The Short Leg of the Three-Legged Stool:
Power, Social Equity, and Sustainable Development in Haiti

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ABSTRACT

In this project I present a critical analysis of dynamic power relations enacted through sustainable development. Current research on discourse and sustainable development has called for a more concrete description of sustainable development in order to limit misappropriations. This project takes the vague character of sustainable development as a point of departure, acknowledging that the ability of sustainable development to be appropriated and misunderstood makes it an especially rich site of power and discourse. It first critiques implementation of sustainable development in Haiti, and then reconstructs a better process for implementing sustainable development. This analysis reaches beyond the Global North/South power dynamic to explore the intersection of many different organizations in Port-au-Prince's development climate. The organizations and groups considered are NGOs (including religious organizations), intergovernmental organizations, Haitian villagers, and implicitly local government. Given Haiti's history of environmental problems, notably deforestation, and the recent series of crises, it has become a center of international focus and a teeming site of discourse. Discourse analysis explores the different assumptions or shared understandings of different types of organizations. The discursive texts analyzed, which range from actual texts to the structure of social interactions, offer two levels of analysis: 1) the underlying assumptions and interests of the authoring organization; and 2) how these groups or organizations use discourse to enact power in relation to one another. My research finds that for-profits have more equitable distributions, and finds that the inequitable assumptions deployed by nonprofit organizations including intergovernmental organizations such as the UN and NGOs profoundly impacts Haitian villagers receiving sustainable development initiatives. Based on these finding I suggest a more equitable implementation of sustainable development would include more inclusive processes, and that NGOs have a particular set of skills that would allow them to be instrumental in enacting and encouraging these inclusive processes.

PREFACE

In the weeks leading up to my research trip to Haiti I was bombarded with images, videos, and cautionary tales. My parents begged me not to go. They arranged meetings for me with their friends, religious aid workers and national geographic photographers, each of whom told me of a dangerous, bleak, and miserable Haiti. One story about Haiti was particularly affecting, not a story from a friend, but one from a popular television program. At the suggestion of my protective older brother, I watched Anthony Bourdain's *No Reservations*, a program on the Travel Chanel about Mr. Bourdain's travel experiences. The crew of *No Reservations* went to Haiti a few months after the devastating earthquake. During the program they tried to give out a few free meals to the hungry youth and young adults hanging around a Haitian's outdoor kitchen.

The crew's attempt to help created a disturbing and violent scene. As more and more people heard about the free food, the line grew longer and longer until there was not enough food to feed them all. A few realized this and began fighting their way to the front, throwing others, even children out of their way. This was a miserable Haiti, full of desperate, impoverished, starving Haitians who would fight, even fight children, for a free meal. After watching it, I was shocked and troubled. I was especially attuned to this vision of Haiti, and in the days leading up to my departure I saw photos online depicting pictures of crying children with distended bellies. I was afraid.

The Haiti I met upon arrival was not the one I expected. Instead of the starving bodies wrapped in dirty rags, I saw crisply pressed button ups and remarkably clean dresses and blouses. I was embarrassed at my own attire, shorts and a t-shirt. When my partner and I walked the streets we were by far the worst dressed. The dust in Haiti is ubiquitous, especially in January during their dry season. I would quickly attract a fine layer of the stuff, and my casual clothes quickly became stained as well. I must have been missing a trick because every other person, climbing in and out of tap-taps packed with thirty bodies all sitting on each other's laps, would emerge unwrinkled and fresh. Everywhere someone was selling something. The streets were lined with people selling shoes, used clothes, and most surprisingly a collection of Dre Beats headphones. Every few blocks this pattern repeated, with the same goods: Dre Beats, used shoes, clothes. There were not many buyers, but everyone was selling.

My understanding of Haiti was further complicated by my interaction with Haitian villagers outside of Port-au-Prince. These villagers described the non-existent job market. Short of heading to the city on the unlikely chance of being picked from a crowd of other hopefuls to haul large chunks of rubble and concrete, there were no job opportunities. They admitted they were healthy, had shelter, and were not starving. What they needed were job opportunities and money to finance community projects. My interaction with the villagers as well as my experience of the city and its well-dressed, enterprising inhabitants did not fit with the Haiti I had encountered back in the States. Why was the situation being misrepresented? Why, if there was so much international focus and so many non-profits working to help Haiti with sustainable development, did there not appear to be any improvement in access to jobs? The disconnect between the

Haiti the non-profits help, a Haiti full of the crying starving children we see in the Global North, and the Haitian people I encountered is the focus of my research.

ROAD MAP

The disconnect, between the Haiti that I experienced and how non-profits represent and understand Haitians, is due to the characterization of Haiti as needing the help of non-profits. Haiti is always characterized as lacking, lacking basic necessities, but also lacking the informed knowledge that non-profits can provide. I find that the non-profit organizations see themselves as knowledge producers and due to their guiding assumptions about Haitians needs, do not consider the Haitians that are affected by their projects as having any important knowledge to contribute. In Haiti, non-profits assumptions about Haitian roles and their own roles are having a profoundly negative impact on communities' ability to develop sustainably. I also find that for-profit companies enacting sustainable development are much more inclusive and thus have the best chance of achieving the ideals of sustainable development. I suggest a different role for non-profits, based on their unique skill set, in which non-profits could encourage more inclusive processes. There are three sections that inform my argument: 1) I utilize general literature on sustainable development to explore social equity as the third leg of sustainable development's three legged stool; 2) I include theory to critique inequitable power relations and a different set of theory to reconstruct a more inclusive process of sustainable development; 3) I do empirical discourse analysis to uncover the assumptions of different types of organizations, and utilize the theory piece as the criteria to understand the implications of these assumptions.

In the background section I provide background on sustainable development, its critiques, and how the inclusion of a third component that I call social equity addresses many of these criticisms. I discuss different attempts at doing sustainable development in a more equitable fashion, and find that they fail because they are bottom-up approaches. Sustainable development cannot achieve its goal of environmental protection if it is managed from the bottom-up, but also cannot achieve its goal of social equity if it is top-down. To achieve all three of its goals sustainable development must navigate the complex terrain between top-down and bottom up approaches. I call an approach that is

neither top-down nor bottom-up inclusivity. In order to analyze equity and prescribe inclusivity I turn to theory.

I utilize theory because I understand sustainable development discourse as being predicated on development discourse, thus the lack of inclusivity within sustainable development projects is due to the inequitable assumptions deployed by development discourse. In order to critique the inequitable power relations of sustainable development stemming from these assumptions I utilize Foucault's theory of power/knowledge/discourse. This theory of social power asserts that the assumptions and biases implicitly expressed through discourse protect and proliferate the interests of certain groups who are in positions with greater access to the production of legitimate knowledge. While Foucault is excellent for teasing out the complexities of power with respect to the often-unintended consequences of inequitable assumptions, Foucault's theory of social power does not provide any framework for reconstructing how the discourse and power relations in Haiti could be better. I develop criteria for inclusivity based on later interpretations and critiques of Foucault, and on Slavoj Žižek's discussion of universal rights. Thus my theoretical analysis of equity has two distinct pieces: 1) I employ Foucault's theory of social power to critique and deconstructs the complex sustainable development climate in Haiti; and 2) I assemble theory of ideal dialogue and rights to prescribe how the sustainable development could achieve inclusivity.

I create the theory to critique and reconstruct, and then utilize this theory to inform the empirical portion of my research. I utilize discourse analysis, mostly drawing from Heidegger's method of phenomenological hermeneutics, to uncover the assumptions of the organizations doing sustainable development and the effect of these assumptions on the Haitian receiving sustainable development. The first section of theory that I include allows me to critique these assumptions as an expression of power. The second section of theory allows me to argue which organizations are more inclusive and suggest how non-profits could be the standard bearers of inclusivity.

INTRODUCTION

Many environmentalists recognize that any attempt to address their concerns must be international in its scope. An example of this is the sentiment often repeated under

different guises, that environmental issues know no boundaries.[1] Issues such as climate change or pollution do not respect international boundaries such as state sovereignty. The international scope of environmental problems necessitates international activism. Thus these concerned environmentalists must become international activists and address the international community as such. International activism, for example human rights, is predicated on the concept of development. Thus, it is hardly surprising that environmentalism has deployed the concept of development, most notably revamping development in the form of sustainable development. Any discussion of modern or post-environmentalism, which includes the ideals of international cooperation and inclusivity, and necessitates development, [2] must begin with a discussion of development and how development came to be.

International activism utilizes development discourse because the concept of development factors into most mainstream international conceptions of the planet.[3] Development is not just a verb; it is a scale, from underdeveloped, to developing, and finally developed. Where a society sits on this scale determines whether or not they should be the beneficiaries of development. This way of dividing up the world has been expressed through multiple different sets of terms such as First world/ Third world,

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[1] This was evidenced by an interview in Haiti. It is also repeated by politicians such as Tony Blair in his speech to the MASDAR World Future Energy Summit in 2009, entitled "Now is the Time When our Environmental Responsibility Must Be Answered", available at http://www.tonyblairoffice.org/speeches/entry/now-is-the-moment-when-our-environmental-responsibility-to-future-generatio/. This sentiment is also related to climate change, as in "Climate Change Knows No Boundaries" http://www.werc.usgs.gov/ProjectSubWebPage.aspx?SubWebPageID=10&ProjectID=230

[2] these positions are exemplified by thinkers such as Bruno Latour, Ulrich Beck, Ted Nordhaus, and Michael Schellenberger. See:
Ted Nordhaus and Michael Shellenberger. *Break through: From the Death of Environmentalism to the Politics of Possibility*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007.
Bruno Latour, "Love Your Monsters," in *Love Your Monsters: Postenvironmentalism and the Anthropocene* (Breakthrough Institute, 2011).
Ulrich Beck, "The Reality of Cosmopolitanism," in *The Breakthrough Journal*, 2012. http://thebreakthrough.org/index.php/journal/debates/against-cosmopolitanism-a-breakthrough-debate/the-reality-of-cosmopolitanism/

[3] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

developed/developing, and finally the Global North/Global South. Each progressive term is a binary between the haves and the have-nots. Development is the idea that determines how those of us in the Global North conceive of our place in the world; it draws a line and determines the nature of the relationship between those on either side of the line.

Development, as it was first introduced by President Harry Truman during his inaugural speech of 1949, reveals the relationship between the developed and the underdeveloped. President Truman's speech defined the terms of development and created the practice of development as we know it today. This excerpt from the President's speech reveals the assumptions about underdeveloped nations deployed by development discourse, and what motivates development:

> We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.[4]

This startling quote is important as it exemplifies the two characteristics of development discourse that sustainable development also shares. Development discourse first assumes that those living in underdeveloped nations are sick, starving, uneducated, and primitive. Because of the assumed extreme need of these developing nations the developed world must make technology and industry available to the underdeveloped. Helping these unfortunate underdeveloped peoples is not only a moral imperative, but is also unabashedly self-serving: "their poverty is a handicap and a threat" to "more prosperous areas." While this threat was historically contingent, as it related to the spread of communism, it is an idea that reverberates within sustainable development.

Sustainable development, in its original conception by the Brundtland Commission of 1987,[5] shares the two understandings presented in Truman's inaugural speech. The motivation for sustainable development is addressing the threat posed by

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[4] President Harry S. Truman, "Inaugural Address" (Washington D.C. 1949). Available online at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13282

[5] W. M. Adams, "The Brundtland Report," In *Green Development: Environmentalism and Sustainability in a Developed World.* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 75-81.

poverty. In this updated form of development poverty must be rectified because it poses a threat to the environment. Thus sustainable development is ostensibly about inciting economic development in order to halt environmental degradation. Sustainable development also assumes that underdeveloped nations are in need. They need the aid of developed nation's expert knowledge of science, technology, and economics. These unfortunate people are characterized again as miserable, starving, illiterate, and lacking the informed knowledge of developed nations. These assumptions dictate what role citizens of underdeveloped nations can play in a sustainable development project. Specifically these assumed characteristics result in an inequitable distribution of the ability to produce knowledge and exercise power.

Foucault's theory of power/knowledge/discourse describes how biases expressed through discourse lead to inequity. Foucault's work on social power and its connection to discourse and knowledge provides a way to understand how certain conceptions are proliferated and made legitimate, while other conceptions are disqualified or even rendered impossible to imagine.[6] Power-knowledge-discourse theorizes that the production of knowledge is an exercise of power because what constitutes legitimate knowledge also determines what is not legitimate knowledge. Knowledge production is only made evident and thus communicable through discourse, thus discourse is the site where power and knowledge can be researched. This process of producing discourse and discourse in turn producing and often re-producing power relationships leads to the creation of different roles for people within each discursive community. The production of different roles is known as the production of subjectivities. At the most basic level this can be understood as knowledge-power[7] determining who talks and who listens. In the context of sustainable development, discourse analysis provides a method by which to

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[6]Michel Foucault and Robert Hurley. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction.* New York: Vintage Books, 1988.
Foucault provides an example of knowledge-power in relation to knowledge about sexuality. An environmental example is available in Noel Castree's *Making Sense of Nature,* which provides an example of knowledge-power relating to environmental management in West Africa.

[7] Knowledge-power is a shorthand way to express that knowledge is not an expression of truth, but rather an expression of the power to produce knowledge and the role of knowledge production in producing power relationships.

understand the subjectivities produced by discourse and the social power that determines who legitimate knowledge producers within a sustainable development project are.

Deconstructing power is important, but it is not enough. One must also reconstruct how power relations could be more equitable. I argue that this equity is best achieved through a more inclusive process of sustainable development. There are a lot of discussions around equity and environmental justice that do not focus on process but instead prioritize other things such as equitable outcomes regardless of un-inclusive decision-making, or equitable distributions.[8] I focus on process because the equitable distribution that I see as most lacking from sustainable development is the distribution of freedom—the freedom to be different and transgress predetermined roles, and the ability of each person to voice their opinion freely. Similarly, there can be no equitable outcome if there is no inclusivity because one person cannot presume their knowledge is so complete as to render the knowledge of those being affected by an outcome completely irrelevant. Following Foucault's theories of power and subjectivity, equity can only be achieved through a process that attends to difference.

I also use theory to provide characteristics of inclusivity. Foucault's theory of social power is a useful tool to uncover complex power relations, however it does not prescribe any theoretical foundation for reconstructing better power relations.[9] In order to reconstruct I utilize others interpretations and extensions of Foucault; as well as considering Foucault's contemporary and critic, Jürgen Habermas; and lastly drawing from Slavoj Žižek. Later interpretations of Foucault and the discussion of Habermas generate processes that describe how discourse as dialogue can be inclusive and how to create less constricting roles for individuals. Žižek expands on roles in the context of development and aid by speaking to the question of human rights. He critiques the universal aspect of these rights and implies other better formations. Thus, there are three

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[8] Lamont, Julian and Favor, Christi, "Distributive Justice", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2013/entries/justice-distributive/>.

[9] Foucault sees any reconstructing as coming from individuals acting on their own behalf. He criticizes power but will not offer and general prescriptions because he sees power as a constraint and does not want his prescriptions to constrain others.

major categories of inclusive processes: 1) agency, as the ability to transgress predetermined subjectivities; 2) ideal speech; 3) the creation of equitable rights.

My critique of sustainable development as lacking social equity is by no means original. Sustainable development thinkers recognized limitations of development and responded by including, shortly after its conception, the addition of something resembling social equity to sustainable development. However, this third addition has taken many different forms, and is not settled. In Haiti the international acceptance of the third component has not created more equitable sustainable development. Attempts at sustainable development that is socially equitable have failed to overcome the binary of haves and have-nots that characterizes all development discourse. Imagining a successful sustainable development depends first, on employing discourse analysis to uncover how different organizations and groups involved in sustainable development produce subjectivities and determine the access to knowledge-power, and second, prescribing inclusive speech, agency, and equitable rights. In short, this paper asks the questions, "How is sustainable development implemented by different groups and organizations?" and "Which groups are most able to implement sustainable development in such a way as to maximize inclusivity and minimize power relationships characterized by domination?"

This approach to researching sustainable development differs from much of the present research on power and discourse in regards to sustainable development. Most of the recent discourse analysis research has concluded that sustainable development is ill defined, indeterminate and easily appropriated to advance different groups' interests. Thus, researchers conclude by calling for a more concrete description of sustainable development.[10] Rather than trying to define SD, this project first takes the vague character of sustainable development as a point of departure, acknowledging that the ability of sustainable development to be appropriated in different ways makes it an especially rich site for discourse analysis. Then, after having seen how sustainable development is working in Haiti, I try to construct a more equitable process for

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[10]Helen Cheney et al., *Sustainability as Social Change: Values and Power in Sustainability Discourse, (*Melbourne: The Institute for Sustainable Futures, Sydney and CSIRO Minerals, 2004),

Shamsul M. Haque, "Environmental Discourse and Sustainable Development: Linkages and Limitations" in *Ethics & the Environment* 5, no. 1 (2000): 3–21.

sustainable development in Haiti. Additionally, this project differs in that it moves beyond the Global North-Global South conception of power that dominates discussion of development discourse[11], by instead focusing on a multiplicity of power relations. This project sees different types of organizations and groups as deploying different types of sustainable development knowledge rather than attributing all organizations and institutions from the Global North with one form of knowledge power and all organizations or groups from the Global South with another. Discourse analysis in this context is a tool to analyze the different organizations, including NGOs, intergovernmental organizations called IGOs, religious organizations, for-profit organizations, as well as community groups, and the intersection of their differing discourses in a sustainable development-saturated area.

Haiti is the perfect microcosm in which to situate this research. Haiti has recently come under international scrutiny due to multiple crises. A devastating earthquake in 2010, cholera epidemic, and a series of hurricanes including Hurricane Tomas in 2010 have been met with intense media interest and international focus. Haitians are facing difficult and pressing development issues. Additionally, even prior to the devastating earthquake, Haiti has struggled with serious political and environmental problems, most notably deforestation due to dependence on charcoal for fuel. The existence of numerous development issues as well as environmental problems makes Haiti the ideal candidate for sustainable development initiatives. This is reflected in the high number of sustainable development focused NGOs (there are 36 NGOs that mention sustainable development in Port-au-Prince alone). Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, and is small enough, both in terms of population and geographic area, that research can produce a relatively comprehensive picture of the sustainable development climate.

I find that NGOs are currently implementing the least inclusive form of sustainable development in part due to the assumptions of development discourse and in part due to the reliance on donors and the commodification of Haitians to garner

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[11] James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development,' Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*: (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
Escobar, *Encountering Development*.

donations. Surprisingly, for profit organizations are implementing the most inclusive form of sustainable development. This is in part due to the reliance on exchanging money, which necessitates the inclusion of Haitians as customers rather than commodities. Based on my findings I also suggest that non-profits, specifically NGOs could be the purveyors of inclusivity by facilitating communication of Haitian's knowledge to the international knowledge base. This research hopes to benefit those Haitians affected by sustainable development projects by suggesting that implementing sustainable development successfully depends on more inclusive interactions between Haitians and international organizations.

BACKGROUND

Sustainable Development

What sustainable development actually entails is ambiguous and the subject of much debate. It is generally understood that the objective of sustainable development is environmental quality aligned with economic well-being. Sustainable development was first introduced in 1987 by the Brundtland Commission (also known as the World Commission on the Environment and Development or WCED) report, *Our Common Future*.[12] This commission was formed at the request of the UN general assembly, and was asked to develop a "global agenda for change".[13] The commission lauded the vitality of economic growth, and argued that environmental degradation is the fault of specific practices within economic growth, specifically the practices of the poor. The definition given for sustainable development was, "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[14] The WCED's driving point is that environmental protection and economic growth are not mutually exclusive; rather, they argue that there is an inexorable link between the environment and development. Economic growth depends on natural resources, and environmental protection depends on factoring in the costs of environmental degradation.

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[12] Adams, "The Brundtland Report".

[13] World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[14] World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*

Another important characteristic of sustainable development is that it is supposed to create: "An economic system that is able to generate surpluses and technical knowledge on a self-reliant and sustained basis."[15]

The WCED defines several major objectives: reviving growth; changing the quality of growth; meeting essential needs for jobs, food, energy, water, and sanitation; ensuring a sustainable level of population; conserving and enhancing the resource base; reorienting technology and managing risk; and merging environment and economics in decision making.[16] These objectives are clearly focused on merging economic and environmental considerations, however most organizations in the years since 1987 have added a third component, something usually related to social equity. The WCED did not ignore social equity entirely in its report, it actually referenced related ideals many times, but it did not make it explicit within the main objectives. The WCED's treatment of this third component, something related to the social, is inadequate and unclear. The report discusses equity briefly by calling for addressing inequitable access to resources or opportunities and inequitable access to political power. It suggests that the problem of political power can be addressed through "effective citizen participation in decision making" and that the problem of economic inequity can be addressed through the focus on meeting essential needs.[17]

Criticisms of Sustainable Development

Since sustainable development was first introduced it has come under intense critical scrutiny. A broad critique is that sustainable development is not effective because it tries to solve contradictory problems with one solution. One proponent of this position is Sharachandra Lele, who argues that SD cannot be successful in its original formation because "SD is a 'metafix' that will unite everybody from the profit-minded industrialist, … to the equity-seeking social worker, the pollution concerned or wildlife-loving First

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[15] World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*

[16] World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*

[17] World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future.* This conception of essential needs relates to humans rights and is crucial in understanding how subjectivities are produced, and will be explored further later in the background.

Worlder… and therefore, the vote-counting politician".[18] Because sustainable development is an impractical meta-fix it allows for business as usual without necessitating any actual changes.

Another notable critique that addresses sustainable development as an impractical metafix argues that sustainable development fails because it tries to "have the cake and eat it to". One proponent of this position is Michael Redclift.[19] He suggests that SD cannot be successful because it is an oxymoron. The author goes on to argue that sustainable development deploys liberal assumptions about basic human rights that are not representative of the complexities of the world. He also questions the validity of categories such as environment and sustainability given the technological hybridization of the world. Redclift concludes that sustainable development is doomed to failure, especially when undertaken in the Global South.

Another criticism of sustainable development focuses on the power axis between the Global North and Global South. A facet of this is that sustainable development it unfairly blames the poor for environmental degradation, instead of addressing the real culprits—the consumption of the Global North.[20] Impoverished populations in the Global South are an easy scapegoat for the guilty because they lack access to international discussion. In a related vein Larry Lohman argues that sustainable development reiterates the unequal North-South power relations, and supports the global economic structure that is largely the cause of unsustainable practices.[21] A related argument notes that sustainable development is a vector of capitalism, because it spreads a form of capitalism that benefits the Global North over the Global South. An aspect of this is that sustainable

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[18] Sharachchandra M Lélé, "Sustainable Development: A Critical Review" *(World Development,* 1991)19, no. 6: 607–21.

[19] Michael Redclift, "Sustainable Development (1987-2005): An Oxymoron Comes of Age." *Horizontes Antropológicos* 12, no. 25 (June 2006): 65–84. doi:10.1590/S0104-71832006000100004.

[20] Ken Conca and Geoffrey D Dabelko. *Green Planet Blues Four Decades of Global Environmental Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010.

[21] Larry Lohmann, "Whose Common Future?" *The Ecologist* 20, no. 3 (1990): 82–84.

development reflects both the interests and assumptions of the Global North leading to further inequitable power distributions within global capitalism.[22]

A similar major criticism focuses on sustainable development as perpetrator of global capitalism. Ray Hudson argues that sustainable development entails making minor eco-conscious adjustments while upholding a capitalist globalized economy. This critique centers on the WCED's assertion that economic growth is vital, and the fault lies with outdated incentives and destructive practices.[23] Another group of authors explored this idea more fully by analyzing whether ecological modernization, which is arguably the method of sustainable development, represents a potential breaking point from the current negative situation. The authors find that incremental approaches to policy change are unsuccessful in inducing radical changes in systems. The authors find that ecological modernization is conformist and does not account for the pre-conditions of development or a critical analysis of the modern system of production and consumption.[24]

A final compelling critique comes from Timothy Luke, who argues, "The intellectual emptiness of sustainable development has clung to it since its first articulation."[25] In actuality sustainable development is devoid of any viable solutions. It fails to achieve its goals of either sustainability or development and instead furthers governmentality. He concludes that sustainable development will never be more than a force of normalization, specifically the normalization of production and consumption in order to create new markets. Not only does sustainable development normalize, it also hides the unsustainable practices of development.

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[22] Guha, Ramachandra, and Juan Martínez Alier. *Varieties of Environmentalism : Essays North and South* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1997).

[23] Ray Hudson, "Towards Sustainable Economic Practices, Flows and Spaces: Or Is the Necessary Impossible and the Impossible Necessary?" *Sustainable Development* 13, no. 4 (2005): 239–52. doi:10.1002/sd.282.

[24] Renato Orsato and Stewart Clegg. "Radical Reformism: Towards Critical Ecological Modernization," 2005, accessed March 19, 2014, http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/research/handle/10453/3649.

[25] Timothy W. Luke, "Neither Sustainable nor Development: Reconsidering Sustainability in Development." *Sustainable Development* 13, no. 4 (2005): 228–38. doi:10.1002/sd.284.

These critiques are compelling. Each critic usually expresses one or both of two major perspectives, which are political economy and difference theory. Political economy and difference theory both take on the liberalism of sustainable development, due to, respectively, its inequitable distribution and domination through universalization. Political economy includes those criticisms dealing with political organizations, the international political climate, and economic distribution. The political economy criticisms address the inequities of global capitalism and see sustainable development as complicit with global capitalism. Difference theory critiques normalization or universalization because it constrains difference and because it endorses relations characterized by domination. Specifically, difference theory sees sustainable development as dominating and suppressing difference, and as a solution that is unable to address difference and the complexities of a globalized world. The two positions sometimes overlap.

The addition of social equity, which I discuss further below, addresses those critiques based on difference theory. Allowing for social equity if it attends to difference would address the complex hybridization of the world and would combat the normalizing potential of sustainable development. It also could partially address some of the political economy positions in regards to inequitable power relations between the Global North and the Global South.

Unfortunately, many of the criticisms stemming from political economy are not solved by social equity. Social equity might work for one project or even for a nation such as Haiti, but equity within a sustainable development project does not affect the issues of inequitable distribution under global capitalism. It may be that the task asked of the WCED, to set a global agenda for change, is impossible short of restructuring global capitalism. Short of that solution, a global agenda for change runs the risk of universalization. It is possible that focusing on more manageable areas of concern might produce more specific and practical solutions to the complex and rapidly changing problems facing us today. However, making the equitable allowance for difference an imperative of sustainable development is a move that allows it to better grapple with unique facets of different problems.

Regardless of the compelling questions raised by these critiques, sustainable development is a concept that has only continued to gain support in the more than twenty years since it was first proposed. I recognize that sustainable development, in its myriad of different forms and conceptions, dominates international environmentalism, thus I am less interested in creating a new solution altogether. Instead, I attempt to better understand sustainable development as a discourse and a practice that is having a tangible affect on countless communities. If this is the solution the international community clearly endorses[26]; then it is important to consider what affect sustainable development is having, and how to make it better.

What is the Third Leg of the Three Legged Stool?

As evidenced by the critiques summarized above, many argue that sustainable development is inequitable, in regards to both distribution and difference. The model for sustainability presented by some is that of the three e's: economics, environment/ecology, and equity.[27] This suggests that equity is the missing third component. The major proponent of this idea is Julian Agyeman, who argues that sustainable development has an equity deficit. Additionally, he argues that sustainability should be conceived of in the plural (sustainabilities) because there can be no universal conception of sustainability. These sustainabilities should be attuned to the complex diversities of "cities of difference".[28]

Agyeman's foundational argument, that sustainable development is lacking equity, is incorrect for two reasons. Sustainable development, as it was originally conceived, had two components: first sustaining the environment, and second promoting economic growth to address poverty. Sustaining the environment is inherently concerned

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[26] This is evidenced by the UN as well as many other international organizations that focus on sustainable development.

[27] "The Three E's of Sustainability", accessed Accessed March 19, 2014, http://www.sustainabilitycoalition.org/the-three-es-of-sustainability/;

"Three Dynamics of Sustainable Communities: Economy, Ecology, and Equity," Accessed March 19, 2014, http://www.ala.org/srrt/tfoe/lbsc/librariesbuildsustainablecommunitiesthree

[28] Julian Agyeman, *Introducing Just Sustainabilities: Policy, Planning, and Practice* (London: Zed Book, 2013).

with preserving natural resources for intergenerational equity, both for equity between humans and equity concerned with equitable distribution for other forms of life. Development, as a project of promoting economic growth to address poverty suggests equitable access to job opportunities. Thus, from the outset sustainable development is concerned with equity. However, Agyeman's argument is not completely without merit. He evidences, when discussing the necessity of a plural "sustainabilities," that the equity that is missing is not equity in general; it is equity that attends to difference.

I have argued that equity alone is not an appropriate term for the third component of sustainable development. I also consider the other common terms. These other conceptions of the third component refer to the model of the three-legged stool, see Figures 1a and 1b. [29] The idea of the three-legged stool is that if one leg is too short or missing the stool will topple. Figure 1 presents the third leg as community. [30] This, according to the source, means the third leg promotes cooperative relationships and equitable access to opportunities. Another example of the three-legged stool is Figure 1b, which describes a three-legged stool with this subtext, "people (social), planet (environmental) and profit (economic)."[31] This source relates the third leg to people, and suggests this leg addresses community responsibility and respecting people's aspirations and rights. Figure 2 is perhaps the most used figure, which comes from the World Bank.[32] It is not a three-legged stool, but rather a triangle with three corners. The third component here is the social, meaning equity, participation, empowerment, social mobility and cultural preservation. Other common depictions that are not included label this third component or leg similarly as "society".

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[29] The sources for figures 1a and 1b are not necessarily reliable sources but instead are the top images that appear in Google search, thus are representative of the public conception of sustainable development.

[30] Figure 1 available at: http://www.cias.wisc.edu/curriculum/modI/seca/modi_seca.htm

[31] Figure 2 available at: http://bekindtoustrolls.wordpress.com/2012/08/01/sustainable-retreat/

[32] "What is Sustainable Development," *The World Bank,* accessed February 12, 2014, http://www.worldbank.org/depweb/english/sd.html

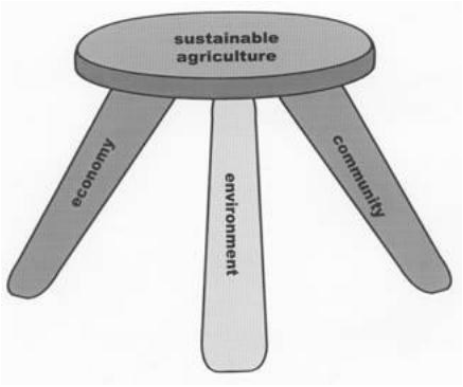
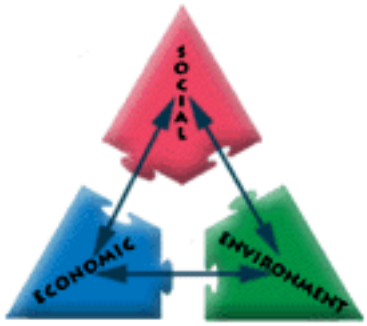


Figure 1a:
"The Three Legs of Sustainability"

Figure 1b:
"Understanding Sustainable Development"



Services	Equity	Biodiversity
Household Needs	Participation	Natural Resources
Industrial Growth	Empowerment	Carrying Capacity
Agricultural Growth	Social Mobility	Ecosystem Integrity
Efficient Use of Labor	Cultural Preservation	Clean Air and Water

Figure 2: "What is Sustainable Development"

What they all share is the understanding that each of these legs is somehow separate, but impacts the other two. It is problematic to see each of these categories as distinct[33] rather than as each constituting the others.[34] For example consider economics and the environment. Economics is a constructed area of study that models production

[34] One example of this position is Richard White who argues that ideological division of work and "pure" nature vilifies all human laborers and prevents mindful consideration of the positive and negative impacts of work on the world.
Richard White, *The Organic Machine* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

and consumption of goods and services. In the context of sustainable development, the environment refers to protecting natural resources for humans in the future, which is clearly an economic approach to the environment. While economics and the environment are problematic and not clearly distinct from each other, their meanings are somewhat settled in the international community. There may be some debate over the term environment or ecology, but both refer back to the same concept of managing natural resources. The third leg, which the World Bank, with its huge influence on sustainable development, labels as social, is not as settled. I showed above that equity is not a better term for this component, and I also argue that the social is an unclear and overly broad referent.

The social is a problematic category because it is coextensive with all humans and human interactions. Thus 'the social' is only defined by what is not 'the natural', thus reiterating a divide between humans and nature.[35] This human/nature divide fails to account for how humans are constituted by nature, as both a product of their environment and beings generated through natural processes, and how nature is constituted by humans, in that any conception of nature is a conception that is mediated through social understandings.[36] Rather than consider what the "social" actually is, I instead look at what the social component is supposed to do. From the three figures and related text we find that the "social" protects the interests of people, individual rights, community responsibilities, social mobility, empowerment, and different cultures. These myriad categories can be summed up as the protection and production of equity in such a way that allows for difference.

Equity that attends to difference reflects current sentiments. Sustainable development in 1987 was based on modernist ideals, ones that I call liberalist or universalist. The inclusion of difference, that Agyeman and the difference theorists advocate, is an idea that has recently become mainstream. Inclusion of difference addresses the inability of universal truths to capture the hybridized a complex world, thus

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[35] Bruno Latour, "A Plea for Earthly Sciences." in *New Social Connections: Sociology's Subjects and Objects*, edited by Judith Burnett, Syd Jeffers, and Graham Thomas.(London: Palgrave Macmillan: 2010), 72-84.

[36] Noel Castree, *Making Sense of Nature: Representation, Politics and Democracy* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014).

it reflects the ideals of a post-modern outlook. Social equity as inclusive of difference is a way to update an ideal that was formulated almost thirty years ago (a time when pagers were more ubiquitous than cell phones).

Difference is a crucial first step to addressing concerns raised by many critics, however it is a first step. Acknowledging and supporting difference can only go so far when implementing sustainable development. The creation of more and more difference and pluralization is not conducive to activism. Directed change requires the organization of groups who share common goals. [37] Thus any attempt to achieve sustainable development must conceive of a form of difference that also allows for social organization and collaboration.

Attempts at Equity that Attends to Difference: The Bottom-Up Approach

Up to this point I have not offered any practical descriptions of what constitutes equity that attends to difference (for the ease of readability in the following section I will refer to equity that attends to difference as social equity). Some approaches to sustainable development that include the social equity component have focused on bottom-up forms of project management. Bottom-up project management is in opposition to top-down management in which management is controlled by the federal government or other authority figures within influential large-scale organizations, such as the UN. Bottom-up management attempts to give control of projects to the local level. Examples of bottom-up management are community based management and decentralization. Both of these bottom-up approaches have met extreme difficulties.

One example of community-based management involves the wildlife management policies implemented in Zambia in the 1980's. These policies include the Administrative Management Design for Game Areas, ADMADE, and Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project, LIRDP. ADMADE and LIRDP purportedly created local committees to manage resources, offered employment opportunities to enforce

[37] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (Great Britain: Routledge, 1993).

regulations, and funneled revenues from the regulated hunting to the communities.[38] Clark Gibson's detailed analysis of the failure of the programs determined that they were unsuccessful for three reasons. Mainly the programs failed because the administrators of the programs did not understand the different incentives of the community members. Each of the three groups had different incentives, yet the programs accounted for them in the same way. He also found the incentives meant to reward the community as a whole were often monopolized by the chief. Lastly, he found that there was little success in actually giving management power to the local committees, and instead they focused on the incentivizing programs that proved ineffective.[39]

Another analysis of community-based management in Malawi and Botswana found that community-based programs failed because they did not produce community participation. Administrators of the program set unclear goals that allowed them to report that they had achieved their aims without including local participation in management. The failure to include community members led them to disapprove of the project and the project failed.[40] In both cases the community based management failed because the programs did not actually transfer control of resources. Additionally in Zambia the lack of community member participation in management led to further problems of inaccurate understandings by the administrators.

The World Resources Institute provides a comprehensive report of decentralized sustainable development programs.[41] The author, Jesse Ribot, performed an analysis of over seventy-five case studies from around the world. The main finding of this report is, "The institutional arrangements necessary to bring about decentralization are rarely established in so-called decentralization reforms. Instead, many reforms result in privatization and/or deconcentration—the transfer of powers to central government

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[38] "ADMADE Program, Zambia," *World Wide Fund for Nature, ADMADE*, last modified January 2, 1997, http://www.conservationgis.org/ctsp/admade/admade.html

[39] Clark Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[40] Piers Blaikie, "Is Small Really Beautiful? Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Malawi and Botswana." *World Development* 34, no. 11 (2006): 1942–57.

[41] The WRI is a non-profit that has recently provided reports that figure in President Obama's Climate Action Plan as well as influenced the UNEP and other international players (http://www.wri.org/our-work/outcomes).

agents in the local arena."[42] Attempts at implementing decentralization fail because of the difficulty of transferring management from the central government to the local government. Thus, both community-based management and decentralization have failed due to the inability to transfer control to the local level. Rather than look at the different obstacles to implementing this shift, I argue that these policies fail in implementing bottom-up management because bottom-up management is not a viable solution.

Towards a Social Equity that is Neither Bottom-Up or Fully Top-Down

Sustainable development can never be implemented through bottom-up approaches because it is a top-down endeavor. Sustainable development was conceived of by the WCED, which was commission by the UN to set a "global agenda for change." The UN is an organization headed by those nations considered the leaders of the Global North. Sustainable development explicitly, and implicitly as a form of development, assumes that it is the duty of the Global North to aid the Global South by contributing their superior knowledge. There is a paradoxical tension between sustainable development that sets the global standard and is implemented by experts in the Global North, and social equity.

A way to conceptualize this tension is through cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is a theory that sees the complex hybridization of local and global.[43] Environmental thinkers who endorse cosmopolitanism use it to address the interplay between the global scope of environmental issues and the focus in environmentalism on place-based perspective (evidenced by phrases such as "sense of place" or "place-based education). Ulrich Beck is one of these theorists. He describes cosmopolitan citizens of the world who "see themselves both as a part of an endangered world and as a part of

[42]Jesse C Ribot and World Resources Institute. *Waiting for Democracy: The Politics of Choice in Natural Resource Decentralization* (Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute, 2004).

[43] Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place." *Marxism Today* 35, no. 6 (1991): 24–29, Massey discusses hybridized ways to understand space as having local and global characteristics.

their local histories and survival situations."[44] Beck describes how climate change has been an elitist discourse and that in order to successfully address climate change there must be the inclusion of diverse voices and perspectives. From Beck's perspective addressing climate change needs to be a discussion that transgresses socioeconomic as well as national boundaries.[45] This begins to clarify how an international goal, such as sustainable development or climate change action, can attend to social equity (remember that social equity here means equity that attends to difference). Beck is not suggesting local communities should implement their own climate change policies, but rather that the discussion needs to be inclusive.

Inclusivity is a way to find middle ground between top-down and bottom-up. It acknowledges the importance of including diverse voices in the discussion without advocating that project control should be ceded to local groups. While the community members would not make the decisions, their inclusion in the discussion would make for better-informed decision-making. Inclusivity allows a way for global standards to be sensitive to difference.

I am not alone in imagining inclusivity as an approach to environmentalism that holds the tense ground between top-down and bottom-up. Recent environmental thinkers have also advocated for inclusive participation that shares this characteristic. Noel Castree and Bruno Latour have noted that there needs to be more discussion and interaction between the policy-makers, scientists and the public. They argue that the scientists are experts, recognizing that knowledge is always political, should not dominate discussion of environmental change; nor should national government's have sole control over policies informed by science and technology. Instead they argue that the scientific and technical discussion needs to be more inclusive of the public.

Castree argues for citizen science, which is slightly more top-down. Citizen science has citizens who are guided by trained scientists, participating in the process of making science.[46] Latour argues for an institution resembling a parliament with two

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[44] Ulrich Beck, "Climate for Change, or How to Create a Green Modernity?" *Theory, Culture & Society* 27, no. 2–3 (May 24, 2010): 254–66, accessed March 12, 2014, doi:10.1177/0263276409358729.

[45] Beck, "Climate for Change, or How to Create a Green Modernity?" 266.

[46] Castree, *Making Sense of Nature*

houses. The upper house, consisting of anyone and everyone, can discuss and suggests anything to the exclusive lower house, while the lower house, consisting of policy makers and scientific experts, determines what is important and makes decisions. The decisions of the lower house then are relayed to the upper house and the process starts again.[47] Neither Latour nor Castree suggest that each local group should determine their own policy, but rather that people with different local histories need to be included in the broader discussion of science, technology, and ultimately "the environment". There is an idea here that is not evident in my results, but that I will return to when making a prescription in the conclusion: that citizens should not only be involved in local policy making, but also in policy making on a national, and even an international scale.

Power/Knowledge/Discourse as a Tool for Assessing Inclusivity

I utilize Foucault's social power to provide a way of critiquing the results of my discourse analysis. In the introduction I described Foucault's theory of social power in which knowledge is always an expression of power. Two international relations theorists, James Ferguson and Arturo Escobar, have influenced the current understanding of the application of Foucault's social power to development. James Fergusons book, *The Anti-Politics Machine* as well as Arturo Escobar's *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* provide slightly different interpretations of Foucault's social power as it relates to development. Performing a detailed analysis of these differing perspectives enables me to determine what type of power and power structures I should expect to uncover in Haiti. Understanding the different roles, especially in regards to the capacity to produce knowledge with authority and the lack thereof, are crucial to determining the inclusivity of different organizations implementing sustainable development.

Both Escobar and Ferguson argue that development uses the identification of issues, especially poverty, as an entry point to control and rationalize the 'impoverished' population. Escobar talks about the type of knowledge-power that authorities use to construct subjectivities for the recipients of development projects. He describes this

[47] Bruno Latour, *The Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy* (United States: Harvard College, 2004).

knowledge production: "Development proceeded by creating 'abnormalities' such as the 'illiterate', the 'underdeveloped', the 'malnourished', 'small farmers', or 'landless peasants'." [48] This creation of knowledge about problems facing underdeveloped nations clearly leads to the creation of the underdeveloped subject. Ferguson adds to this discussion by describing how the development project he studies in Lesotho failed. It failed because in casting Lesotho as a site in need of development the World Bank failed to recognize important characteristics of Lesotho that challenged their preconceptions of Lesotho as underdeveloped.

Escobar describes the more traditional application of Foucault to development, while Ferguson problematizes existing categories and power structures of development. Escobar's conception of power is directly related to knowledge and discourse. Escobar notes that, "The forms of power…act not so much by repression but by normalization; not by ignorance but by controlled knowledge; not by humanitarian concern but by the bureaucratization of social action".[49] Escobar lays out in detail how development as a discourse works to generate specific forms of knowledge/power that treat the affected communities in inequitable ways. On the other hand Ferguson not only reveals, but also challenges the power structure of development. He challenges the conception that the development project is the subject, acting upon the object of the "underdeveloped" population or site. Instead he finds that, "(The) project was not simply acting on a system in place, but was itself acted upon; grabbed and pulled and twisted every which way by forces it did not understand or have the means to deal with".[50] This allows for a conception of the target population as a subject with its own access to knowledge-power, rather than a passive object to be acted upon.

Comparing Escobar and Ferguson elucidates one other difference in interpretation of Foucault's theory of social power. Ferguson sees social power as tied to institutions, and thus considers the instrumental effects of institutions rather than those individuals working for institutions. For Ferguson power "turns up" due to the structure of the institution and the tools available to the institution; power is not exercised by individual

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[48] Escobar, *Encountering Development,* 41.
[49] Escobar, *Encountering Development,* 53.
[50] Ferguson, *Antipolitics*: 225.

planners. Escobar marks a departure from Ferguson when he calls to attention the ability of planners to make arbitrary claims. He sees that the arbitrary nature of these calls allows for power to be exercised. Escobar's power is a function of individuals within the institution rather than the structure and capacities of the institution. This points to three places to look for the exercise of power-knowledge; both by considering people in the position of being experts making planning choices; in looking at the types of knowledge an institution has control over; and in the structure of those institutions. In the context of Haiti one of the NGOs called Haiti Communitere evidenced arbitrary planning as they would do projects such as building houses out of glue and recycled plastic bottles because they liked the idea of recycling, but had created houses that no one in Haiti either could make, or wanted to make. They used their funds to build arbitrary houses out of odd materials inside their own compound for their own volunteers to use. An example of the power of institutions in Haiti is that the non-profits who were supposed to do disaster relief have stayed in Haiti four years after the disaster, and in order to continue to implement disaster relief projects they generate certain images of Haiti as in need of those basic services.

Escobar's power at first appears more far-reaching. He attempts to address the often unilateral conception of power in development in which the power is always located in the First World and is acted upon the Third World. He notes that this formation could reproduce exactly what he is critiquing: "This is a danger I seek to avoid by considering the variety of forms with which Third World people resist development interventions and how they struggle to create alternative ways of being and doing."[51] He is allowing the affected population the power to resist development interventions, casting them in a role of having some agency over their "development". However, the role of the "Third World person" in Escobar's power structure is characterized by resistance, thus it still casts the Global South in a subordinate role. Resistance is always a response to power, not an independent expression of agency and will; resistance is the action of an object of power.

The analysis of these two theorists generates a few important characteristics of power-knowledge in relation to development that guide the argument of this paper. First I

[51] Escobar, *Encountering Development,* 11.

must be aware for discourse that casts the target populations in term of a lack, especially lacking knowledge. This fits with the assumption of development that divides the world into have and have-nots. This is evidenced by the UN because the only discussion that the UN promotes through Civil Affairs with communities is teaching the Haitians how to ask for help in the right format (rather than allowing them to critique existing projects or offer potential solutions). Second, I must be sensitive to individual experts producing knowledge-power, evidenced by Haiti Communitere's arbitrary decision to build houses, expressly for Haitians that are not appropriate for Haitians. Third, I must be aware of the structure of institutions directly determining who has access to knowledge-power. In Haiti this occurs when organizations, such as the Seguin Foundation, assume that the villagers are ignorant and need to be trained better behaviors, rather than allowing that Haitians understand deforestation but continue to cut down trees because they lack alternative. Fourth, I must be wary of the types of tools different organizations have that create certain types of knowledge production. An important aspect of this fourth characteristic is that institutions will create knowledge and implement their knowledge, not to achieve their stated goals, but in order to further their own interests of continuing to operate, this is evidenced by the first response NGOs that are still utilizing first response tools such as giving houses but doing so under the guise of a new development project. Fifth is to consider who is the subject (that acts) and who is the object (that receives), and to not limit the capacity of the affected populations to act as subjects as well as objects. Last is a caution not to characterize the affected populations only in terms of acquiescing or resisting the development project, but also interacting with it in unique ways. These last two properties are important because for-profits look for Haitians to be entrepreneurs and will be flexible to accommodate whatever plan the Haitian entrepreneur. Contrastingly, non-profits see the only role for Haitians within projects is to do physical labor, such as digging a hole or bring heavy materials such as rocks.

Moving Past the Limitations of Foucault

Foucault's social power is a useful tool for understanding when inclusivity is not occurring. However I also must propose characteristics of a more inclusive sustainable development to prescribe a solution. Foucault's theories are successful at deconstructing

the relationship of knowledge and power, but not at reconstructing better relationships. In order to theorize what inclusivity might look like I explore Foucault's concept of subjectivity and look at different critiques and extension of Foucault, including Habermas.

In Foucault's "What is Enlightenment", Foucault defines subjectivity as how we have come to be constituted as a modern subject. He also explains his motivation in discussing subjectivities: to spark in others a "critical ontology of ourselves". For Foucault, performing a critical ontology of ourselves is the job of each individual. It entails each individual understanding the implicit constraints that they are subject to as modern subjects, and once finding these limits, transgressing them. While this helps to determine how to think about subjectivities, it expressly does not theorize what shape this new subjectivity should take because Foucault sees it as the project of individuals. This does not aid in crafting prescriptive conclusions; if I prescribe a subjectivity for another, my speech instantly becomes discourse enmeshed in power and knowledge. In other words in the act of prescribing, I create my own constraints and create a new subjectivity for others.

Other theorists have address the limitations of Foucault's theories, and suggest ways to move past them. Jürgen Habermas was a peer of Foucault's who criticized him extensively. Nancy S. Love engages the debate between Habermas and Foucault to question how to increase the agency and autonomy of political subjects, whilst considering the limitations of subjectivity and discourse that Foucault describes.[52] For Foucault, discourse and subjectivities are always limiting because subjectivity is always subjugation, and speech is always a discourse and thus always imbued with power. Where as Habermas advocates the merits of ideal speech, an inclusive discussion. For Habermas speech is an expression of freedom, and communal understandings are tools for communication rather than knowledge that expresses power.

Recognizing failings within both Foucault and Habermas, Love's solution is to utilize Foucault's critiques of discourse to set limits on Habermas's theory of ideal speech or democratic discourse. Love found that in his later life Foucault theorized a way

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[52] Nancy Love "Foucault & Habermas on Discourse & Democracy." *Polity* 22, no. 2 (December 1, 1989): 269–93. doi:10.2307/3234835.

of differentiating between better and worse forms of consensus and dialogue. The major problem with discourse for Foucault is that discourse is selectively appropriated and deployed; to counter this, he offers a dialogue in which individuals are able to have discussions and intervene in politics in a way that is neither "delegated nor commissioned."[53] Thus an inclusive discussion would have the characteristics of not being delegated or commissioned. In the context of Haiti, the UN creating community meetings in which the villagers talk about their problems and ask the UN is a perfect example of this.

Just as Foucault limits Habermas's ideal speech, Habermas provides a way to push Foucault's theory of subjectivities so that they are not only conceived of solely as a constraint. Foucault's conception of the subject is one in which the capacities of a subject also form the constraints on a subject; in other words he argues that that by saying what someone can do one also prescribes what they can't do. Contrastingly, Habermas elucidates some differences between capacities and constraints. First, criticism is a capacity and conformity is a constraint, thus inclusivity should allow for criticism. In Haiti this would entail soliciting criticism from Haitian receiving projects. Second, autonomy is a capacity and identity is a constraint, thus inclusivity should not assume what peoples identities are, but rather focus on including people as autonomous beings. In Haiti one example of autonomy is that the recycling organization allows anyone to recycle for money at any scale, thus there are people who make a living recycling and others such as a grandma who recycles to save money for her young grandchild's college. Third, participation is a capacity and cooptation is a constraint.[54] An example of cooptation might be when a grassroots organization decides to include some of the expressed opinions of Haitians, but only including those opinions that fit within their own position. This is process by which Haitian's interests would become spoken for by organizations that do not accurately reflect the different opinions and inputs. Contrastingly participation that does not try to co-opt, but instead allows for differences of opinion, would be positive. Thus Habermas points to the negative aspects of potential

[53] Love,"Discourse and Democracy," 290-291.
[54] Love, "Discourse and Democracy."

roles for Haitians, and more importantly the positive aspects of these roles. To sum up, inclusivity should allow for criticism, autonomy, and participation.

Tom Keenan also addresses the question of how to be prescriptive using Foucault's theories, and he also interrogates the debate between Habermas and Foucault. Keenan notes that, "Foucault's predicament stems from what Habermas seems to find an admirable gesture: Foucault's consistent refusal 'to give a status to the other' (to install the other and its knowledge as the negation of the same, thus reducing its alterity to manageable or integrable proportions)".[55] Utilizing Foucault's "Two Lectures" Keenan finds, surprisingly, that at the end of the piece Foucault begins to theorize something called a "new right".[56] Foucault sketches the outlines of a prescriptive concept of what rights should be. He offers the idea of a new right, a right that is not awarded by disciplining bio-power nor sovereign power. Foucault argues that this new right must not be given or justified, and instead should not come from anything. The new right is simply a right for people to act and intervene. The key is that this right does not originate from morals, knowledge, or truths, instead it comes solely from individuals having the right to act outside of their prescribed roles, in other words to act with agency.[57] In Haiti all of the non-profits I interviewed made the villagers act in a certain role in order to receive their aid. This role was that of a laborer, digging holes, building roads, etc. Contrastingly the for-profit organization, Thread, assumes that Haitians are already empowered and will act according to their own aspirations, showing that Haitians involved in their projects have agency that is not granted them by anyone else.

Up to this point I focused on how roles can be better or worse and how dialogue can be positive. The concept of rights discussed above speaks more to constructed roles and less to delegations of human rights, such as water, shelter, food. In order to fully develop my analysis of rights I turn to Slavoj Žižek.

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[55] Tom Keenan. "The 'Paradox' of Knowledge and Power: Reading Foucault on a Bias." *Political Theory* 15, no. 1 (February 1, 1987): 5–37.

[56] Keenan, "The 'Paradox' of Knowledge and Power: Reading Foucault on a Bias."

[57] Keenan, "The 'Paradox' of Knowledge and Power: Reading Foucault on a Bias."

Rights in the Context of Aid

The last thing to consider when defining what is inclusive sustainable development and what is not inclusive, is what rights target populations should be afforded. Žižek is particularly good at deconstructing universalism and thus universal human rights. Specifically he defines, not only how organizations implementing projects construct roles for their beneficiaries, but also how the beneficiaries would respond by occupying these roles—roles that they would occupy to receive aid. Žižek's "Against Human Rights" is instructive in understanding international rights.[58] Žižek builds his argument on the concept of Homo Sacer. Homo Sacer is a human with no rights besides that of bare life, food, drink and shelter. As such Homo Sacer is no longer politically relevant.[59]

Žižek takes this concept, of humans without any rights above bare life, and applies it to the current international conception of human rights. He argues that human rights turn the individual from a political agent or a social agent in to a universal one. Those individuals are reduced to the status of a human being in general, and thus become the ideal bearer of universal human rights. He describes this move as being very violent because, "It is precisely when a human being is deprived of the particular socio-political identity that accounts for his determinate citizenship that-in one and the same move-he ceases to be recognized or treated as human."[60] Žižek is most concerned that in order to receive the aid associated with providing those basic human rights, individuals must universalize themselves. In this move individuals are depoliticized, meaning they must give up their unique position and claim within their social structure. According to this reasoning, if an organization is working to provide those essential necessities categorized as universal human rights then they are asking the receivers to fill the role of the non-human. More importantly when a subject asks for aid based on essential, universal human needs they are occupying a non-human position that does not allow for difference. In the context of Haiti the UN said they would not provide latrines, basic sanitation, unless the

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[58] Slavoj Žižek, "Against Human Rights" *New Left Review.* 2005. Accessed December 2013

[59] Giorgio Agamben and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer.*(Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998).

[60] Agamben *Homo Sacer,* 127.

Haitians dug three very large holes. The Haitians dug the holes, and in doing so occupied the role prescribed to them of bare human, all they could do to help was labor. When interviewing the Haitians who dug the holes, they no longer saw themselves as able to address problems, but had become fully dependent on non-profits and characterized themselves as only needing help. When community members conceive of their needs in a way that appeals to universal human needs, this would be an indicator of a lack of inclusivity because it would not attend to difference. Conversely a better form of aid would be if the receiver is able to retain situated characteristics, such as being able to dictate what form the aid takes based on their unique social and political needs. I did not see this inclusive form of aid in Haiti, and thus I offer a process in the conclusion that would achieve it.

Characteristics of Inclusivity and a Lack of Inclusivity

In Summary, the characteristics that signify better modes of communication and constructed roles for community members are as follows. First it allows community members to transgress limits of constructed roles. Second it facilitates forms of dialogue that are not delegated or commissioned. Third it creates roles that foster criticism, autonomy, and participation rather than conformity, explicit identity, and cooptation. Fourth it does not try to prescribe universal rights, but instead prioritizes agency and the right of the target population to intervene in any way they feel is fit. Fifth it does not provide goods or services associated with bare life or universal human rights, but instead allows the receivers to retain their materially contingent characteristics by providing the aid that the receiver's dictate based on their specific social and political needs. Successful implementation of inclusivity by sustainable development organizations would be mindful of these characteristics. In the conclusion I explore limitations to these characteristics based on who should be participating and to how much of these properties should be implemented to avoid any potential negative effects.

Narrowing in on Haiti

The introduction described some of the reasons that Haiti is the ideal place to situate an analysis of inclusivity and sustainable development. One additional reason is

based on a compelling and instructive theory of ideal NGO involvement. First, the situation in Haiti is difficult because the government is perceived as ineffective, both by the people and by the international community.[61] There is a need for economic growth, but there are also problems that do not lend themselves to market-based solutions. These problems have to do with a lack of social services and infrastructure, as well as a history of unsuccessful forest management. Adding to these problems was the earthquake of 2010. All of these factors create a climate where there is a need for organizations that are neither governmental nor strictly economic. The type of organization that usually fills this role is that of the NGO. While there are many critiques of NGOs that focus on issues I bring up such as lack of accountability and agency[62], there is one author that particularly speaks to the situation facing Haiti as a country trying to rebuild after a disaster. David Korten's *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda* includes the following table, Figure 4, which discusses different generations of NGO action, and

[61] Paul Farmer's biography is evidence of this, as he casts the government as ineffective and concurrently has one of the largest non-profits in Haiti.

Tracy Kidder, *Mountains beyond Mountains* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2004)

[62] Rao, Hayagreeva, Marshall W. Meyer, and Lynne G. Zucker. "Permanently Failing Organizations." *The Academy of Management Review* 15, no. 4 (October 1990): 706. doi:10.2307/258694.

Kaplan, Robert S. "Strategic Performance Measurement and Management in Nonprofit Organizations." *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* 11, no. 3 (2001): 353–70. doi:10.1002/nml.11308.

suggest a prescriptive fourth generation as the ideal:[63]

Table 10-1: Strategies of Development-Oriented NGOs: Four Generations

	GENERATION			
	FIRST *Relief and Welfare*	**SECOND** *Community Development*	**THIRD** *Sustainable Systems Development*	**FOURTH** *People's Movements*
Problem Definition	Shortage	Local Inertia	Institutional and Policy Constraints	Inadequate Mobilizing Vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project Life	Ten to Twenty Years	Indefinite Future
Scope	Individual or Family	Neighborhood or Village	Region or Nation	National or Global
Chief Actors	NGO	NGO plus Community	All Relevant Public and Private Institutions	Loosely Defined Networks of People & Organizations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobilizer	Catalyst	Activist/Educator
Management Orientation	Logistics Management	Project Management	Strategic Management	Coalescing and Energizing Self-Managing Networks
Development Education	Starving Children	Community Self-Help	Constraining Policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth

Figure 4, from: Korten, 1990

In the context of Haiti, The first generation of NGO strategies aims at disaster relief, as noted in the table. The second generation of NGOs corresponds to what much of the sustainable development NGOs are attempting to implement.[64] Korten describes the shift from generation two to three in this way:

> The decision to pursue a third generation strategy often grows out of frustration with the limitations of second generation strategies based on a growing realization that: 1) the benefits generated by its village interventions depend on a continued NGO presence and the availability of donor subsidies; and 2) acting on its own, the NGO can never hope to benefit more than a few favored localities". [65]

While Korten is not directly discussing sustainable development, I suggest that these limitations correspond with the specific concerns of sustainable development, because sustainability connotes self-sufficiency and longevity. Therefore, sustainable development projects should eventually create projects that allow communities to

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[63] Korten, David C. *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda* (West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 1990).

[64] This is based on my own experience both interviewing the NGOs I focused on, but also through talking and experiencing the NGO dominated climate of Haiti. I was especially sensitive to their actions because I stayed for most of the time in the suburb with the highest concentration of NGO headquarters and interacted with them daily.

[65] Korten, *Global Agenda,* 120

continue developing sustainably without needing a NGOs continued presence, and without relying on external subsidies. Similarly sustainable development is an international solution, thus it should not be constricted to a few localities. The suggested fourth generation, one that does not yet exist, but is Korten's prescription, aligns with the theoretically defined ideals of inclusivity. Korten's solution to the problems of NGOs, corresponding to those problems in Haiti that I also see, is to aid in organizing social movements. This could be problematic because the generation of social movements would also be an exercise of power, and could result in policy changes that benefit the organizers, that is NGOs, rather than the people enacting the movements.

METHODOLOGY

This paper uses discourse analysis as its primary method of data interpretation. Discourse analysis is an effective tool for performing a Foucault's power/knowledge/discourse analysis. It also provides a way to draw significant conclusions from a small number of interviews. Many methods of data analysis depend on having a large sample size in order to generate answers to research questions that are statistically significant. Discourse analysis does not ask how many of people say or do something. Instead it asks what are the underlying assumptions and implicit understandings of a discursive community. I understand these underlying assumptions as being historically and materially contingent, meaning they depend on a specific social and ecological setting.[66] Assumptions are not merely expressions of the authors' individual biases, but are expressions of the commonly held beliefs that correspond to the authors' discursive communities. Discursive communities depend on assumptions and common sense because these constitute shared understandings that allow for better communication. In short, I do not need a large sample size because I can evaluate the assumptions of a single member as representative of the whole discursive community. This is not a foolproof approach, as different individuals may belong to different discursive communities; however, finding similarities between a few individuals' assumptions would suggest that these shared assumptions are representative of their

[66] This follows Marx's historical materialism

community. Thus I find that the important results come from tracing patterns of the implied understandings revealed by discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis is an often-used and poorly defined methodology. This is in part due to the radically open-ended categorization of discourse and in part due to the applicability of discourse analysis to a multitude of social science disciplines. Anything that is represented (that is to say anything that can be considered socially) can be critically examined in terms of power and socially acceptable interpretations of its meaning. The specific methodologies for discourse analysis that I utilize are based on the types of discursive texts I am analyzing. Discursive texts are not limited to textual representations, but also include other representations such as film, images and practices such as social interactions. I utilize four different methodologies to analyze the different discursive texts that I consider.

Informal Interviews

I preformed interviews with individuals falling into five different categories. I interviewed community members engaged or affected by sustainable development, non-profit NGO directors and managers, a project manager for a religious organization, an IGO employee, and the CEOs and employees of for-profit sustainable development companies. I used two methodologies to consider these discursive texts. First, I utilize the methods utilized by Richard Sennet in *The Hidden Injuries of Class.*[67] Second I utilize the more explicit method of phenomenological hermeneutics as explained by Heidegger.

Richard Sennet's *The Hidden Injuries of Class* provides a methodology for obtaining interviews. Sennet asserts that in order to gain trust and ascertain information about personal feelings on issues of class, the best method is organic conversation, "We had no rigid questionnaire to use in the interviews; we had instead a set of concerns we wanted to explore and the actual questions were determined more by the particular shape of the interview".[68] Furthermore, Sennet advises that the best way to get honest and in-

[67] Sennett, Richard. *The Hidden Injuries of Class*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972).

[68] Sennett *Hidden Injuries,* 41).

depth answers is to show genuine interest. The set of concerns that I have are concerns with organizations' self-perceptions, and perception of organizations in relation to other organizations including community groups. Thus the central questions that I will ask address these two issues:

1. How does your organization or group affect change in terms of Haiti's environment and economic situation?
2. How does your organization interact with other organizations? (note that I do not explicitly say differ from, but instead ask how they interact in order to draw out difference).

These informal interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using the hermeneutic method outlined below.

Informal Interviews and Website Text Analysis

I analyzed the textual discursive texts, including interviews as well as information from organizations' websites and donor websites, using the phenomenological hermeneutics. Phenomenological hermeneutics, introduced by Martin Heidegger, delineates a process and theory of uncovering meaning using analysis of appearances to reveal the relationship of the appearances to that which they reference. Phenomenological hermeneutics are a way of uncovering meaning through close textual analysis. Foucault's social power is expressed by individuals implicitly participating in existing power structures, thus power relations are not accessible at the level of what is explicitly stated. Foucault's knowledge/power usually shows up in discourse in the form of biases and unintended implications, and this methodology provides a way to draw out these shared meanings or assumptions using a rigorous, empirical method.

Heidegger's *Being in Time* elucidates phenomenology as having three parts: discourse, appearance, and that which appearance and discourse reference. Phenomena are appearances and are what may be sensed. They are represented by discourse and characterized as both an assertion of this is what it is, and appearance.[69] Phenomena provide an appearance of the underlying noumena, that which is referenced. Noumena are

[69] Martin, Heidegger, John Macquarrie, and Edward Robinson. *Being and Time*. (New York: Harper Perennial/Modern Thought, 1962).

those things that are "things in themselves" that cannot be understood at the level of appearance. Heidegger asserts that phenomena do not allow people to access and know the noumena; rather, they reveal the relationship between the appearance and the thing being represented. This relationship reveals how the noumena are meant to be interpreted.

While Heidegger situates phenomenology and hermeneutic analysis on the self, I appropriate his methodology without the focus on being. I follow Foucault's appropriation of phenomenology; when asked about his relation to phenomenology Foucault justified his appropriation by stating,"(I) wanted to create a philosophy of the sciences in which the problem of the status and the foundation of the concept should be posed: but did it need to be posed in terms of the philosophy of the subject?"[70] Foucault applied the concepts in phenomenology to his own work, omitting the subject, just as I do in utilizing his method of phenomenological hermeneutics.

Heidegger and the Problem of Knowledge helps clarify Heidegger's method of hermeneutical analysis, breaking it into four steps.[71]

1. The descriptive stage: this stage deals with what the text-analogue appears to be saying. It is at the informational level of what is being said.
2. Analysis of structure to uncover meaning: this shows how the structural formation of the text categorizes things. Specifically how things are made into objects or subjects and how these things interact within the given structural constraints.
3. Dialectic approach: this entails uncovering the interactions between two things that at first appear to be difference, but are actually defined only in relation to each other. Another way of explaining this is that dialectics acknowledge meaning based on perceived difference. Things that appear to be different in fact can only exist as interconnected parts in a dialectic relationship.
4. The diagnosis of common sense: this stage looks at what is given to be self-evident. At this stage guiding assumptions are clear. Uncovering assumptions is a

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[70] Michel Foucault, Colin Gordon, Paul Patton, and Alain Beaulieu. "Considerations on Marxism, Phenomenology and Power. Interview with Michel Foucault; Recorded on April 3rd, 1978." *Foucault Studies* 0, no. 14 (September 14, 2012): 98–114.

[71] Charles B. Guignon, *Heidegger and the Problem of Knowledge*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett Pub. Co., 1983).

crucial piece of hermeneutic analysis. Macpherson claims that in order to uncover assumptions one must looks for inconsistencies.[72]A common way to spot inconsistency is when the text fails to acknowledge the historicity of something.[73] This methodology has a few weaknesses. It can only address what is said, rather than other forms of communication such as behavior. It can address questions such as "what?" and "how?" but is less helpful with more complex questions such as "why?" It also has two potential problems: first, it relies somewhat on my own preconceptions and biases because these influence the first step, when I consider what I think the surface message is; second, removing a discursive text from its context can also limit the ability of the text to express meaning.[74] These two issues are both counteracted by the close textual analysis of the method. The fourth step, concerning assumptions, also counteracts researcher bias because it makes the shared assumptions explicit.

Images from Websites

Any image may be considered using Stuart Hall's *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices,* which draws on linguistics, semiotics, and a Foucauldian analysis of power, discourse and the subject. Hall offers a series of theoretically grounded questions and a description of semiotics. Performing semiotics involves recognizing the relationship between a signifier and a signified. A signifier represents the signified. There are two levels of analysis: a signifier points to both a denotation, which is at the descriptive level, and a connotation, which is a broader compilation of related concepts. Semiotics is crucial to understand visual representation.[75]

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[72] C. B. Macpherson and Frank Cunningham. *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*. (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[73] Ferguson, *Antipolitics*

[74] Patricia Benner, *Interpretive Phenomenology: Embodiment, Caring, and Ethics in Health and Illness* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 1994).

[75] Stuart Hall and Open University. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage in association with the Open University, 1997).

In reference to Foucault's theory of power and subjects, where subjects are both the bearers and producers of knowledge, Hall offers a series of questions applicable to an image. These questions help to analyze meaning, especially in relation to power and knowledge:

1. Who commands attention? (based on physical position, color, etc.)
2. Who or what is the subject?
3. What stereotypical characters are being referenced in the depiction of the subjects?
4. How do the form and spatial relations of the image represent power relations?
5. What messages do bodies, if any, express?
6. What is the position of the ideal spectator? How is the position of the spectator constructed?
7. Consider the interplay between presence and absence. What is visible and what isn't visible:; in other words what is displaced by the frame?[76]

Social Interactions

The final category of discursive texts is that of social interaction. I interacted with community members already enlisted by sustainable development organizations, and observed the interaction between locals and members of sustainable development organizations. Erving Goffman's work is informative as well as Foucault's knowledge-power theory. Goffman is a sociology field research who's methods are widely used. Goffman's work on social interactions is seminal, but he rarely explicitly shared his methodology. One occasion in which he did was eagerly captured. At a meeting where sociological fieldworkers shared their methodologies, Goffman described participant observation, in which the observer watches the events unfold. He advised to pay special attention to "grunts and groans" in order to ascertain sentiments of participants. [77]He furthermore pointed to embarrassment as the only important emotion when considering social interactions. Embarrassment is key because the physical expression of it is

[76] Hall, *Representation.*

[77] Erving. Goffman, "ON FIELDWORK." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 18, no. 2 (July 1, 1989): 123–32. doi:10.1177/089124189018002001.

universal, and because it expressed culturally specific understandings. Embarrassment occurs when participants know what they are supposed to do, they understand social constraints, and they feel unable to do what they ought to. Embarrassment may be seen as, "blushing, fumbling, stuttering, an unusually low- or high-pitched voice, sweating, blanching, blinking, tremor of the hand, hesitating or vacillating movement, absent-mindedness, and malapropisms."[78]

An additional method of observing social interactions is to consider who talks, where they are structurally positioned in relation to others, and other forms of physical representation of power. An example is how students do not talk when teachers are lecturing and do not stand up until excused.

The Fieldwork

I travelled to Haiti during the four-year anniversary of the earthquake. I was in Haiti for almost two weeks. I travelled with one other companion, another college student who did not participate in the interviews but accompanied me throughout my research trip. We stayed in Petionville, which has the highest concentration of NGOs. We travelled by a few different means. We walked when possible, took the tap-taps around town, and hired a driver in most instances.

We selected participants prior to arriving, but found that many organizations misrepresented their location and even existence in Haiti. We found that one valuable way of finding participants was through talking to different members of the development community at one of the few restaurants frequented by foreigners. People in Haiti were very willing to discuss our project and were interested in helping. The feeling was that most of the people doing aid work in Haiti were interested in helping research in any way. Haiti is difficult because it is a place that requires personal contacts. However, once we made these personal contacts, we found that most people in the development community knew most of the different NGOs as well as sustainable businesses with headquarters in Haiti. We spent the first few days creating a new list based on both the organizations from our original list such as Haiti Sustainable Development, the LDS

[78] Erving Goffman,. "Embarrassment and Social Organization." *The American Journal of Sociology* 62, no. 3 (1956): 264–71. 264

deforestation project manager, and the UN, in addition to the list compiled during our many informative conversations with people in the community.

I mostly communicated in French, however the interviews with organizations were conducted in sometimes slightly broken English because all of the people in authority positions in the development industry speak English. For the community interviews, at the end of the second week we made contacts and were able to stay overnight in a village, where we met our interpreter who spoke English, French and Creole. We hiked up to another village the next day where we conducted our informal interviews in Creole, which were translated to English by our interpreter. Many of interviews included some French when the interviewees were confused or forgot a phrase, but these portions were then repeated in English during the interview to make the process of transcribing and analyzing easier. While there may be some awkwardness and potential problems due to the translations, I found that the discursive patterns within different discursive communities were extremely similar. I also tried to ask questions that lent themselves to straightforward answers. Additionally, when communicating with the Haitian villagers some of the difficulties in finding common understandings were actually instructive.

I went to Haiti with a few preconceptions. I had a vague conception of how knowledge-power might be limiting community inclusivity. I also encountered a few of my own biases. The most significant bias is that, as an environmental student who is sympathetic to Marx, and someone who grew up in the very liberal Portland, OR, I was distrustful of for-profits organizations. I associated big business with exploitation and inequity. It was shocking and at first difficult to come to terms with my results. However, after spending time in Haiti I was more open to business as a viable sustainable development organization. Part of this was due to the difference between for-profit employees who interacted in a more flexible and comfortable way with Haitians and the city due to a lack of restrictions on their behavior, compared to non-profit employees, who were often subject to many more restrictions regarding their ability to spend time outside of their protected headquarters. I also found that in my personal conversations, for-profit employees and CEOs seemed to better understand my concern for community equity, while it was more difficult to find common ground with some of the non-profits.

TABLE OF ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDED

Name of Person/ Organization Interviewed	Type of Organization	Type of Analysis Used	Brief Description of Aims
Thread	For-profit business	Hermeneutics	Sustainable convert trash into clothing material, "thread".
Construmex, Gils Aubry	Non-profit NGO	Hermeneutics	Convert trash into biodiesel
Dlo Haiti, Jim Chu	CEO of for-profit business named Construmex	Hermeneutics	Sustainably provide clean, safe drinking water to Haitians
HSD	For-profit business. The CEO Jim Chu was interviewed	Hermeneutics	Build sustainable housing and co-ops.
United Nations Civil Affairs	Non-profit IGO	Hermeneutics	Address needs of grassroots organization.
LDS Church	For-Profit business	Hermeneutics	Build community relationships through the planting of trees with community members.
Haiti Communitere	Local pastor/ Haitian villager	Hermeneutics Visual	Convert trash into sustainable building materials.
Seguin Foundation	Haitian villager	Hermeneutics Visual	Protecting watershed/ ecosystem.
Pastor John	Haitian farmer	Hermeneutics	Served as translator from Creole to English.
3 Young Haitian Villagers	Religious Organization	Hermeneutics	Hopeful receivers of NGO aid.
Old Farmer	Non-profit NGO	Hermeneutics, Visual, Social	Direct receiver of NGO aid organization called Ithaca.

EXAMPLE OF RESULTS

I include my comprehensive results in the Appendix, however below I provide 3 examples of analyzing interviews using phenomenological hermeneutics. I mark my hermeneutic understanding with a 1 through 4, noting which of the four steps of questions that analysis comes from. Sometimes one of the questions did not apply, so there might be missing numbers. Following the analysis of what is expressed, I then analyze the results in the context of the theory I provide in my background.

Haitian Villager

I interviewed an old farmer who lived in a remote village near the center of the 2010 earthquake. He was supported exclusively by a NGO he called Ithaca. The NGO supplied him his home, livestock, agricultural supplies, solar panels, compost, among other things. This is an analysis of one question I asked:

My final question was what does he think Haiti needs. He said that he is very old; he doesn't need a car or much money. He said that he could not ask someone to create a job for him because he cannot work anymore. What he is saying (1) is that for him he does not need anything else. The fact that he answers my question of what the country needs with an answer relating only to what he needs shows (2) that he doesn't see the question of what happens to Haiti as a whole as one that is pertinent to him. This shows an assumption (4) that he does not have a role in deciding what Haiti needs, and instead just makes sure his basic needs are met. In this way he occupies the space of Homo Sacer, a human stripped to just his bare necessities. Whether this is due to his age within a relatively young society or his dependent relationship with a NGO I cannot say; however, Foucault would say that his role, a role prescribed by his relation to Ithaca, is one in which his capacities are also his constraints. All he can do is farm, not offer solutions or hope for a different future.

Haiti Communitere

I interviewed a NGO that is located in the heart of Port-au-Prince. At the Haiti Communitere Sustainability Resource Center (HCSRC) we met with the resource center manager, Sam. We interviewed him while he took us on a tour of the resource center. The resource center has a lot of different structures made with recyclable materials, many of which are rented out by volunteers. The center is home to many volunteers working with a variety of organizations in the area, as well as a few entire organizations who rent space at the HCSRC. Additionally the resource center has a large workshop with tools, a computer lab, and storage in shipping containers. What follows is a discussion of a question, and a few follow questions.

As we went on the tour I was curious about the purpose of building the different homes out of the recyclable materials. I asked if people in Haiti actually have built the

first home that they showed us. I was told that the first house we saw had not been tested yet so no others had been built like it. The structure (2) of this statement implies that if it had been tested Haitians would have built it. The second house one had been tested. Sam asserted that by seeing this house, "A lot of people will be like oh my God, how to build this house?" What he wanted to show us (1) was that they were creating a model home that could inspire people to make environmentally friendly houses out of things like straw, Styrofoam and plastic bottles, rather than cement. The relationship between the model home and the Haitian people that he assumes (2/4) then is that if you show people how they can build a home in a different way, they will be inspired to do so. I pressed him to see if it was a successful model.

When I asked again if a lot of people had seen this house and built it he said that Haiti Communitere was building it in a city at that very moment. I pressed a little further asking if Haitian citizens buy the house, or if they buy the plans to the house. Sam said, "No, Haitian citizens, well they don't really want to buy it." However he still continued to advocate for the model, saying, "When we build it like that is to show people that what they're doing with the tires they're burning…this is what the tires can do. They can build things with them, bottles can build the house." This statement implies less of a focus on these model homes actually being copied in Haiti, and instead points (1) to the model homes showing what different materials that are considered garbage can be repurposed for. The implication is that the homes don't inspire people to go out an build homes from those models, as much as inspiring people to creatively reuse 'garbage'.

At the third house I asked again if anyone had used the plans to build a house like it. He said, "Well, right now no. Right now, not yet. There is only this one. It's just to show, to show you". Saying not yet does imply that he is saying it would or should happen in the future (2). Since the houses had been around for a while, it that the model of building a showcase house to inspire Haitians to build the same house, had not been successful.

Interrogating Sam's statement and our interaction, acknowledging the model had not been successful, allows for further interpretation of the words, "It's just to show, to show you". This meaning is accessible if one considers Foucault's power/knowledge/discourse, in relation to his words as well as our social interaction. The

action of giving us a tour of the homes (while we only asked for an interview) shows that Sam wanted to show them to us. As Ferguson argues, when a development project fails and is continually repeated one must ask: what does it do if not its express purpose? The houses are just to show us. To show volunteers and other foreigners in Haiti some fun and aesthetically as well as morally pleasing structures. The homes weren't meant for Haitians, they were meant for people like me, to get people like me interested in HC and potentially interested in renting one of these eco-friendly homes. The homes had signs explaining their materials and the placement of things like bottles transversely through the walls was clearly meant to create a certain image for consumption by viewers like me. The homes are not a model, but a commodified representation of sustainable development in Haiti.

Dlo Haiti

I interviewed Jim Chu, the CEO of Dlo Haiti. Dlo Haiti works to bring sanitized water to underserved areas of Haiti while making a profit.

The last important discussion is of empowerment. Empowering is related (2) to letting community members determine what role they want to play in the business, "I want a model that empowers entrepreneurs". There is a dialect between the business, which empowers, and the Haitian entrepreneurs, who need help to be empower. The assumption is (4) that these entrepreneurs need empowering. The company dictates what value added service they want to pay for, in this case distribution of clean water, and the community determines who does it and how they do it. Jim discussed how different communities had different distribution models they wanted, and the crucial characteristic of Jim's company that allowed this difference is being, "flexible enough to accommodate changes to our model". There is a direct relationship (2) between the empowerment of the community members and the flexibility of the business. The assumption (4) is that empowering community members to dictate what model works best for them makes business more successful, and thus makes projects more successful.

This implications of this model of empowerment are contradictory. That Dlo changes it model to accommodate what the receiving Haitians think is best, is an example of allowing Haitians to have agency. It also characterizes Haitians as being viable knowledge producers, and allows them to transgress their roles as they see fit. However

Dlo is not responding to existing entrepreneurs, rather Dlo is empowering Haitians. This characterizes Dlo as a subject giving empowerment and the Haitians as the object receiving empowerment. Empowerment is not a pre-existing quality, and thus Haitians are characterized as a lack, while Dlo is the provider.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS[79]

Following the devastating earthquake in Haiti, a multitude of non-profit organizations rushed to Haiti's aid. These organizations implemented projects such as building shelters, providing health care, and providing clean water and food. The interviews, which were the bulk of my data, were gathered during the four-year anniversary of the earthquake. Of the four non-profit organizations and their corresponding projects, 3 have been implemented since, largely in response to the international attention afforded Haiti, the earthquake. All of the for-profit organizations have also been implemented after, and expressly in response to, the earthquake. The goals of these organizations have shifted from disaster response and relief to sustainable development. Sustainable development necessitates longevity of both economic and environmental solutions. The theory I worked through in the background determined what the third component of sustainable development should be. I found that equity that attends to difference may be achieved through specific inclusive practices and forms of ideal speech that necessitates the inclusion of diverse voices from different groups. A major component of this inclusivity is the importance of escaping the constrictions imposed by the framework first assumed by President Truman's conception of development, that of the Global North producing knowledge and the Global South receiving that knowledge. In the case of Haiti, this would specifically relate to access of farmer associations and other community groups to legitimate knowledge-power.

Non-Profits

The non-profits included in this study represent organizations that profess sustainable development as a priority. However the assumptions they deploy largely express the goals of first response emergency relief. Thus the assumptions that guide the

[79] The entire results of my discourse analysis on the different texts is included in appendix i

structure of these non-profits' relationships to donors as well as other organizations and local Haitians and Haitian groups are not appropriate assumptions to achieve sustainable development. I utilize discourse analysis to highlight the implicit understandings and assumptions. In this section, I provide some examples and discuss the implications of these understandings in relation to sustainable development. The non-profits were surprisingly uniform in that they constructed limited and marginalized roles for community members, roles that expressly do not allow community members to be seen as viable knowledge producers.

Non-Profits and the Government

A defining shared understanding that non-profits hold about their role in Haiti is that since government is weak, non-profits provide the services a government should provide. Both Haiti Communitere, hereafter HC, and the Seguin Foundation, hereafter SF, discussed providing services a strong government might usually provide. Both discussed how they provided other organizations an entry point into the area, and helped coordinating these organizations into a more cohesive effort. Rather than approaching a city planner or other local authority, a group that wants to do a project would utilize these non-profits. Additionally HC provides access to infrastructure, such as electricity, Internet, a workshop, and safe housing for individuals as well as groups. SF in no uncertain terms has taken on the role of environmental protection of the watershed area, a role that should be assumed by the government, which can provide enforcement. None of these services necessarily are at odds with SD, however it should be acknowledged that there are negative consequences of organizations taking over jobs that the government should execute. First, if resources are allocated away from the government and given to NGO's it creates a situation in which the government is perceived as weak. The article entitled "Haiti – Have NGOs Become Part of the Problem?" describes this situation, in which resources allocated to NGOs are limiting both the resources awarded the government from the international community, as well as perpetuating a negative cycle of casting the government as inefficient. [80] Another discussion of this phenomenon notes

[80] see more at: http://www.idealphilanthropy.com/blog/haiti-have-ngos-become-part-of-the-problem

that, "The Associated Press reported in early 2010 that of every aid dollar committed to Haiti for relief, only 1 cent would be directed to the Haitian government to help with the provision of services – with 75 cents going to USAID and the US military"[81] These sources are from forms of public media on news sites, and represent some of the international perceptions of the Haitian government and its relation to NGOs.

This is a relationship supported by my interview data. Interviewees at the SF discussed their frustration at the inability of the government to address the watershed issue when I asked about their relationship with the government. The director who I interviewed responded to my question by describing how SF used to try to "force them (the government) to take responsibility for the area". The situation that he presents is one in which the SF is not only doing the job of the government, but also telling the government how to better do its job. Thus, the SF sees itself as a knowledge producer, and the government as needing to listen and responsively receive this legitimate knowledge. This implies that the government is either incapable or irresponsible. Whether correctly assessing the situation or not, the NGO cast the government as sorely inept. Additionally, the SF constructed a role for itself of protecting the watershed, and constructed an understanding of the government as ignorant and incapable which provides further justification for the NGO's existence. Because of this perception funding is directed towards the SF rather than the government. While it may be a necessary direction of funding at the moment, it also creates a structure in which the government loses funding, thus loses ability to create change, and thus loses more funding and international support due to perceptions of ineptitude. Because sustainable development necessitates long-term solutions, the only way for non-profits to implement long term solutions from this framework is if the non-profit is willing to fill this role indefinitely.

Non-Profit Assumptions Relating to Knowledge/Power

The following understandings are assumptions held by non-profits about the Haitian groups interacting with these organizations. Most of the following assumptions imply that the non-profit is the sole knowledge producer and the ideal role of the Haitians

[81] see more at: http://basicsnews.ca/2012/03/its-bigger-than-charity-why-ngos-cant-rebuild-haiti/#sthash.uwgpg5Hd.dpuf

is to receive their knowledge. One example of this is how HC assumes that if you simply show locals how to build eco-friendly housing they will necessarily follow your example and want to build these houses because you tell them to. This is especially odd because the model is not successful, and yet HC still seems to assume they will catch on without considering that Haitians may not want a house made out of glue and plastic bottles. I describe this applicable section of the interview and tour below.

As we toured the houses built of recycled bottles and Styrofoam, the manager of the HC sustainable resource center (or HCSRC) made the following statement, "Some people would come and say wow, how is this happening? This is happening in Haiti? Yeah! This is what we do in Haiti, we collect trash and we build stuff with it, and we show people what we do with all this trash, and what you can do with this trash is not throwing away". The first part of the statement shows that Sam thinks what they are doing is special and exciting for visitors. The middle portion is interesting in that, when he uses the word "we" he is saying Haitians. This is what Haitians do in Haiti; this is clear because he prefaces it by saying this is happening in Haiti, rather than this is happening at HCSRC. By speaking for Haitians in this way it suggests that the NGO represents what Haiti can do and be, rather than the NGO representing Haitian visions of what Haiti can be. The model presented is one in which HC does the projects and the rest of the Haitians follow. From a critical standpoint it its troubling that HC puts itself in a position of representing Haiti without representing the vision of Haiti that Haitians have expressed they want or value. HC appears to be unaware that Haitians don't value their model homes, because when I asked if Haitians liked them he responded, "Haitian people love it, we teach them how to build it." Again he speaks for the Haitian people, when the fact that no Haitians have actually built it, either for free or otherwise shows that they do not value these homes as viable models. The project manager implies that Haiti is represented by HC, without any Haitians actually having any role in shaping what HC says or does. This is even more upsetting when one considers that the founder and executive director, who has been living in Haiti at the HC Resource Center for years does not speak any Creole. This example begins to shows the way that non-profits conceive of themselves as leaders who stand for Haitians, and in doing so rid the Haitian public of inclusive access to discussing decision-making.

There were two specific themes from the non-profit assumptions related to inequitable knowledge production, one is the conception of training and the other is empowerment. All of the non-profits assumed that Haitians needed to be trained. The role of non-profit is to teach and train the uninformed and ignorant. The SF was a stark example of this; their model assumed that the role of the community is to be trained, and to provide labor on call. The interview with the Seguin Foundation was particularly interesting. We were discussing the practices that the SF attributes to deforestation. The local Haitians were cast as unaware (of how scraping the trees causes deforestation) and as impoverished. When asked how they address the issue of subsistence gardening in the park area the representative from the SF said that they work with peasant farmer associations, called OCB, "what we do it we train them. So we do awareness, we do training and planting, and we do training in the construction wall, and when we hire…we hire them". The SF does not offer long term alternatives to subsistence farming. Instead the interaction between OCB and SF is one where the SF teaches and generates work when needed, and the OCB learns and supplies labor when needed. The assumption is that members of the OCB need training and need to be taught. I assumed that the use of the word trained meant trained a skill, but I wanted to clarify my understanding. I asked, "do you mean trained to work for you when you need them?" She replied, "Yeah, and also they are trained to not go scrape at the trees, and cut them down, and burn the area. I mean its not obvious that they are all going to be responsive to it, but we've had a lot of success with them". Unlike, for example some of the community members' ideas about teaching, this training is not training as education to create alternatives for subsistence farmer; rather it is training not to do something.

None of the non-profits conceived of training as teaching sustainable alternatives. The interview with the SF shows that the training has two dimensions: including the community for physical labor, and teaching the communities not to do things. This training reminds me forcibly of how I conceive of training a dog, in terms of training them to not do things. In this context the assumption is that Haitians don't know that cutting down trees is a problem. What is left out is the role of poverty in motivating cutting down trees, and the importance of supplying alternative methods so that the

Haitians could not cut down tree for subsistence farming, but would still have some way to provide for themselves and their family.

The SF also defines a good Haitian farmer as being one receptive to their lessons, rather than one that lends his/her perspective to find an alternative and thus a solution. Related to this is the assertion of the UN Civil Affairs of what makes a good community member. In the interview with a project manager at the UN Civil, Affairs I asked for a few details describing her interaction with locals. She mentioned the example of working with women's groups to empower them, and added that it is easier to have an impact farther from the capital because, "The people are more, they are more-how do you say-open. They are more easy to work with". In the context of women's groups this entails making women aware they should report rapes. This implies that being easy to work with means open and easy to "make aware". Thus the positive qualities associated with a good community group or individual is that they are open to being made aware and this implies that they are not aware before being taught.. These types of assumptions negate the validity of the community members' opinions before ever allowing them a voice. The non-profits only accept the community members voices if they parrot back what the non-profits teach them. This type of assumption ascribes any dissidence of understanding or opinions; to the Haitians being difficult and unresponsive. This is directly opposed to the sustainable development that I prescribe, as one that is attentive and receptive to difference and even dissidence arising from a plurality of diverse voices.

Empowerment is a tricky topic because for non-profits empowerment is something that they help Haitians to achieve. This creates an interaction in which helping groups or individuals to become empowered actually prevents empowerment from occurring. My analysis of the interview with the UN Civil Affairs is pertinent. The project manager described two projects, supplying water and teaching about rape reporting. She summed up empowerment in this way, "That's how we tend to deal with a lot of these grassroots organizations, to empower them, to help them". Here "empower" is being used in direct relation to help, where empowering them means helping, and helping empowers. This is paradoxical because it relates being empowered to receiving help, which implies passive reception. It is possible that learning to report rapes would lead to women claiming their rights and controlling their lives. Similarly, it is possible

that supplying clean water might allow people to have more control of their lives if it led to them making more money off of their harvest. However, this cannot be realized because of the constraints dictating the relationship between Haitians and organizations that want to help. Consider the implications of making empowerment the objective of help: Haitians need help because they are not empowered, and Haitians are not empowered because they need help. This is a self-perpetuating relationship. If Haitians did not rely on receiving help they would be empowered.

Furthermore, empowerment cannot be realized if it is the express outcome of non-profit 'help' because the form of 'help' that all the non-profits offer is help in which the organization determines what the problem is, decides on the best solution, and solely contributes to planning the implementation of the solution. The only way for an organization to aid in empowering individuals would be if the individuals ask for help and are able to direct the outcome of the help. The universally held assumption among non-profits creates a dependent relationship in which helping the Haitians to be empowered actually entails keeping them from ever realizing the independence associated with empowerment.

Two final examples of assumptions in which knowledge production is the capacity of the non-profit exclusively both come from HC. First is from the website of the organization that "fiscally sponsors" HC. This group is called Omprakash. Their mission statement reads: "connecting grassroots social impact organizations around the world with an audience of volunteers, donors, and classrooms that can learn from and support their work… building trust between volunteers, donors, and organizations". The statement talks about its network and building important relationships between the actors listed in the quote. What is never mentioned are the people and groups that benefit from these projects. The assumption is that the grassroots organization, in this case HC (led by a man who doesn't speak Creole) is the only voice or vision for development that matters. There is no role, or even awareness that there should be a role, for Haitians. There is no recognition that the communities affected might even be able to develop visions or opinions that might differ from HC.

Lastly is the video on HC's website. The video representing a Styrofoam housing project depicts five Texans, all white, testing the strength of the pilot house that they built

in Texas. Using my image interpretation methodology I see that the structure commands the attention, with the people being off to one corner. The subject is the house, depicting how it can withstand seismic activity. The ideal spectator is a potential donor who speaks English. This video reveals that the support for the project is mostly coming from, or presumed to come from, support for the success of the technology and expertise. This technical expertise is related through the inclusion of the formidable seismic machine that was used for testing in Texas. The assumptions from these two examples are troubling. They discount even the potential for affected communities to be different and to have valid contributions beyond blindly following their predetermined roles.

Feedback from Haitian Communities to Non-profits

In a few instances non-profits do listen to what the Haitian community groups and members have to say. An important example comes from the HC Styrofoam block project. From the website: "Each daily session is aimed at building awareness of the technology, 'training the trainers' to take the knowledge and skills back to their community, and empowering women to make a difference for their country. Throughout the training, the Ubuntu team hopes to gain Haitian feedback and perspective"[82]. There is the now familiar invoking of empowerment and training; additionally there is a conception of feedback. This feedback occurs after the project has been planned and implemented. The contribution from the Haitian women is thus completely determined by the pre-existing and executed project. This would not be an example of inclusivity because, although it allows for criticism, the feedback is delegated, a characteristic that I outlined as not being inclusive.

The Civil Affairs branch of the UN is extremely important to consider because it deals directly with communicating and interacting with local communities. A quote and subsequent analysis is illustrative. The Civil Affairs representative described her collaboration with grassroots organizations, in this case community groups, "I ask them to send me projects. I work with them giving them the formula for them to come in for us…We have town hall meetings with them, listening to their concerns, listening to the community concerns". The dialogue with villagers is elicited and is constrained by a

[82] the website can be accessed here: http://www.haiti.communitere.org/

prescribed framework. The assumptions related to this quote are that Haitians can contribute by saying what they need help with, not by saying how the UN could be better or offering long-term recommendations. Thus the role for Haitians is to ask for help, and the role for the UN to decide if it fits their framework, and if so to give help. If the UN does decide to help, the UN also determines what the solution is.

This demonstrates a slightly different role for community member than the roles prescribed by the NGOs. As opposed to solely needing help, they have the ability to ask for help. This is the extent of the communication; however they also get to collaborate by providing whatever form of labor has been determined as appropriate by the UN. The implication is that the only important contribution a Haitian community can make in the role of producing knowledge to the UN is expressing how they need help. The assumption is that in relation to the UN, the community's role is to receive help, and thus they are only fit to ask for help. Local communities may provide information and labor valuable for short-term, first response impact projects, while large organizations play the role of directing change and determining goals. This does not align with the characteristics of inclusive sustainable development that I suggest.

The Civil Affairs branch of the UN also facilitates communities voicing concerns to their local governments. In the interview the representative of the Civil Affairs added that she convinces the Mayor to show up by saying, "This is a good way for you to know your constituents because it puts you out there, you know, and they get to know you". There is again the role of non-profits as directing government. More important is the assumption that Civil Affairs has to give communities the right to voice these concerns, and to convince the mayor to even show up. This is by no means the new right that Foucault prescribes. It presumes that the right of the citizens to participate in government is a right dependent on the UN Civil Affairs. Whether or not this is the case (meaning that without the UN is it possible that the citizens of Haiti might not have the right to address their government), it creates a dependent situation in which Haitian rights become attached to non-profits assuring those rights. This is problematic for two reasons. First it serves to reiterate those subjectivities that are characterized by a lack, in this case a lack of politics. Second it creates long-term dependence on the UN, which does not allow for self-sufficiency.

The Problem of Giving

The last big theme within community roles prescribed by non-profits is the assertion of every non-profit, that they do not "just give" to the communities. The common sense understanding is that just giving is a bad solution. They all agree that the way to counter this as a bad solution is to give, but to make the community members work for it as well. Work as the solution seems to have two different rationales. First is that the community needs to do its part. The interview with the LDS church project manager exemplifies this because he said, "One or two days before, we asked people to dig the hole in order to be ready to receive the trees, and the members go to plant with them. That is basically what we-what makes a project successful, because we don't just give, give, give". This is a perfect example of the theme that giving without assuring accountability is bad. The solution here is making the Haitians perform a role, or invest something in the project, in order to prove they are ready to receive it. Earlier in the interview the project manager noted that community members need to be accountable for taking care of the trees. Thus it is through digging a hole, and thereby investing labor in the tree planting, that they become accountable. This is problematic for two reasons. First it makes the community accountable to the project, but the project is not accountable to the people. Second it forces the hopeful recipients to perform a role to indicate their readiness. This role is completely determined by the project administration.

In this sense, laboring for the project is both a show of investment in the project to make sure the community will be responsible with what they are given, and a way of making the community feel ownership for the project.[83] However, the other reason for having the community provide labor is to teach them how to be self-sufficient, implying in some cases that they need to be taught to work. The interview with the SF and the HC revealed this other rationale. I asked if the SF did anything to incentivize them "besides giving them money". The way I worded this question was very upsetting. The director of the SF, Serge, responded, "No we don't give them money. We are totally against it, it is not our mission to provide humanitarian aid". He speaks in French with his assistant

[83] this sense is also expressed explicitly in the interview with Civil Affairs, as well as in the interviews with the Haitian villagers when they described their roles in digging holes for well and providing labor for roads.

Isabelle. After discussing with her he exhibited the signs of embarrassment suggested in my methodology, and then admitted that they do give people money, but only to not deforest their patches of forest. Here is another assumption that I naively did not understand and thus provoked an upset response. His reaction means that to him giving locals money is shameful. He then employed the metaphor of teaching to fish rather than giving, as many others do.[84] This points to the common sense that just giving is a short term solution that has a negative outcome, while giving in such a way that makes people self-sufficient is the positive outcome; this is also an important dialectic where giving without conditions or restraint is set in opposition to teaching self-sufficiency.

This is a funny theme because everyone interviewed seems to recognize that the non-profit model of giving to communities is very problematic, but instead of choosing not to give, they choose to give with certain caveats meant to counteract the negative effects of just giving (either creating ownership, or teaching skills). Either way the effect of making these communities work is that it also makes them have to inhabit a role determined by the organization in order to receive whatever is being offered. This is a particularly insidious power structure in that it forces the community to become the voiceless object. The beneficiary is forced to occupy a role that characterizes them only by their need for help and their ability to do labor.

In the context of a religious organization the result of this working to receive aid has another dimension. The organization says to the Haitian do what I say and I will give you something. If the Haitian does what she/he is told and receives what she/he are promised it creates a relationship that relates back to spreading the gospel. The LDS church was explicit that the main objective of its reforestation project was to build relationships between non-members and members based on trust. Thus as the trust builds, and the Haitian becomes used to occupying the space of doing what she/he are told in order to receive aid from the church, it is not much of a leap for the Haitian to do what she/he are told by the church in regards to religious orientation. This form of sustainable development, and all of the non-profits that try to counter the problem of giving by requiring work from the community, lead to the erasure of difference among local communities. The communities are forced to occupy the general space. In order to

[84] The pastor also used this same phrase as did HSD

receive aid they become general humans and, as Žižek theorizes, they lose their unique social, religious and political position. It not just the imposition of these roles, but the way the roles must be taken up by the community members, that points to a loss of equitable difference.

The assumptions that non-profits have, especially about communities, clearly do not align with the characteristics of a successful SD project. First the non-profits do not allow community members to transgress limits of constructed roles, characterizing good community members as those with the least amount of resistance to projects. Second non-profits only facilitate forms of dialogue that are delegated or commissioned, thus they do not allow for democratic discourse. Third non-profits do not create roles that foster criticism, autonomy, and participation, but instead create roles that foster conformity, explicit identity, and cooptation. Fourth non-profits do try to prescribe universal rights. Fifth non-profits do provide goods and services associated with bare life or universal human rights, but do not allow the receivers to retain their materially contingent characteristics by providing the aid that the receiver's dictate based on their specific social and political needs.

Community Discourse Analysis

The prior section shows that non-profits do not allow for inclusivity as I define it. The theory would suggest that the role of the non-profits as knowledge producers would lead to the affected communities employing similar assumptions. I try not to cast the Haitian villagers as only objects, following my critique of Escobar in the background, however I do find that the assumptions deployed by the Haitian villagers are directly related to the assumptions deployed by the non-profits. As knowledge producers who determine roles that target populations must adhere to in order to receive aid, the non-profits become an authority that dictates many of the understandings the Haitian villagers employ when discussing development and ecological issues. However, I do not reproduce a conception of the villagers as only objects of knowledge-power because they also share assumptions not held by the non-profits.

The common sense understanding is that the major problem leading to environmental degradation is poverty. This is an idea stated explicitly by the pastor and

each of the three young men who were interviewed at the same time. What is surprising is that although the problem is poverty, the solution is not having more well-paying job opportunities. The solution is having more NGOs. [85] A quote is helpful. When interviewing the three younger men we discussed the ecological problems posed by cutting down trees. One of the men told me that people cut down trees because they have children and they when they have immediate need to pay for school or for food for people have to cut down their trees. He finished describing that the solution to this problem is, "We need NGOs to plant more trees". Again there is a disconnect, also evidenced in the interview with the pastor, between the problem and the solution. The problem is that people who have no access to other income oftentimes need money for school or food and thus they cut down trees, however the solution is not to offer more jobs (as sustainable development would suggest), but to have NGOs plant more trees. For Pastor John the solution is to give goods and to have foreigners teach Haitians how to be self-sufficient. Thus the perceived solution to poverty from the perspective of the Haitian villagers is not sustainable development, because there appears to be no awareness of economic growth as a solution.

The Desire for More NGO Involvement

Since the villagers want more NGO involvement, it is important to consider if NGO involvement could be a viable option for sustainable development. From the interview with the three men I found that what makes a good NGO is an "NGO that gives a lot" of quality things. All of the community interviews focused a lot on the importance of the NGOs giving physical things, especially large structures such as houses, hospitals, schools, churches etc. Also listed as important were giving toilets and a well to get clean water. The least mentioned ones and afterthoughts included food related goods, trees, and healthcare. Thus the solution that Haitians see to their two-fold problem of poverty and deforestation is not the model that the international community has agreed on, that is SD, but rather is the solution that they are presented with in their interactions with the

[85] In the interviews we used the terminology of NGOs to connote non-profits. Other non-profits such as the UN were discussed, but for the ease of translation we just used NGO to connote all non-profits.

development community. This solution has nothing to do with economic development, and it is a solution in which the only community involvement is that of the passive receiver of awareness and goods.

I then asked what else they might need, besides things like health and houses, in order to ascertain how much the NGO model dictated their understanding of their own needs. The three men had trouble with the question at first, but then said that they did need and want other things such as electricity and jobs. However, either because I asked about NGOs first or because they saw me in the role of a NGO (one man asked if my NGO would plant trees for them); they offered needs that fit with their assumption of what NGOs are best at offering. They were occupying the role of a villager in need of the basic necessities (although these were not the basic necessities of food and water and health care), rather than saying they needed things like education or job opportunities. When asked what Haiti needs, the old farmer said he didn't need anything because his NGO provided him with everything he needed. He didn't bother to answer what Haiti as whole needed, revealing that he did not see his role as being deciding what Haiti needs, or even deciding what he needed. He needs were dictated by the NGO and thus met by the NGO. Pastor John thought they needed more education as well as more things because he thinks Haitian villagers need to be taught. He assumes that Haitian villagers do not have important knowledge, and that outside organizations need to teach them.

When I further inquired about when outsiders might be bad teachers, he could not think of any example of a topic that his community would not accept. His communities would listen because they want better lives, assuming that the teacher could tell them how to live a better life. The assumed role of the community is to accept whatever they are taught. However he did suggest the idea that the relationship between outsiders (such as NGOs) as teachers and the communities as invested learners depends on the teacher giving the community something. The outside organization demands physical labor and the community in turn demands something in return for that labor. The old famer expressed a similar common sense statement when asked if he ever didn't do what he was taught to do. His answer was no, because the NGO always gave him what they promised. Pastor John's assertion that people would listen and always accept what they are taught because they want to have a better life sums up the assumption about the relationship.

The Haitian villager does what she/he are told because they want to have a better life. This relationship negates any chance for inclusivity within sustainable development.

While the assumption of NGOs as sole knowledge producers and Haitians as exclusively knowledge receivers is directly in line with the assumptions of the non-profits, the major difference between the community assumptions and the non-profits' assumptions was what form this teaching should take. Pastor John's assumption is they need to be taught how to be self-sufficient, while the non-profits assert the communities needed to be taught not to cut down trees. It made sense that this assumption was not one shared by Pastor John because when I asked the 3 young men about deforestation they all knew cutting down trees was bad, and could list out both short term and long term negative impacts of cutting down trees.

It is surprising that all of the community interviews pointed both explicitly and implicitly to an increase in NGO involvement being the solution to their poverty, however when asked if they would rather have a job or have more NGOs, all the young men wanted a job. They expressed that they want jobs because jobs provide a way to realize the projects they want done without relying on NGOs. While some NGOs were reliable, there was a lot of distrust of NGOs among the three men because they were not directly benefiting from NGOs and had faced difficulties. What they wanted differed from what they saw as being possible. Part of this is because they assumed the creation of job opportunities is the government's job (the implication here is that the government doesn't create jobs now, and the government will not be able to create jobs in the future). This reveals why what they see for their future, or what they consider viable solutions, entail more NGOs rather than other options.

Community Visions of the Future of Haiti

More NGOs is apparently the assumed outcome in the future. The farmer who had the most direct relationship with a NGO had the most interesting assumptions about NGOs. When asked how he would fix his solar panel after the NGOs were gone he said they would never leave. The explicit assumption is that there will always be a NGO to provide for him. He could accept that one might leave, but was certain there would always be another to take its place. This is troubling because the goal of a NGO,

especially a sustainable development NGO, is to aid a community so that they develop and no longer need said NGO. This man had no concept of this aspect of NGO involvement. Considering that a major piece of sustainable development is creating communities that are self-sustaining, and the fact that every other interview touched in some way on the importance of self-sufficiency, it is telling that the one man who has the most direct relationship with a NGO was the one who never thought he would be, or wanted to be, self-sufficient again.

In addition to his interview, the following social interaction was very telling. We asked if we could take his picture and he vehemently said no and walked quickly away, saying that only Ithaca, the NGO that was providing him aid, could take his picture. This implication is that his own image was no longer his to control. Because he relies on Ithaca his image becomes their property. From Ithaca's standpoint this means that his image has value, presumably because it can generate value with potential donors. By accepting their help, the farmer allows his image to be commodified. This further supports the idea that by accepting and receiving aid from NGOs, the farmer occupies the role of a starving old Haitian farmer, so that the NGO can use this idea of him to create value for their organization. His assumptions and dependence on a NGO are not conducive to sustainable development.

The scope of the impact of those assumptions proliferated by non-profit organizations on communities is both shocking and also in line with Zizek's argument and Foucault's theory of subjectivity. From looking at the relationship that these assumptions engender, and the way further participation by the Haitian villagers in the relationship only embeds these assumptions even more, I argue that there is no way for non-profit organizations as they are currently formulated in Haiti to do SD. NGOs are the least equipped in Haiti as they had the least equitable forms of social power as a function of institutional structures, knowledge power relationships, and construction of subjectivities. Sustainable development is completely incompatible with the current NGO model. The only slight exception to the rule might be the Seguin Foundation because they provide important watershed protection. However I would still argue that there needs to be a different organization to provide the actual sustainable development solution in order

to address the cause of the problem: poverty. If not the NGOs and non-profits, then the task of sustainable development falls to the for-profit organizations.

For-Profit Companies

Analysis of the assumptions and common sense understandings deployed by the for-profit organizations support my conclusion. Their assumptions are usually more obvious than those of the non-profits because they base them on an economic model. One of the types of social power that Escobar's analysis exposed is when planners have the ability to make ambiguous decisions. In the case of the for-profits this ambiguity is minimized. The for-profits are aware of the failings of non-profits, and two of the for-profit companies decided to be for-profit rather than non-profit due to their perceptions of non-profit inadequacies. These for-profit companies present their model as a response to the failings of the non-profit model. Therefore, I pair each for-profit understanding of how to best do SD with the related explicit, and implicit criticisms of the non-profit model.

The base assumption that all the firms explicitly assert is that sustainability comes from business models that create long-term economic viability. Thus, the associated critique, best stated by Thread, is that they offer "solvent business practices, not hand-outs". The issue that all non-profits assume, that giving is a problem, is addressed in the for-profit model by not giving at all. The interview with Jim Chu, the CEO of Dlo Haiti helps explicate why market-based solutions are important. He says that market-based means that "the financial incentives of every single actor in the supply chain is understood and that you're not forcing the solution on the community". This suggests that non-market-based solutions do not understand financial incentives, and thus run the risk of forcing solutions on beneficiaries that don't actually value the solution.

The shared assumption of the non-profits is that it is bad to give because the beneficiaries are not accountable to the project and thus it will not succeed; they counter this by having the beneficiaries put labor into the project to both prove their commitment and to foster accountability. Social power as a function of institutional structure allows for analysis that asserts for-profits combat the issue of giving in a more equitable way. The for-profit position is not that the beneficiaries must be accountable to the project, but

rather that the project necessarily is accountable to the consumers, because if the project isn't, then the consumers won't pay. If one considers the implications of these two different models, for non-profits there is a one-time input of labor, and if the project is not valuable there is little if any feedback from the receiver to the organization. With for-profits there is a continuous mode of feedback, so that if the project is ever not valuable it will not succeed. For-profit organizations also allow for competition to see which projects are more valuable, and allows for change as the problems or needs of the communities change. This supports the assumption of all the for-profits, that a good business model has longevity. Jim here assumes non-profits lack the ability to implement long-term solutions.

The focus on economic growth also shows an assumption about how these for-profits understand the problems facing Haiti. The problems are not catastrophic, and do not require emergency response; they are the same problems that businesses face when they notice a lack and provide goods or services to rectify that lack. This differs from how many non-profits see the problem as an immediate emergency requiring immediate action. From the interviews with the community members of an isolated and poor village they did not need food, health care, or shelter, because they were asking for things like large buildings and electricity. I would argue that if Haiti was still an emergency situation requiring immediate intervention, the community members would be asking for emergency supplies, thus for-profit conceptions of the problem are more in line with the community's own representation of their needs.

For-profits assert that having investors is better than the non-profit counterpart of donors. They are better because having investors forces the firm to take responsibility and deliver both positive economic results and social impact. In the interviews with HSD, Thread, and Jim this discussion was either precipitated or followed by a critique of how bad donors are comparatively. Donors are difficult to work with because they have more requirements on what they want their money to do. Another critique offered by HSD is that donations only do one thing and then stop, while investments can be continually reinvested in new projects. My analysis shows that non-profits are accountable to donors (rather than the affected communities) because donors are the customers who provide capital, while for-profits are accountable to the Haitian consumers or other consumers.

Also, donors can always provide further funding for a project that may not be working, facilitating both bad projects and also allowing external aid to help a project that is not sustainable.

The role for Haitians that for-profits assume is one in which they participate in the economic system and produce something. The assumption from Gils's interview is very interesting. He also argues that, "People who come down to Port au Prince, they sell certain goods, they're good workers, and they figure their way out. If there was better infrastructure it would reflect a lot more, you get to see a lot more". This sets up a fresh understanding of Haitians. Rather than casting them as ignorant and not open to education, Gils sees Haitians as being mostly capable and the problem not stemming from their lack of awareness, but from the lack of infrastructure. This lack of infrastructure leads to them not having a way to expose their product to a market. This is in direct opposition to the role that NGOs assume, where the best Haitians are passive receivers.

The type of participation that Thread, Gils, and Dlo all require is feedback from impacted communities prior to the implementation or complete formation of for-profit projects. Thread also continually provides a forum for the employees to discuss their concerns. The assumption of these firms is that Haitian people are not just empty vessels to be filled with environmental awareness, but that Haitians understand their communities and understand their needs. This is the opposite of the assumption that non-profits deploy where Haitians need to be educated and can only contribute by asking for help. This leads to the related assumption that the market-based model is the best model because it provides a clear role for everyone. Again, this is a direct response to non-profit models that do not provide clear roles for Haitian outside of laboring at the outset of a project.

These for-profit firms have a different understanding of empowerment and their role in the empowerment of Haitians. For Jim Chu, empowerment relates to the flexibility of the company or organization. Empowering here is related to letting community members determine what role they want to play in the business. "I want a model that empowers entrepreneurs". The assumption is that these entrepreneurs need empowering. The company dictates what service they want to provide, in this case distribution of clean water, and the community determines who does it and how they do it. Jim discusses how

different communities applied different distribution models. The crucial characteristic of Jim's company that allowed this difference was being, "flexible enough to accommodate changes to our model". There is a direct relationship between the empowerment of the community members and the flexibility of the business. The assumption is that empowering community members to dictate what model works best for them makes business more successful, and thus makes projects more successful.

Thread conceived of empowerment as it relates to business flexibility in a slightly different way. The interviewee did not frame flexibility as an allowance that Thread makes to empower people, but rather takes the assumption that people are already empowered, "how do you…. prepare for that? Because when you are dealing with a community you are dealing with so many different types of personalities and individuals and different wants and needs and desires. And like some people are going to want to be doctors or lawyers and other people are going to want nothing to do with that". This is an important assumption, because here empowerment is not given or promoted like it is for non-profits, and empowerment is not facilitated through flexibility, like it is for Dlo. Instead the implication is that people are already empowered, they want to, and are going to, control their future, and that a successful business model accounts for this. This is the closest to a "new right", because no empowers Haitians, but rather Haitians claim for themselves the right to shape their future as they see fit. Thread's example is that some people now do recycling as a full time job, running a whole network of collectors, while others do it to supplement their income. Her example is a grandma who collects recycling to save for her 3 year old granddaughters college tuition. Thread's implicit assumption shows a respect for these Haitians and their alterity. Both firms assume that the way to either accommodate (Thread) or facilitate (Dlo) is by having flexibility with their distribution and collection models, thus allowing entrepreneurs to do what ever works best for them.

The most troubling potential issue that I see with for-profits organizations is that in Haiti the lack of infrastructure allows industry to create a hierarchy through controlling of infrastructure. This means that once industries begin creating infrastructure they will be the ones controlling it giving them massive amounts of power. One firm could have a lot of control over markets and the government would not be able to regulate this. I argue

that NGOs role, instead of trying to implement SD through short-term projects, could be to facilitate communication between communities and firms, and to garner international and national support if one firm was to abuse its position.

CONCLUSION

For-Profits are the Most Inclusive

This research contributes to the existing literature on sustainable development in two major ways. First, it asserts that for-profits, especially triple bottom line companies, are currently implementing the most inclusive form of sustainable development. This makes sense because for-profits have to sell a good to the Haitian consumer, thus they have to be inclusive in order to understand what Haitians value enough to pay for. As a market-based solution these for-profits deploy the assumptions of economics, which delineates important roles for the desires and perceptions of consumers. Additionally for-profits create job opportunities for entrepreneurs. Finally, due to their necessary responsiveness to changes in the market, for-profits have to be more flexible, and are better able to change. This is important because the for-profits have to continually get information from Haitians and change accordingly, or they will fail.

This finding fits with existing literature. A literature review of seven case studies states that for-profit businesses play a vital role in the contribution of social equity in sustainable development. [86] There is very little discussion suggesting for-profits should not play a role in sustainable development. Additionally, as presented in one article, the widely held belief is that non-profits cannot do sustainable development because they do not produce a profit. This source finds that new policy allows non-profits to make a profit without losing the tax benefits of being a non-profit. The authors also find that the solution to non-profit involvement in sustainable development is letting non-profits produce profit, which further supports my argument.[87]

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[86] Poverty-Environment Partnership, "Building an Inclusive Green Economy For All: Opportunities and Challenges for Overcoming Poverty and Inequality" (June 2012) 25. This is a literature review of 7 different sustainable development case studies

[87] George T. Dillon and Matthew M. Wilkins, **"**True Sustainability: A New Model to Aid Nonprofits in Developing Self-Sustaining Revenue Streams" GuideStar (May 2005).

The major contention with the implication of this finding is that Haiti is not regulated. The implication is that more money should be invested in for-profits because they are more socially equitable and are more successful at achieving all three of the goals of sustainable development. However, the lack of government regulation and wide spread corruption could lead to for-profits exploiting Haitians as cheap laborers. Additionally the if lack of infrastructure in Haiti was addressed by for-profits they would own all of the means of production, allowing them to further exploit smaller businesses and all Haitians. Some services are provided best by the government, such as roads and education, because they can tax everyone equally and distribute the costs fairly through taxation. If for-profits started providing public good services they might not distribute the costs equitably.

A New Role for Non-Profits in Haiti

Second, this research asserts that non-profits, especially NGOs, are not very inclusive, but they have to potential to be the primary supports and providers of inclusivity. Non-profits in Haiti are not inclusive because in order to justify their existence in Haiti and to collect donations they must characterize Haitians as being in extreme need. This related to development discourse in that it characterizes Haitians as lacking, and characterizes their role as providing goods, technology, and other expert knowledge. Additionally non-profits foster dependencies and offer subsidies, neither of which are sustainable practices. All of the non-profits were less inclusive than the for-profits, but I focus on NGOs because they have the potential to be the drivers of social equity. The UN is not as inclusive as the for-profits, but it does include some aspects of inclusivity such as allowing Haitians to ask for what they need rather than simply providing universal human rights. The UN also provides other important services, such as security, and would probably not be interested or able to adopt a completely new project at the scale I envision. Similarly the religious organization, the LDS Church, has goals of building relationships to convert non-members, and as such they would not be able to enact true inclusivity. Thus I leave out religious organizations and IGOs from my concluding prescription.

NGOs are perfectly equipped to spearhead the inclusivity that the theory and my empirical research recommend. While I find education is also an important role for

NGOs, my prescription does not focus on educations because there already exists a transfer of knowledge from international experts to the affected communities. What in conspicuously lacking is the transfer of knowledge from Haitian villagers to international experts. Thus NGOs could facilitate an inclusivity that transcends individual projects by including of the diverse voices of those impacted by projects in the international discussion of sustainable development. In Haiti there is currently no way by which local perspectives can be expressed and included in the international discussion. This inclusion is particularly important in a nation with low regulation and corruptions because it would allow Haitians to voice issues such as exploitation and inequity.

The generational analysis of NGOs from my background describes one possible role for NGOs that might address these issues, that of a social organizer.[88] However if the NGO was leading and organizing the movement they would face all of the challenges of inequity due to biased assumptions. However I argue that NGOs could provide a service that would allow for social organizing if necessary without dictating the form or even contributing to the discourse surrounding social organizing at all. The theory indicates that inclusive speech is not conscripted or delegated. This makes the task I appoint to NGOs all the more difficult. While there is no easy answer, I suggest that providing access to the Internet could allow Haitians to participate in the international discussion without being subjected to particularly dominating forms of social power. Additionally access to the Internet would provide a way for those affected by sustainable development to both organize with each other, and attract the attention of the international media when inequity does occur.

There are many barriers to providing Internet. However, NGOs have shown that they are extremely good at fund raising and implementing projects of this sort. They are not good at generating equitable development, but they are good at getting buildings and technology to areas in need of public services. This skill set would allow NGOs to create kiosks with access to the Internet as well as offering training.[89] Already there exists a push to provide access to computers and the Internet to educate children. This is

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[88] Korten, *Global Agenda,* 124

[89] Consider the NGO one laptop per child program available here: http://one.laptop.org/

important, but it is more important to create new venues for international inclusivity than to further unilaterally educate the Global South with knowledge from the Global North. Barriers that would be particularly difficult to overcome would be the misuse of the kiosks and the consistent need for repair, however these are barriers that could be overcome.

A New Role for NGOs Internationally

Internationally there are a range of problems and solutions very similar to sustainable development in that they try to implement a top-down project, but also need or want to include bottom-up approaches. Examples range from water purification to access to community co-op gardening. These projects struggle with this inherent tension, and thus would benefit from more inclusivity. The internet is one possible solution that makes sense in the context of Haiti, but other solutions need only follow those characteristics of inclusivity and non-inclusivity put forth in my background section. What would have to vary from project to project is the question of how much of these properties is appropriate and who exactly should be participating actively.

Haiti is a unique case, in which there is a high dependency on non-profits and the shared assumption that if a non-profit keeps its promise and gives them things then that non-profit is worthy of their trust and will take their advice to get more things. This means that Haitians, especially Haitian villagers according to the UN, are very receptive to advice from non-profits. Another senior at Lewis and Clark did her thesis on water purification in Swaziland. She describes a very different situation in which the people are independent and resistant to projects. In Haiti the properties of inclusivity should be enacted to a large extent, and by anyone who is interested because the cultural beliefs would not prevent projects from being implemented. Haitians are very excited about projects, and I found they would always do what was asked in order to receive the expert advice of organizations. However in Swaziland there is already mistrust of international organizations and unwillingness to comply, thus asking every one in the community to be, for example extremely critical, would not result in a successful or useful project. Thus

in an environment like Swaziland inclusivity might focus on including community leaders and building a repertoire with them, based on exchange of knowledge.[90]

Inclusivity and its properties are guidelines that not only have the potential of creating a sustainable development that engenders equity that attends to difference, but call also be applied to a wide range of other environmental movements. What these movements share is the tension between top-down and bottom-up. If possible for-profit organizations might be offer potential solution to some of these problems, however for certain public goods and services non-profits must play a role. Inclusivity is a solution that addresses the complex hybridization of the world while allowing for directed global change.

[90] Katy Yeh, "Are You Really Going to Drink That: An Investigation that Influence Risk Prevention in Drinking Water", 2014

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APPENDIX

Appendix i: Complete Results

I divide up my analysis into three sections: Non-Profit, For-Profit, and Haitian Recipients, because I see each of these groups as having similar roles within the larger structure of development in Haiti, and because I see distinct similarities within each of these groups. I analyze the interviews using hermeneutics; each of my analyses is denoted with a number relating to the 4 steps or levels of Heidegger's hermeneutic analysis.

HAITIAN VILLAGERS/RECIPIENTS:

Pastor John:

Pastor John is a pastor that preaches to a series of small villages in the hills above Leogane. Pastor John speaks English and French and also served as a translator for us. These results are derived from a short informal interview in which we discussed environmental problems in Haiti, NGOs and the interaction between the community and the NGOs.

When asked what he thought about the lack of trees in Haiti Pastor John argued that the problem is that people do not have any money or any way to make money and so they must resort to cutting their trees. From this I gather that (1) what wants me to understand is that the Haitian people are not at fault, but rather their situation was at fault. I pushed him further on this point, asking what the best solution might be to rectify this problem. Surprisingly to me, he said the solution was teaching. (2) This is surprising because he originally said the main problem was not having any source of income, but his solution is not to have more industry, but rather to teach. This suggests that the obvious solution, creating more jobs, is not viable for Haiti leading to another conclusion: (4) There is an implicit assumption that jobs and industry are not available, and will not be available in the immediate future.

I asked about what form this teaching should take, and what kind of teaching may have already occurred. Pastor John's answer was related to his religious studies, "The Bible says…do not give money to the poor, teach the poor that he needs to work…I think they need to be teach how to take care of their plants, how to plant and how to do things like that". (2) This was telling because he brought in, without it having come up, that you should not just give money to the poor. This is a theme that comes up in all of the interviews across all the groups, which I delve into later. It sets up a dialectic (3) in which just giving is the worst solution and in contrast teaching someone how to take care of themselves is the ideal solution. The assumption (4) here is again that industry jobs are not an option, and that instead work as a solution means doing subsistence farming and otherwise learning how to be self-sufficient. Additionally the content of teaching as a solution from Pastor John's perspective is teaching an alternative skill instead of cutting down trees, which also assumes that "the poor" already know not to cut down trees but need other options; this is different then the content of teaching for NGOs such as the Seguin Foundation who see teaching as a way to tell people not to do something and why not to.

Pastor John's ideas about what the content of teaching is inform his answer to my question of if people in his communities accept what they are taught from other groups including outsiders. His answer was, " I think lots of them would accept because they want to live better". This suggests (1) that he thinks teaching them alternatives would work because they want opportunities to live better. It also suggests that (2) Haitian villiagers need to be taught how to live better by groups like NGOs because these groups have information not accessible to the community otherwise. This points to another dialectic (3) in which Haitians don't have access to knowledge and opportunities and that outside organizations like NGOs can teach them how to live better. Lastly, and this is obvious by now, there is the assumption (4) that NGOs or other organization have the answers.

We had some difficulty communicating when I asked if there were any things that people in Haiti would not be willing to accept if they were taught. I was hoping this might prompt a discussion of cultural differences that might make Haitians less receptive to lessons taught by foreigners. His answer was that people will listen if you bring them juice or snacks. I pushed further and he continued on this track, "If you do not give anything they will complain after. They will say 'they tried to talk to me and didn't bring anything. Why didn't they bring anything?'". I tried rephrasing again, making it clear that I meant the topic of the lesson, and he responded that there was nothing that people would not accept easily. The way that he answered showed a little about his understanding of the relationship between teaching foreigners and his Haitian communities. First (1) if you give them things they will listen and do what they are taught. This theme runs throughout the interviews with Haitians. The fact that he couldn't understand that some lessons might not be accepted shows two big assumptions (4), one is that the teachers lessons are correct and above criticism, and two reveals a power-knowledge relationship in which foreigners are knowledge producers, and the Haitians can only receive and accept the knowledge but cannot critique or interact with the information, furthermore this relationship is only cemented if the knowledge producers give the receivers something they want.

I told him that I had heard some people complain in Haiti that NGOs make people less willing to pay for things and work (based on his earlier disdain for giving vs learning to work I thought he would be receptive to the slightly more provacative question). He answered by discussing which NGOs are good and which ones are not. The ones that aren't he said didn't make it visible what they did with their money, and the good ones provided houses and toilets. What he is saying (1) is good NGOs spend their money to leave something behind. The assumption is that (4) being a good NGO means providing a lot of physical constructions or giving things, rather than non-physical impacts such as implementing a model of sustainable farming or access to new jobs etc. When another one of our guides corrected him by restating the question in more extreme terms, basically asking if Haiti receiving aid makes Haitians lazy; Pastor John became a little accusatory towards our other guide (who runs a non-profit in the small village, more on this interaction later) and responded by becoming angry with the president who apparently is thought of as expressing this view, "The president said do not get Haitians food, they need to work. What does he do for them to work?". He argues that the president "hates Haiti" for telling NGOs not to give food, and that the NGOs are needed because there aren't job opportunities. This reveals (2) that the president or the

government is somewhat responsible for Haitians (not) having any job opportunities. It clearly shows (1) that Pastor John thinks that NGOs are necessary because there aren't jobs. Again this reveals a weird disconnect that I will consider an odd assumption (4) the issue again is not having access to jobs, and the solution again is having more NGOs to provide aid in the form of houses, toilets, and hospital. For some reason creating more jobs is not a viable option.

He further discusses why jobs are not a viable option when he answers my question of if he thinks giving someone a house or giving them a job is a better solution. He argues the job is better, but that some people wouldn't be able to do jobs because they are not educated or trained; continuing, "for some of them the house is better than a job". There is an implied relationship here between jobs and education (2): That before some people can have a good job they need to be educated.

The last subject was: which NGOs do a good job and which ones do a bad job. His description of the Red Cross as a good NGO is a telling response, "For example the Red Cross give a lot of works, for example they give the house, they pay people to build the house, they pay people to bring the house, the people to drive for the house. That gives many people plenty of jobs". This shows that NGO projects can create jobs but only short term ones. I asked a follow up about what happens when the Red Cross leaves and he said that if you received a house you can make money by renting that house and so have some continuing income. This is revealing (4) because it shows why NGOs giving physical things might be seen as better, for Pastor John NGOs cannot provide long term jobs, but can construct and give things that have a long-term affect. In the context of Haiti long term is the life-span of a house or toilet (this is especially surprising because in Haiti things left behind by NGOs like toilets and houses are always breaking and having problems).

<u>Old Farmer Associated with a NGO called "Ithaca"</u>

This farmer looked to be about 60, and he self-identified as old. He was a direct beneficiary from a NGO he called Ithaca, which I was unable to find on the internet, probably due to my poor Creole. Pastor John translated for me.

Pastor John told the farmer I was curious about the interaction between NGOs and the community he immediately began telling us about Ithaca in a glowing fashion. He said, "They give a lot of things, that mean Ithaca is very helpful. They give everything, they give goats, they give cows, they give pigs". It is interesting that the farmer said they give everything, what everything actually relates to is telling (2) because throughout the interview everything turns out to be only physical goods, ranging from beans to barrels to put their trash in. I asked what the farmer would most like to get, and continued to try to find out what the farmer thought he needed. His answers were always a list of the things he had already been given. This shows an assumption (4) about what makes a NGO good: if they give a lot. The role (2/4) of the ideal NGO is not to listen (to communities) or to lead (project management) but to give. This is further cemented by the fact that he could not understand my question asking him what else he wanted, the assumed relationship is that(3/4) his role is to receive not to determine what he receives, and the NGOs role is to give and to determine what he needs.

We moved on to discussing if the NGO had taught him anything relating to sustainability, as an example I asked if they talked about where to put garbage (in Haiti

most people throw all of their garbage into ravines without any regulation). He responded that they talked to him before they gave him barrels to put his trash in, and that this came after he was given beans, corn, pigs, cows and goats to raise. The structure (2) then is that first the NGO gives, and then after they have a relationship they teach in order to give some more. This brings up one of the assumptions (4) I noted from Pastor John's interview, that the relationship of NGO as knowledge producer and Haitian as passive receiver is cemented if the knowledge producers give the receivers something they want. There is a dependent relationship that is forged first through giving things, and then after there is trust teaching them what is correct. This is especially worthy of noting because when I asked if there are any things he has learned that he hasn't ended up doing he replied "never, whatever he wants us to, do we do it"…"because everything they say they're going to do, they do it". This shows the same dialectic relationship (3) seen with Pastor Johns interview of giver/knowledge producer versus passive receiver of goods and knowledge. The quality of this relationship is important, because the belief of the famer is that he will do whatever they say in order to get what they are giving.

I then asked what would happen to the solar panels he received if they break, and he responded that the NGO would put in a new one. This seemed to imply (2) that the NGOs job was not just to give, but also to keep giving in the future. The assumption (4) seemed to be that the NGO wasn't going to leave. This was surprising to me as the goal of every NGO is to leave eventually, because if they solve the problem then they are not needed. I wanted to press this further so I asked what the farmer was going to do when the organization left. He said they would never leave. I said someday they would, and he said if they leave another one would come. This implies a pretty surprising assumption (4) that there would always be a NGO present, and that even if one NGO leaves there will always be another one to take its place and supply more things. This is an important assumption that the farmer has based on his interaction, it reveals (4) extreme dependence; rather than learning, for example, how to fix his solar panel, he is entirely dependent on another NGO coming to fix it. Thinking about the goal of sustainable development in terms of longevity and self-sustenance, and the implicit ideas about the importance of ownership and self-sufficiency that every other interview revealed, it is particularly telling that the only interview that doesn't implicitly acknowledge the importance of self-sufficiency is the interview with a Haitian farmer who receive/relies on a NGO.

He mentioned that Ithaca didn't want other NGOs to come to his area. I had some trouble understanding his answer because it was surprisingly aware. He said, "Because they're working, for example he's working for wages". I was sure he meant some farmer was working for wages, but he corrected me, "For example another NGO comes and they wont have much job to do". The implications of the farmers statement points to another dialectic: that the NGOs exist to help Haitian farmers like him, and that if the NGOs don't have people to help they wouldn't exist. This is a troubling relationship, because it suggests, like Ferguson and Escobar theorize, that NGOs and other development organizations depended on perpetuating relationships in which the recipients always need the help of the organization.

My final question was what does he think Haiti needs. He said that he is very old, he doesn't need a car or much money. He said that he could not ask someone to create a job for him because he cannot work anymore. What he is saying (1) is that for him he

does not need anything else. The fact that he answers my question of what the country needs with an answer relating (2) only to what he needs shows that he doesn't see the question of what happens to Haiti as a whole as one that is pertinent to him. This shows an assumption (4) that he does not have a role in deciding what Haiti needs, and instead just makes sure his basic needs are met. In this way he occupies the space of Homo Sacer, a human stripped to just his bare necessities. Whether this is due to his age within a relatively young society or his dependent relationship with a NGO I cannot say, but Foucault would say that his role, a role prescribed by his relation to Ithaca is one in which his capacities are also his constraints. All he can do is farm, not offer solutions or hope for a different future.

In addition to his interview, the following social interaction was very telling. We asked if we could take his picture and he vehemently said no and walked away quickly, saying that only Ithaca could take his picture. This implied that his own image was no longer his to control. Because he relies on Ithaca his image becomes their property. From Ithaca's standpoint this means that his image has value, presumably because it can generate value with potential donors. By accepting their help, the farmer allows his image to be commodified. This further supports the idea that by accepting and receiving aid from NGOs the farmer occupies the role of a starving old Haitian farmer, so that the NGO can use this idea of him to create value for their organization.

Interview with 3 Men, One of Whom is Self-Appointed Community Development Director

I asked the 3 men what makes a NGO good or bad. All of them talked about how good NGOs give lots of things, like houses, money, and a well. This reveals the relationship (2) between NGOs and giving, and the assumption (4) that successful NGO give more physical things, especially buildings, the same assumption that both Pastor John and the farmer deployed. The first man also noted that the best NGO, the Red Cross, also cares about health, thus a minor addition to the previous assumption is that good NGOs provide physical goods, especially buildings, and/or they provided medical treatment.

I asked if they needed anything besides health and houses. One replied, "We need hospitals, we need churches, we need schools, and we need water". The next replied, "We have a lot of things we want to do, for example we need a hospital, a toilet, and water. We not have any school. Our church was destroyed by the earthquake…So there is a lot of areas that could benefit a lot of things from NGOs". This shows (1) that they see NGOs potential role as providing buildings and other construction based projects. The assumption (4) then is that NGOs provide these sort of projects rather than others such as education, job creation, or politics. This is the same assumption that Pastor John deployed: the assumption that (4) being a good NGO means providing a lot of physical constructions or giving things, rather than non-physical impacts such as implementing a model of sustainable farming or access to new jobs etc.

I asked the first man again if they might need other things such as jobs? He said, "health is more necessary than a job, because if you doesn't have any health than you can't work". This is interesting because of the men we were talking to we young and healthy. There seems to be an implication (4) that health and other basic needs would have to be met before more jobs could be viable, and that these basic needs are not being

met. From the structure of the statement the implication is that until the NGOs provide the basic services job creation is not important. The assumption (4) is that Haiti is in a perpetual state of disaster relief and receiving humanitarian aid, even among healthy, visibly well fed young men.

I had to press to find out more about what makes a NGO bad. The three things were generally not doing anything visible, not following through with what they say, and third providing bad goods. They described how one NGPO gave houses with walls that were too thin. This mirrors Pastor John's assertion that (1) good NGOs spend their money to leave something physical that will last, like a structure behind. Thus they again deploy the same assumption of what a good NGO is. Additionally, though, this shows (1) that they value follow through. This makes sense because Haiti is a relatively low trust environment.

They told me a story about how the UN promised to build them 3 latrines if they did labor and dug holes. Another NGO, Samaritan's purse supplied the materials to build the first road out to their village just a few weeks prior to our meeting. This policy, of having the members supply the labor, and supply it prior to receiving the materials seemed to be a very regular and basic occurrence. The assumption (4) is that in order to be worthy for the project the men must do physical labor.

We also discussed the issue of deforestation. All of the men knew at least a few reasons that cutting down trees for charcoal is a problem. One of them elaborated, "If you cut it you not going to find mangoes anymore. I believe when you cut the trees it's not a good thing because you never find the same tree anymore". This does not just show that trees matter in an immediate way, but that there is a long term cost to not having a tree, in this case not having access to any mangoes in the future. The structure of the text suggests (2) that the short-term decision to cut a tree is not good because it has long term effects.

The first man said that people cut trees because they don't have enough money. Oftentimes they have children and they need to pay for school or for food for a short time and thus people have to cut down their trees. He finished describing why poor people might have to cut down a tree for extra income by asserting, "We need NGOs to plant more trees". Again there is the same disconnect that Pastor John revealed. There is a disconnect in the relationship between the problem and the solution (2); the problem being that people in poverty oftentimes need money for school or food and thus they cut down trees, and the solution is not to offer more jobs, but to have NGOs plant more trees. We had not even been discussing NGOs, so NGOs as the offered solution is also telling. The disconnect is sort of an assumption(4) that job creation is not a viable solution and instead they should count on NGOs to provide short term solution.

The second man went into detail discussing how a family may have 10 or 8 kids and each one costs 30 US dollars a month. He claims that, "the government doesn't do anything for them". Again based on the structure there is an assumption (4) that the government's job should be addressing poverty, and a statement (1) that the government is not doing their job. The third man added that the government should both teach people not to cut the trees and create some little jobs. This is the first time that job creation is mentioned as a solution to poverty. It is mentioned in the context (2) of things the government should, but wont do.

Finally I asked whether they would rather have a job or have more NGOs to provide further help and houses. They all saw having a job as better. Their rationale was that a lot of NGOs come with a lot of money and then leave. One argued that, "They come and they say I'm going to do this, I'm going to do that, and after one month we never see them. Work is better now because you cannot trust some NGOs". What is stated (1) is that NGOs are not reliable. What the way that it is said reveals is that (2) NGOs cannot be trusted to stick around over a long period of time. The argument he makes it that "If you have a job that means that whatever you want to realize you can rely on it". This adds the statement that having a job allows you to realize whatever you want, and thus is set up in dialectic opposition to the idea that NGOs do not allow you to realize whatever you want.

A different discursive text from interacting with these three men, was that we also came with an American who was in the process of building a school and orphanage in the village. Some of the answers that especially the third man gave did not respond to our questions, but instead lauded this American, Kevin, and thanked god that he was there. He turned his body to face Kevin, and seemed to overtly occupy the role of a thankful, god fearing person.

NON-PROFITS

Donor NGO: Haiti Communitere:

At the Haiti Communitere Sustainability Resource Center (HCSRC) we met with the resource center manager, Sam. We interviewed him while he took us on a tour of the resource center. The resource center has a lot of different structures made with recyclable materials, many of which are rented out by volunteers. The center is home to many volunteers working with a variety of organizations in the area, as well as a few entire organizations who rent space at the HCSRC. Additionally the resource center has a large workshop with tools, a computer lab, and storage in shipping containers.

As we went on the tour I was curious about the purpose of building the different homes out of the recyclable materials. I asked if people in Haiti actually have the first home that they showed us. I was told that the first house we saw had not been tested yet so no others had been built like it. The structure (2) of this statement implies that if it had been tested Haitians would have built it. The second one had been tested. Sam asserted that by seeing this house, "A lot of people will be like oh my God, how to build this house?" What he wanted to show us (1) was that they were creating a model home that could inspire people to make environmentally friendly houses out of things like straw, Styrofoam and plastic bottles, rather than cement. The relationship between the model home and the Haitian people that he assumes (2/4) then is that if you show people how they can build a home in a different way, they will be inspired to do so. I pressed him to see if it was a successful model.

When I asked again if a lot of people had seen this house and built it he said that HC was building it in a city at that very moment. I pressed a little further asking if Haitian citizens buy the house, or if they buy the plans to the house. Sam said, "No, Haitian citizens, well they don't really want to buy it". However he still continued to talk up the model saying, "When we build it like that is to show people that what they're

doing with the tires they're burning…this is what the tires can do. They can build things with them, bottles can build the house". This statement implies less of a focus on these model homes actually being copied in Haiti, and instead points (1) to the model homes showing what different materials that are considered garbage can be repurposed for. The implication is that the homes don't inspire people to go out an build them as much as inspiring people to creatively reuse 'garbage'.

At the third house I asked again if anyone had used the plans to build a house like it. He said, "Well, right now no. Right now, not yet. There is only this one. It's just to show, to show you". Saying not yet does imply that he is saying it would or should happen in the future (2). Since the houses had been around for a while, it seems from my perspective that the model of building a showcase house to inspire Haitians to build the same house, had not been successful.

Interrogating Sam's statement and our interaction, acknowledging the model had not been successful, allows for further interpretation of the words, "It's just to show, to show you". This meaning is accessible if one considers Foucault's power/knowledge/discourse, in relation to his words as well as our social interaction. The action of giving us a tour of the homes (while we only asked for an interview) shows that Sam wanted to show them to us. As Ferguson argues, when a development project fails and is continually repeated one must ask: what does it do if not its express purpose? The houses are just to show us. To show volunteers and other foreigners in Haiti some fun and aesthetically- as well as morally-pleasing structures. The homes weren't meant for Haitians, they were meant for people like me, to get people like me interested in HC and potentially interested in renting one of these eco-friendly homes. The homes had signs explaining their materials and the placement of things like bottles transversely through the walls was clearly meant to create a certain image for consumption by viewers like me. The homes are not a model, but a commodified representation of sustainable development in Haiti.

Returning to the tour/interview. As we toured the houses, Sam said the following statement, "Some people would come and say wow, how is this happening? This is happening in Haiti? Yeah! This is what we do in Haiti, we collect trash and we build stuff with it, and we show people what we do with all this trash, and what you can do with this trash is not throwing away". The first part of the statement shows (1) that Sam thinks what they are doing is special and exciting for visitors. The middle part is interesting in that, when he uses the word "we" he is saying Haitians, this is what Haitians do it Haiti; this is clear because he prefaces it by saying this is happening in Haiti, rather than this is happening at HCSRC. By speaking for Haitians in this way (2) it suggests (4) that the NGO represents what Haiti can do and be, rather than the NGO representing Haitian visions of what Haiti can be. The model presented is one in which HC does the projects and the rest of the Haitians follow. From a critical standpoint it its troubling that HC puts itself in a position of representing Haiti without representing the vision of Haiti that Haitians have expressed they want or value. HC appears to be unaware that Haitians don't value their model homes, because when I asked if Haitians liked them he responded, "Haitian people love it, we teach them how to build it." Again he speaks for the Haitian people, when the fact that no Haitians have actually built it, either for free or otherwise shows that they do not value these homes are viable models.

Sam mentioned building blocks that HC is producing out of Styrofoam. I asked how they gather their Styrofoam and he answered that they have people that they pay in the community. I did a little research online and found that the project, called Ubuntu Blox, picked a group of 24 women, and trained them to do the entire process. From the website I found a quote describing the process: "Each daily session is aimed at building awareness of the technology, 'training the trainers' to take the knowledge and skills back to their community, and empowering women to make a difference for their country. Throughout the training, the Ubuntu team hopes to gain Haitian feedback and perspective". This can be analyzed looking at the structure (2) the Haitian women are the receivers of knowledge, and are trained and empowered. The assumption is (4) that Haitian women are not empowered to make a difference for their country. The assumption also is that Haitian women are empowered best by being trained by professionals, such as the expert from Texas who conceived of the project. There is space for Haitian perspectives, but the space (2) that is allotted for Haitian feedback is feedback after the project and process are entirely pre-baked.

The website also included a video for the project, it depicts five Texans, all white, testing the strength of the pilot house that they built in Texas. Using my image interpretation methodology: the structure commands the attention, with the people off to one corner. The subject is the house, depicting how it can withstand seismic activity. The ideal spectator is a potential donor who speaks English. This video reveals that the support for the project is mostly coming from, or presumed to come from support for the success of the technology and expertise. This technical expertise is related through the inclusion of the formidable seismic machine that was used for testing in Texas. This is the video that is picked to represent the project as well as an image of one of the blocks. The assumption is that donors will be most interested and willing to pay for the expertise and technology rather than the community feedback and social impact on women.

On the tour Sam also showed us benches that had also been built in a nearby city. He describes the process of community collaboration, in which the community comes and says what they would like to build, in this case benches, and HC provides materials and teaches them how to build the benches. This is how he describes their interaction, "they say, 'can you build a bench for us?' We say, 'Yeah we could build it, just come over and we have people here going to teach you and then you are going to finish it yourself'". What Sam is telling us is that HC helps Haitians to do the jobs they want to do. The common sense that is implicated here (4) is that instead of building them the benches, they teach the Haitians how to build them and have them do the labor. The common sense is that teaching Haitians to do things, and having Haitians provide the labor is better than just giving them things.

Lastly we discussed what other organizations stay and HCSRC and why. Sam said that organizations start at HCSRC when they are growing, and as they get bigger they find a new larger place in Port-au-Prince. He calls HC a mother to a lot of organizations, in that they help organizations get what they need and implement projects and then as the projects grow they move out of the Resource Center. This is interesting because what is implied (2) is that smaller organizations need access to something like a resource center when they come to Haiti. The common sense here is that in Haiti getting access to things like electricity, computers, tools and internet is difficult and that the way to start a project is not to contact the city planners or the local authorities, but to contact

the local NGO and work through them to either build on the existing NGO infrastructure or eventually build up their own.

As a final supplement to the interview I consider the website of the organization that "fiscally sponosors"(funds?) HC. This group is called Omprakash. Their mission statement reads: "connecting grassroots social impact organizations around the world with an audience of volunteers, donors, and classrooms that can learn from and support their work… building trust between volunteers, donors, and organizations". The statement talks about its network, and building important relationship between the actors listed in the quote, but nowhere on the mission statement is the recipient community included as a player in that network (2). The dialectic that is not recognized (3) is that the affected community is the most important actor, with out a community to affect change in there would not be any other actors involved. The assumption (4) could be one of two things, first the affected community isn't worth mentioning because it does not matter, or two, I find this more compelling, it is assumed that the "grassroots social impact organizations" account for themselves as well as stand in for the entire affected community. Either way the donors see HC vision of being what matters for Haiti as being the only Haitian generated vision that matters. This is problematic.

Donor NGO: Seguin Foundation:

The SF focuses on protecting and rebuilding the ecosystem in Seguin. Seguin is a watershed area, supplying water to 4 million people (footnote that this is data supplied by SF, and thus not necessarily accurate). They also have a nursery to bring income and they partner with other organizations that want to do work in Seguin.
The founders are all Haitians who all studied in the US. They recreated (hunting, motorcycling etc.) in the area as young adults and decided to start the organization when they returned and saw how must the forest had deteriorated.

When discussing the problem the manager asserted that ,"we always say the biggest problem in Seguin is poverty, it is not deforestation…What they (the impoverished locals) do is they scrape the tree and eventually the trees fall. The biggest thing they do is land clearing. They set fire to the area they cleared out, and they garden". In this statement she describes (1) the way deforestation is not a problem that can be treated separately, but is rather an effect of poverty which must also be addressed. Here the locals are cast as unaware (of how scraping the trees causes deforestation) and as impoverished. When asked how they address the issue of subsistence gardening in the park area she said that they work with peasant farmer associations, called OCB, "what we do it we train them. So we do awareness, we do training and planting, and we do training in the construction wall, and when we hire…we hire them". The SF does not offer long term alternatives to subsistence farming. The interaction (2) between OCB and SF is one where the SF teaches and generates work when needed, and the OCB learns and supplies labor when needed. The assumption is (4) that members of the OCB need training and need to be taught.

I assumed that the use of the word trained meant trained a skill, but I wanted to clarify my understanding. It turned out I was wrong. I asked do you mean trained to work for you when you need them? And she replied "Yeah, and also they are trained to not go scrape at the trees, and cut them down, and burn the area. I mean its not obvious that they are all going to be responsive to it, but we've had a lot of success with them". Unlike, for

example Pastor Johns understanding of valuable teaching , this training is not training to have alternatives to subsistence farmer; rather it is training not to do something. It is training in the sense of training them not to have bad habits. From this quote as well as the previous one I gather the following associations (2); the SF are: rich, are informed and aware, and can define the project (note that none of the founders were experts in anything environmental, they were all business men); the OCB are: poor, uneducated, need training, cannot shape the direction of the project. Good OCB members are responsive, and bad are unresponsive. The assumption here (4) is that it is not obvious they would be responsive, or it is more likely that the farmer associations would be unresponsive to training and education about how to protect the environment. The lack of alternatives to subsistence gardening being offered and focus instead on education about what not to do, suggests that—unlike Pastor John's and the 3 young men's assumption that people know not to cut down trees but are forced not to by their economic situation—people need to be taught not to do things because they don't know any better.

A few minutes later one of the founders and the directors, Serge or Junior, joins us and stays for the rest of the interview. When asked how SF works with other organizations Isabelle, the manager, says that the SF is the main operator in the area, and anyone who wants to go up gos up through them "because it's really the best thing…it's the safest thing". The common sense here (4) is that utilizing existing organizations is better than doing it alone if there is a large organization in the area. This relates to how HC functions as an infrastructure provider and entry point. Again a job that would probably be attached to local authorities in places like the US, is instead controlled by local NGOs. The common sense is that NGOs perform the job of local authorities to manage other development organizations.

I asked about their relationship with the government, and found that this was a touchy subject for the director. He describes how SF used to try to "force them (the government) to take responsibility for the area". The situation that he presents is one in which the SF is doing the job of the government, implying (2) that the government is either incapable or irresponsible. He goes on to say that the issue is not a lack of good laws, but rather a lack of enforcement. Saying they need, "A real professional army, very strict and backed up by the-supported by the international community". Thus he sees the most important role for government in preventing deforestation as enforcement, as coercion. The dialectic (3) is that the government enforces the informed rules for the greater good, and the locals try to break the rules because they are uneducated and/or do not care about the greater good. The assumption (4) is that behaviors of locals will not change without the threat of violence or some penalty.

Serge goes on to say that there has to be a national consciousness as well. He defines this, "every single Haitian people must know that it is their duty to be involved in their future". This as a goal implies (2) that Haitians do not consider it their duty to be involved in their future, and the use of "training" to rectify this suggests the way to get Haitians to care about their future is to educate them about the impacts of their behavior. The assumption (4) is that Haitian involvement in their future means Haitians being responsive to the goals offered by groups like SF, rather than for example allowing poor Haitians the chance to direct change as they see fit. The logical assumption (4) behind this assumption is that Haitians are not capable of, for whatever reason, directing their future, and thus must instead be involved in other organizations solutions.

His third prescription is that the international community should not provide humanitarian aid, but instead aid industry by investing in energy alternatives because Haitians are poor. This implies (2) humanitarian aid does not address the problem of poverty, and that investment in energy alternatives leads to development. He confesses that, "Myself, that's educated, that's very conscious. If it was the last tree standing, to feed my kids I would cut it". This suggests that he recognizes that education doesn't solve deforestation unless there are alternatives, but since they do not create alternatives, they must either think alternatives are less important, or that the SF does not have the capacity or scope to create alternatives. We discuss this further and they offer that any successful approach must be holistic, but that they cannot do the holistic approach, although they do try to work with other organizations to facilitate this. Many of the other organizations they list are actually government organizations (Finland, Canada, and the US on the list). It seems they think other governments, rather than other NGOs, could help with energy alternatives and financial alternatives, as well as training the Haitian army to apply laws (they repeat these three pieces of the solution again later in the interview).

I ask them about how they incentivize OCBs to not deforest the park area and they discuss a system where people are paid to protect a 6 by 6 meter area. I ask how they ensure the farmers are protecting the area and they describe a system in which community members are trained to do inspections. I ask if they do anything to incentivize them "besides giving them money". The way I word this question is very upsetting. Serge responds, "No we don't give them money. We are totally against it, it is not our mission to provide humanitarian aid". He speaks in French with Isabelle and to me then agrees they do give them money but only to not deforest their patches of forest. Here is another assumption (4) that I naively did not understand and thus provoked an upset response. The assumption is that giving locals money is a bad to the point of being shameful solution. Additionally groups that provide humanitarian aid are thus lumped into providing a solution that apparently is repugnant. He uses the metaphor of teaching to fish rather than fishing, as many others do. This points to the common sense that just giving is a short term solution that has a negative outcome, while giving in such a way that makes people self-sufficient is the positive outcome; this is also an important dialectic where giving without conditions or restrain is set in opposition to teaching self-sufficiency. This dialectic exists because giving unconditionally may have had, or is at least believed to have very negative outcomes.

The last portion of our discussion talked about SF's other two initiatives: the green school designed to build awareness with students at a young age, and the creation of equal enterprises, such as eco tourism. The rational behind these enterprises is that, "It's a way to create self-sustaining in Haiti. Isabelle and I, all our partners, my friends might not be around. We wish to have something that will continue itself…they can be the captain of their destiny". This is an interesting statement because it suggests that (1) the NGO is not a viable option to generate long term sustainability in Haiti. Instead the director of a NGO argues that industry and business opportunities are the long-term solution. This recognizes implicitly (2) that the NGO model does not allow for locals to "captain", meaning determining their own futures, but that for-profit enterprises do.

<u>IGO-Civil Affairs at the UN</u>

We interviewed a project manager within civil affairs at the Minustah branch of the UN because civil affairs is the sector within the UN that interacts directly with individuals and organizations within civil society as well as local small scale government. Civil Affairs is the sector that could provide information about interaction between the UN and the local communities.

She began by talking about collaborations with grassroots organizations. She said, "I ask them to send me projects. I work with them giving them the formula for them to come in for us…We have town hall meetings with them, listening to their concerns, listening to the community concerns". On the level of what is said (1), she describes dialogue with villagers that is both elicited and is constrained by a prescribed framework. The assumptions (4) related to this quote are that Haitians can contribute by saying what they need help with, not by saying how the UN could be better or any long-term recommendations. Thus the role for Haitians is (2) to ask for help, and the role for the UN to decide if it fits their framework, and if so to give help. There is an assumption (4) that thus the UN is only in Haiti to help, and no other interests such as their reputation or continued existence. The dialectic relationship is that (3) there is no Civil Affairs without Haitians in need of help, this begs the question of if Haitians positions would be seen as needing help in the same way if not for the UN. I can argue that the help perceived as being needed by Haitians would definitely be different if there wasn't UN involvement.

She went further into detail about implementing projects. The type of contribution expected from the community fits with a theme of the non-profit interviews, "I would insist on community contribution, like maybe they would come with the rocks, manpower and stuff like that. We would help to provide the money, we provide the tools and stuff like that". Relating to the previous paragraph there is an internal structure (2), in part described as a dialectic (3), that this sheds further light on. The structure is that the UN helps Haitians, while Haitians do not help the UN achieve goals, additionally collaboration takes the form of Haitians supplying the manpower. This implies an assumption (4) that all Haitians have to offer to a collaborative effort is "rocks, manpower, and stuff like that".

When asked what civil affairs can and can't do she described what it is supposed to do. This means she does "quick impact projects that civil affairs provides, as getting first hand-hands on, first impact for the local population". She notes that when communities require help with larger projects that cost more money she has been able to collaborate with other NGOs, IGOs, and within the UN itself, thus adding the capacity of civil affairs to coordinate. Analyzing using her example is helpful. The situation she presents is that a Haitian neighborhood started to move a cemetery and needed help finishing the relocation, for things like fences. The structure of the example is that the UN has money and the Haitians receive the money, which is a dependent relationship. The dialectic is still local communities 'in need' and the UN 'helping'. By describing how she was able to achieve the relocation, by working with UNDP she shows that collaboration with local communities means something very different then collaboration with large non-profit organizations. Local communities may collaborate by providing information and labor valuable for short-term, first response impact projects, while large organizations play the role of directing change and determining goals.

I ask for a few details describing her interaction with local organizations. She mentions the example of working with womens groups to empower them, and adds that it

is easier to have an impact farther from the capital because, "The people are more, they are more-how do you say- open. They are more easy to work with". In the context of women's groups this entails making women aware they should report rapes. There are a few implied conclusions from her responses (2). First that easy to work with means open and easy to "make aware". Thus the positive qualities associated with a good community group or individual is that they are open to being made aware. Assumptions (4) here probably seem repetitive, but that good community members recognize or are willing to be made aware, implying of course that they are not aware.

In this section she brings up empowering, refers to teaching women to report. She goes on to describes another interaction that supplied water to a large community in the mountains. She sums up, "That's how we tend to deal with a lot of these grassroots organizations, to empower them, to help them". Here structurally empower is being used in direct relation to help, where empowering them means helping, and helping empowers. This relates being empowered to receiving help, which implies passive reception. The oxford dictionary defnition of empower is very different: "Make (someone) stronger and more confident, especially in controlling their life and claiming their rights: *movements to empower the poor*". It is possible that learning to report rapes would lead to women claiming their rights and controlling their life. Similarly it is possible that supplying clean water might allow people to have more control of their lives if it led to them making more money off of their harvest. However this cannot be realized because of the constraints dictating the relationship between Haitians and organizations that want to help. Consider the implications (2) of making empowerment the objective of help: Haitians need help because they are not empowered, and Haitians are not empowered because they need help. This sets up a dialectic in which Haitians are not empowered because Haitians always rely on receiving help, and Haitians always need help because they can never be empowered if they rely on receiving help. This is a self-sustaining dialectic relationship. If one were not the case, the other would not hold either, ie if Haitians did <u>not</u> rely on receiving help they would be empowered.

She continues to explain how successful the water distribution impact project was a why it was a success. It was a success because it provided a lot of benefits. The impact projects are supposed to question, "how does it impact the community? It is saying, okay if we give you funding how many people, how many inhabitants does this benefit? So you talk about maybe we do 600 families, so with 600 families you have five people in each family". This implies that benefits can be measured in terms of how many people are benefited, an assumption that the number of people effected, rather than the type of affect, should determine the success of a project. This may be a common sense idea (4), that affecting more people makes a better project, however this leaves out the ability of good projects to help a few to be better leaders or be educated to have specialized skills. The assumption (4) is that the impact on each person can be treated as the same and simply added up. The assumption is that in terms of development a person impacted by a project is best represented by either a one or nothing, represented by the uniform number 1.

Lastly she relates how she organizes security meetings to discuss political issues, security issues, and community concerns. She adds that she convinces the Mayor to go by saying, "This is a good way for you to know your constituents because it puts you out there, you know, and they get to know you". This reveals without deeper analysis that

civil affairs is trying to foster dialogue between the citizens and their authorities. The implication is that she, or civil affairs, has to give citizens the right to voice their concerns, and even that that right is dependent on civil society.

The LDS Church: Reforestation Project:

I was able to interview the project manager for the LDS reforestation project in Haiti.

He said an important thing right off the bat: The project was designed by the priesthood leaders of the church. The assumption is not a surprising one, that the priesthood leaders are best able to determine what a reforest project should look like because they are ordained by god.

He went on to describe how they attempted a pilot to plant trees on government land designated for reforestation, and contrasted that to planting trees on peoples private property. He elaborated, "having the community, people in the community be involved, it makes them accountable for that". This points to the relationship (2) between the community and the project. The community should be accountable to the project, and this accountability should take the form of having to take care of the tree. This relates again to the theme of making communities accountable, in many cases this involves making the communities prove they are worthy of receiving the aid by investing physical labor. Whether or not labor is involved the common sense understanding is that the community or individual has to show their commitment to the project by performing the role prescribed for them by the project leaders if they want to receive the project. Not having this preformed role connotes that a project is a handout and will not be successful. This performance is further described by the LDS project manager when he says, "One or two days before we asked people to dig the hole in order to be ready to receive the trees and the members go to plant with them. That is basically what we-what makes a project successful, because we don't just give, give, give". This is a perfect example of the theme that giving without assuring accountability is bad, and making Haitians perform a role, or invest something in the project in order to prove worthiness to receive. This gives a lot of power to the organization doing the giving.

The project manager also asserted that giving, not the trees, but the relationship between members and non-members is the most important part of the project. He calls this, "we build the people". What he wants to represent is that the project is not just reforestation, but is more focused on building relationships within communities between members and non-members. He goes into detail describing the importance of continually showing up and doing what they promise. The implication of what this relationship entails (2) is that if the non-members do what the members tell them, the non-members will get what they were promised and thus trust the members. Not only is this a dependent power relationship, it also furthers the goals of spreading the gospel by spreading trust that if you follow church members you will receive the benefits they promise.

He also says that getting the beneficiaries in the habit of planting trees can help to solve deforestation. He casts the problem as, "other people, who don't really have this habit, will destroy them because they don't really know the importance of having trees". This implies (2) that deforestation is a problem that is based on people not being educated

or having good habits, rather than one related to people not having alternative behaviors due to economic constraints.

FOR-PROFITS:

The for-profit organizations are more straightforward because it many ways their assumptions are already stated. They are all for-profit because they think sustainable development must be for-profit. The interaction with Haitian people is either one of two: either the people are the customer, implying accountability directly to the people as customers; or the people are involved in business, either are distributors of a good or collectors of an input, implying agency in so far as the people dictate their role, and the company is flexible enough to allow participation in unexpected ways.

Gils, CEO of Construmex:

Gils interview fits with the general characteristics of for-profits. First is conception of sustainability: "The model is to have an impact of society, have an impact to do good for people, but to profit from that as well". So you come with certain things that are sustainable, that will be profitable in the long term in a very big way". This is the assumption that sustainable means long-term profitability. Related to this assumption is his critique of NGOs who try to do development, "Most of them, they came in, they did what they needed to do for themselves, not for the country. Because they left nothing behind. Imagine billions of dollars coming into a country, floats into a country, and flies right back out". This critique is based on NGOs operating on a relatively short-term project basis. The NGOs don't leave a lasting product or result because that is not their purpose.

He sees the main problem facing Haiti as a problem of needing more infrastructure and needing more job opportunities. He mentions jobs making people self-sufficient, making people "their own business people". This vision of empowerment is one in which access to job opportunities provides individuals ownership over their own lives (2). He also argues that, "People who come down to Port au Prince, they sell certain goods, they're good workers, and they figure their way out. If there was better infrastructure it would reflect a lot more, you get to see a lot more". This sets up a understanding (4) of Haitians in which rather than casting them as ignorant and not open to education, Gils sees Haitians as being mostly capable and the problem not stemming from their lack of awareness, but from the lack of infrastructure that leads to them not having a way to expose their product to a market.

The last thing that Gils brings up is how he sees the role of big businesses benefiting from providing infrastructure. Using an example of giving someone credit he explains the rational for investing, "Me lending you the money, you can have a much more larger impact. If we invest with you than were going to have much more access to invest a lot more, but it's more of a hierarchy rights?" This is pretty explicit in stating that building and owning things like infrastructure gives his company a position of being at the top of a hierarchy. This is something that should be thought about in the context of a country that does not have a strong government to enforce regulation on big business.

Haitian Sustainable Development-Construction Company:

This interview reveals the same guiding assumptions as the other for-profit, with further discussion of why non-profits are not part of the solution. He begins to explain why some of his projects have not taken off as much as he origninally thought, specifically why his pre-fabricated 450 square feet, 5 room houses had not been bought by Haitians after the earthquake. "Why they haven't been launched yet is that we need to get out of the I want, want, want mode that they are presently in, to okay I'm willing to pay mortgage on this". I asked him to further explain where this mentality comes from. He answered, "It's on of course all the aid that we got…the intentions were all good, lets help, help, help…(There was) the lack of planning, as far as organization of a global level. I mean everyone's coming in with their own little thing and doing something for one community…so the mentalities are, let me wait for, because I got a tent, so let me wait. They're going to build me a house". This section points to a few things (2). First he sees the un-coordinated efforts of the NGOs and other aid organizations as creating expectations, perhaps realistic expectations, that another organization will provide another project. This reveals that he sees too much aid, and unorganized aid, as creating a dependent relationship with the Haitians that does not incentivize them to actively participate in Haiti's economic development. The assumption here is that development comes from participation in markets and some sort of production, either of goods or services; in contrast to aid, which instead gives to the people, and entails them waiting to receive.

When asked about if he considered donors for a sustainable community co-operative, he was strongly opposed to having donors. He describes his position, "If it's a business that you're running, then do it, and if you don't make money you don't have a job…We use the same money, roll it over five or six, seven times, rather than just saying it goes here and then it stops". This points to two implied criticisms (1), First he sets his discussion of being for-profit against a implied critique that having a donor model means that there is nothing to incentivize firms to do a good job, if they do a bad job they can just ask for more money and do the next project. The second is that donations don't stimulate economic development, because they just do the one project and stop, rather than cycling through to create more projects and more wealth. He finishes by saying he is all about getting out to communities and doing the best with what they have. This again implies (2) self-sufficiency and responsibility, perhaps in opposition to NGOs that don't have to do the best with was it there, but instead have access to a large number of outputs, leading to a lack of responsibility. This is an especially important critique because sustainability does imply a sustainable system, not just one that has longevity, but also one that is bounded and self-sufficient. International NGOs are not bounded to a single place where they provide aid, and necessarily do not support self-sufficiency.

Jim Chu, CEO of DLO Haiti

Jim Chu begins his interview with a cutting remark about projects in Haiti, and a comparison with these projects and his own that serves to reify the success of his model. His company is set up as a model that is in opposition to the implicated failings of organizations like NGOs, "Many projects here have their own prescribed ideas of what they want to do and how they want to do it. I think that our project really seeks to understand the issues of Haitian consumers and tries to create what I would call true value or value propositions that make sense for them". The problem he sets up (1) is a

lack of knowledge and inclusion of Haitian people. The solution is the market (1)! He goes on to say that Haiti's issues make her a "gold mine of opportunity" because it has many problems, and thus room for business to figure out solutions to the problems that people value. This does characterize Haiti as needing solutions (2), but this lack is not portrayed as exceptional (as NGOs, especially donor NGOs portray it), but rather as a normal issue that development addresses.

Like HSD he mentions the lack of cohesion between different organizations in Haiti, the government, and the people, as well as the difference between donors and investors. Investors are easy, they want a social impact and financial returns, while donors require more particular outcomes, such as a series of social goals etc. This leads to a interesting remark. He notes that, for example meeting each of the requirements for a series of social goals would make his business not commercially viable, and thus not successful. He is not trying to fix every problem, or even affect the very poorest groups, because this would not be economically viable. Instead he says, "It's a model that matters. If we're able to show that through business innovation that we can just do a little bit better for everybody…so we're not trying to immediately change the world. Changing everything quickly is hard. We're trying to change things in a way the market can accept". On the surface level (1)what he is saying is that he is willing to not solve every problem, in order to create a less ambitious model that has the potential to proliferate itself. The structure of this statement (2) is that donor based NGOs try to immediately change the world, and that this does not create feasible long-term solutions. Again the driving assumption is that the market-based system is one that fosters economic sustainability, and thus market-based solutions should be the focus.

Later in the interview he explains a little about why market-based solutions are important. He says that market based means that "the financial incentives of every single actor in the supply chain is understood and that you're not forcing the solution on the community". This suggests (2) that non-market based solutions do not understand financial incentives, and thus run the risk of forcing solutions on beneficiaries that don't actually value the solution. This ties back to underlying assumption that is it bad to just give. From earlier the non-profit position on this assumption is that it is bad to just give because the beneficiaries are not accountable to the project and thus it will not succeed; they counter this by having the beneficiaries put some labor into the project to both prove their commitment and to foster accountability. The for-profit position is not that the beneficiaries must be accountable to the project, but rather that the project necessarily is accountable to the consumers because if the project isn't then the consumers wont pay. If one considers the implications of these two different models, for non-profits there is a one time input of labor, and if the project is not valuable there is little if any feedback from the receiver to the organization. With for-profits there is a continuous mode of feedback, so that if the project is ever not valuable it will not succeed. For-profit also allows for competition to see which projects are more valuable, and allows for change as the problems or needs of the communities change.

Discussing the initial interaction between his company and the communities, Jim explains how he made his team all live in the communities to understand their needs, and to have a direct discussion to validate ideas. This is obviously an interaction that Jim believes (4) will make his project successful, implying (2) that he values community members input.

When we discuss technology the topic returns to the assumption that it is bad to just give. Jim argues that giving technology as solutions is especially problematic because there is no "institutional framework to ensure the long-term sustainability of that model…(These machines) are sitting there not working, they are sitting there in complete disrepair, waiting for the next donor to come by and solve their problem…(Because) it was never theirs in the first place. They never created an institutional framework to manage it". Especially with technology Jim sees a lack of understanding between the organization implementing a solution and the community receiving the solution. The implication is that bringing in technology to fix a groups problems will never succeed in creating a sense of ownership of that technology. Jim is critiquing organizations that think technology can be a solution, and is implying that technology alone, or even primarily, can never be a sustainable solution. Instead technology fosters dependency on external group to come and fix the tech or implement new tech. Again Jim argues that the answer is business, and that business provides a framework for technology where technology increases the capacity of different actors, rather than determining those actors roles. Here is another assumption (4), it is better to have roles determined by the market than by aid organizations. Following this, the market is more equitable because it deals with each actor based on their individual incentives, rather than a framework that is predetermined by outsiders and forced on individuals disregarding their unique needs and wants. Each individual can decide when to produce and when to pay, thus the assumption is that the best way to allow for agency is to reduce each individual to their consumption and production; the non-profit framework differs in that agency is non-existent and individuals are uniformly reduced to a count of 1 or 0.

The last important piece from Jim's interview is his discussion of empowering in relation to the flexibility of the company or organization. Empowering here is related to letting community members determine what role they want to play in the business, "I want a model that empowers entrepreneurs". The assumption is that these entrepreneurs need empowering. The company dictates what value added service they want to pay for, in this case distribution of clean water, and the community determines who does it and how they do it. Jim discusses how different communities had different distribution models they wanted, and the crucial characteristic of Jim's company that allowed this difference is being, "flexible enough to accommodate changes to our model". There is a direct relationship (2) between the empowerment of the community members and the flexibility of the business. The assumption (4) is that empowering community members to dictate what model works best for them makes business more successful, and thus makes projects more successful.

Interview with Thread

Thread is a for-profit company that is triple bottom line, meaning that it has a contract to have an environmental and social, as well as economic bottom line. Thread repeats the same basic assumptions that the other for-profits do, but they are worth repeating.

She states the most important guiding belief of Thread, one of course that Thread shares with the other for-profits, is that, "true economic development and opportunity is going to occur through solvent business practices and not through hand outs". She goes into a little detail as to why Thread believes this. She argues that a successful NGO puts

itself out of a job, thus they can only provide short-term solutions and can never generate true economic development because that requires longevity.

Like DLO Haiti, Thread sent its employees door to door to ask people what they would want and need, and if they would pay for these things. This is especially surprising because the end product of Thread is fabric made from recycled plastic that is sold in the United States. This implies (2) that Thread does not just ask Haitians what they value to try to make money off of them, but because they think any market-solution needs to understand the incentives of every actor at every level. Additionally in regards to interaction with community, she talks about quarterly meetings with the employees and executives, "Even though it is just—sometimes stuff that is beyond the control of like a program manager, it is still good to hear what is happening and what is really going on and what is bugging people, and so I think when people are given that space and asked these questions that they are not usually asked it is really beneficially". Here are some unsaid implications (2), that other organizations do not ask Haitian people what they think, and that asking these people for feedback is valuable to the success of the model. It implies that even though these employees are trained to do a job, they are seen as having unique and valuable individual assessments of their job that are not taught to them. The assumption is (4) that Haitian employee's opinions are not just the product of their training, but they are informed and bring knowledge external to this job. In Foucault's terms the assumption is the Haitian employees are both receivers of training and knowledge producers.

She also critiques NGOs for being beholden to donors, as a facet of that critiques NGOs for representing the success of the project by number of people helped. She recognizes that her company does this as well, but also adds that, "But it would be fascinating to also be able to quantify like here is how that has improved life for like this person or this family or this community". This acknowledgement shows that she considers impact as more than just number of jobs filled, but also what impact the jobs have on different groups and individuals. The assumption is that NGOs just ask how many people are affected, which not allow for different people to feel the impacts differently.

Lastly she discusses the flexibility of the model for the supply of plastic. She does not frame flexibility as an allowance that thread makes to empower people, but rather takes as the assumption that some people are already empowered, "how do you…. prepare for that? Because when you are dealing with a community you are dealing with so many different types of personalities and individuals and different wants and needs and desires. And like some people are going to want to be doctors or lawyers and other people are going to want nothing to do with that". This is an important formation, because here empowerment is not given or helped like it is for non-profits, and empowerment is not facilitated through flexibility, like it is for DLO Haiti. Instead the implication (2) is that people are empowered, they want to and are going to control their future, and that a successful business model accounts for this. This is the closest to a "new right", because while Jim alluded to the importance of empowerment he still assumes people are not empowered. In this interview empowerment is not given or facilitated, it is assumed that Haitians are empowered and that this must be accommodated. Her example is that some people now do recycling as a full time job, running a whole network of collectors, while others do it to supplement other income, her

example is a particular grandma who collects recycling to save for her 3 year old granddaughters college tuition.