatory and education-centered community development and local governance planning that provide important roles for local people and civil society, and a nuanced role for international organizations which is sensitive to power dynamics. Such development strategies would similarly give ‘voice’ to communities in their struggles for change and would activate key levers of transformation such as those identified in this case, including: 1) better education and learning for life; 2) place identity, networks, and research; 3) social entrepreneurship and social innovation; and 4) strengthening trust and accountability among the state, civil society and NGOs. These levers are in line with the medium-term priorities for policy action proposed by the World Bank in its 2015 report, *‘Haiti: Toward a New Narrative’*, which are: 1) *(Re)building the social contract*; 2) *Creating greater economic opportunities and better jobs*; and 3) *Reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience*. These worthy and important goals will need to be vigorously pursued at all levels if significant progress is to be made toward them. The local community level has a particularly important role to play.

❖ **Render NGOs operating in Haiti accountable to local people and the state, and strengthen state accountability to people and local communities.**

Independent groups are critical to fostering civil society. However, there is a gap in policies that address NGOs in ways that would make them more accountable to Haitians, as well as more transparent and more effective in serving the long-term interests of Haiti. While the thousands of NGOs may be mostly well-intentioned, many do not work in ways that contribute positively to lasting, systemic change. Better policies that are based on research are needed. For example, obliging international NGOs that operate in Haiti to demonstrate

their long-term contributions to the country, such as by accompanying or setting up local affiliate organizations which are Haitian-led, thereby building on capabilities of people to increase their freedom and agency, and decreasing dependence on external organizations. In the 'Republic of NGOs', international organizations need to take more direct responsibility to strengthen Haitian local and state institutions and to be accountable to them. And for its part, the Haitian state must be prepared to develop and respect reliable mechanisms for more effective and transparent state-society-NGO relationships if Haiti is to evolve a true social contract between state and citizens.

❖ **Favor community level change in development strategies, and value learning from experiences of marginalized Haitians, who represent the vast majority, and in a long-term change perspective.**

Most of the available international development data for Haiti are at the macro level, and reveal misery and 'underdevelopment' and do not provide pathways for change. Reliance on macro numbers has failed to explain local realities or adequately served to address the needs of massive structural inequality. Social institutions in Haiti have substantially eluded conventional strategies of international development. In much international development discourse, there is now recognition of the importance of locally-based 'people-centered' approaches, 'participatory development', and enabling people's 'agency'. More mixed methods and qualitative studies are warranted in order to deepen understanding of processes of change that are possible at local level in order to transform Haiti's development trajectory. In particular, qualitative analyses that investigate community development in a context-specific and distinctly human way are lacking. Such analyses are needed in order to reveal patterns of social change in communities. Applying longitudinal study methods in specific places with families, households, and communities over the long term will reveal patterns to inform development decisions, strategies, and investments.

6.4 Future Directions for Research and Practice

This thesis is intended to provide a portrait of participatory community development experiences in the first several years following the 2010 earthquake, but it is also intended to provide the beginnings of a long-term inquiry that would contribute to learning and change in Haiti, and to broader international development practices and discourses. Following are future directions envisioned that would build on this work, and that would support aligned efforts of other scholars and practitioners.

1. Improve understanding of community/structural level interactions and relationships.

Transformation in Haiti is unlikely without convergence of social change at community levels and structural change at national and international levels. Investigating dynamics of structure and agency in Haiti is a long term project. It is evident that Haiti has been in a never-ending transition to democracy since the creation of the Haitian constitution in 1987 following the fall of the Duvalier regime, and that Haiti has become increasingly dependent on international aid and imported food and has fallen on the Human Development Index. However, knowledge about people's everyday lived experiences in Haiti and evidence of community-level change over time is lacking. While there are anthropological and social movement studies (notably by Jennie Smith, 2001; Mark Schuller, 2012; and Beverly Bell, 2013), a gap remains in our understanding of how agency at the local level interacts with structural level change, particularly in the post-earthquake era.

2. Apply the theory of change 'from community stories to transformational narratives' to other contexts, with context-specific adaptations.

The theory of change developed in this research can provide a starting point or hypothesis for study of other community development cases. As appropriate, elements of the theory could be adapted according to local contexts or aims of the research. For example, issues being studied, types of methods used, or overall aims of the research may influence applicability of theory of change elements. The core aspects of the theory -- listening to local voices, understanding community narratives, exposing tension points, and deriving levers of transformation -- could be applicable in a wide array of contexts and settings where local actors aim to bring about transformative change.

3. Study long term change and outcomes in communities through Qualitative Longitudinal Research.

One important aim of future research is to make visible over the long term whether, and to what extent, the education-centered and participatory approaches to community development are contributing to social transformation.

In order to continue learning from people's lived experiences over time, this study is designed to enable qualitative longitudinal research. With this we aim to expose dynamics of social change over the years that will track conditions, perceptions, and outcomes of participants, their families and local communities. With collaborators, I hope to contribute to improved community development policy, research, and practice in Haiti and broader structural transformation where citizens' voices are heard and communities are empowered to realize their aspirations for change. An early next step toward a robust long term study is the preparation of a detailed baseline report for one or both case communities. A baseline report would provide information from household interviews, and could document data already collected of photos, videos, narratives, and participant-made maps (of place, of travel, and of organizations' importance and effectiveness), and of the situation in the base study years of 2010-2013. This baseline would provide a starting point for study in subsequent years at regular intervals through field work. With NGO partners and locally trained people in Haiti, we are already piloting a data collection system using mobile devices which is well adapted for such subsequent study.

A qualitative longitudinal research sensibility gives close consideration to temporal aspects of research, and a critical praxis lens entails analyzing interactions of the agency of people with respect to broader structures and institutions, as well as favoring participatory methods with potential to contribute to critical consciousness and direct action. Following are some of the questions that such a perspective poses regarding future research at the level of: participant/community; Haiti; and other post-disaster and outer-periphery contexts. In addition, relevant questions arise related to the potential contribution to change afforded by (the practice of) participatory methods.

- What will these communities look like in five to ten years and longer term, and how can/will local people and participatory processes shape their evolution?
- What agency do people have to improve state-society relations and major systemic challenges in Haiti, and how is this changing over time?

- What learning over time from the case communities is instructive for other communities in Haiti as well as for Haitian government and international agencies to inform community development policies, practices and funding mechanisms?
- How can this research benefit these communities, Haiti, and other post-disaster, outer-periphery, or marginalized contexts?
- How to expose, as well as contribute to, social change dynamics and better community development outcomes in the long term?

Obvious answers are not apparent to many such questions, which underlines the need to track the evolution of both Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village over time. Research and learning from these significant projects can provide valuable contributions to planning, policy, and particularly participatory and education-centered community development and collaboratively-designed self-governance in Haiti, as well as other post-disaster settings.

4. Scale up, scale out, and scale deep promising participatory community development initiatives.

This thesis is scholarly work, and it is also, quite practically, a call to action. It is an invitation to policymakers, funders, and people from all walks of life to recognize the community level as a site of transformation in Haiti, as well as other highly marginalized contexts. This would mean scaling promising initiatives such as the cases here on three levels: 1) ‘scaling out’ to bring social innovations to more communities; 2) ‘scaling up’ to influence systemic and policy change; and 3) ‘scaling deep’ to affect cultural norms and patterns, one community at a time. By highlighting, amplifying, and connecting examples of community development which are contributing to positive long-term change, Haiti will be able to step away from its current trajectory and find its pathway to a more humane, inclusive and just society.

These cases provide examples of strategies that have the power to change stories for people and communities in Haiti and change the country’s broader narratives. Education-centered community development and participatory community governance, as exemplified in the Bellevue-La-Montagne and Habitat Santo Village cases respectively, show promise as pathways

to scale. There are other case examples and strategies which merit recognition and scaling as well. By doing so, Haiti has potential to create a narrative of social transformation that would change its development trajectory and outcomes for communities across the country, and provide inspiration for other outer periphery countries and marginalized societies.

Through the processes and results of this research, pathways of transformation have been exposed, and there is evidence that the case communities are choosing those ways. A metaphor for their pathway to transformation is found on the windy road that leads through Bellevue-La-Montagne to the school, a beacon of hope for what is possible -- it is rocky, undulating and steep in places, and with surprising turns and breathtaking views along the way. May that pathway become a metaphor for social transformation in communities across Haiti.

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Appendix: Interviews in Haiti, 2011-2013

I carried out interviews with the following people, in some cases multiple interviews. Interview styles ranged from semi-structured to open-ended, probe, and informal.

Abelard Xavier	Haiti Partners
Alex Myril	Haiti Partners
Benaja Antoine	Haiti Partners
Cindy Josef	case community resident
Claude Jeudy	Habitat for Humanity
Claudine Michel	Yunus Social Business/ Grameen Creative Labs
Darren Gill	Architecture for Humanity
Dorothy Pierre Louis	Cité Soleil Community School
Erik Badger	Haiti Partners
Francesse Antoine	case community resident
Frémy Cesar	Open Space Haiti
Fritz Deshommes	Haiti State University
Greg Hemphill	USAID, Pan-American Development Fund
Guerline Ernest	case community resident
Guy Morelus	Cité Soleil Community School
Hans Tippenhauer	Fondation Espoir-Jeune Ayiti
Jacqueline St-Vaudré	case community resident
Jacques Lucet	case community resident
Jason McGaughey	JP/HRO Haiti
Jean Samuel André	case community resident
John Engle	Haiti Partners
Josephat Jean Baptiste	case community resident
Kate Evarts	Architecture for Humanity
Leslie Voltaire	architect, urban planner/former Presidential candidate
Marie Veronila Antoine	case community resident
Marie-Ange Meristyl	case community resident
Mayor Santos	City of Léogâne
Merline Myril Engle	Bellevue Guest House manager
Mesilus Bien-Aimé	case community resident
Mimz Diño	Habitat for Humanity
Miracle Pierre	Cité Soleil Community School
Mireille Civil	case community resident
Mme Boby	case community resident
Mme Sonson	case community resident
Myriam Narcisse	consultant and translator
Patrickson Bien-Aimé	case community resident
Prophète Antoine	case community resident
Sabina Carlson Robillard	Future Generations Haiti
Sherlyne Bien-Aimé	case community resident
Steven Werlin	FONKOZE
Talamas Jean	case community resident
Walnord Similien	Habitat for Humanity
Yolande Bien-Aimé	case community resident