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Humanitarian Adhocracy, Transnational New Apostolic Missions, and Evangelical Anti-Dependency in a Haitian Refugee Camp

Elizabeth McAlister

ABSTRACT: This article addresses religious responses to disaster by examining how one network of conservative evangelical Christians reacted to the Haiti earthquake and the humanitarian relief that followed. The charismatic Christian New Apostolic Reformation (or Spiritual Mapping movement) is a transnational network that created the conditions for post-earthquake, internally displaced Haitians to arrive at two positions that might seem contradictory. On one hand, Pentecostal Haitian refugees used the movement's conservative, right-wing theology to develop a punitive theodicy of the quake as God's punishment of a sinful nation. On the other hand, rather than resign themselves to victimhood and passivity, their strict moralism allowed these evangelical refugees to formulate an uncompromising critique of the Haitian government, the United Nations peacekeeping mission, and foreign humanitarian relief. They rejected material humanitarian aid when possible and developed a stance of Christian self-sufficiency, anti-foreign-aid, and anti-dependency. They accepted visits only from American missionaries with "spiritual," and not material, missions, and they launched their own missions to parts of Haiti unaffected by the quake.

KEYWORDS: Haiti, Haiti earthquake, anthropology of humanitarianism, religion and disaster, refugees, religion, Afro-Atlantic religion, transnationalism, Spiritual Warfare movement, New Apostolic Reformation

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The morning the earthquake hit, God told Pastor Yvette that something terrible was about to happen.¹ He commanded her to go home and stand in her closet and repent. Pastor Yvette led a church in downtown Port-au-Prince near the Cite Soleil slum, and on 12 January 2010 the congregation was thriving with over two thousand members. The congregation had converted Catholics, Freemasons, and Vodou practitioners, and even had saved gang members from the nearby slum. The church was part of a network of congregations throughout Haiti and beyond of like-minded charismatics, who believed that “spiritual” causes were at the root of human and material problems. The answer to any problem, including the entrenched poverty and political chaos in Haiti, was obedience to God. To dedicate one’s life to Jesus as a servant, to fight as a soldier of Christ against the devil, and to bring the gospel to others and spread revival as a missionary were not only part of the soteriology, but were means of salvation from human problems.

Pastor Yvette did as God told her and cut short her errands that afternoon. She went home, wrapped her hair in a scarf, opened her Bible and began to pray. She later told me that she “met the earthquake in prayer.” For thirty-five seconds the earth thrashed beneath her. By the time Pastor Yvette ran out of her house, she could hardly see the devastation unfolding on her street as a suffocating white dust descended upon the entire neighborhood. Bible in hand, she peered down the block and realized that all three stories of her concrete and plaster church had fallen in on themselves. Two hundred and fifty people had been inside setting up for a baptism. All had run out safely except for six, who had turned back to check on the others.

When the quake hit, Pastor John Flynn was in his house in a suburb of Chicago. A white, American, longtime missionary to Haiti, he felt that God had anointed him for the role of apostle. His mission was to minister to other pastors in Haiti and help bring revival to the country. Like Pastor Yvette, he understood Haiti’s economic, educational, medical, and political poverty to stem fundamentally from the root of “spiritual poverty.” Both Pastor Yvette and Flynn were part of the global network of charismatics in the New Apostolic Reformation,² and New Apostolics were being called to step up initiatives to spread the gospel on a global scale.

Two days after the quake, Flynn was on a donated Lear jet flying to the island to work as a translator for a television news crew with the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN). That same day, network founder Pat Robertson stated on his program, *The 700 Club*, that the Haiti quake had been the result of a colonial-era Haitian pact with Satan.³ Flynn shared Robertson’s opinion, but this was not his focus that week. He was helping reporters bring news of the suffering to Christian homes in the United States and beyond so that viewers could pray that lives would be turned to Christ and souls would be saved.



Photo 1. *Devastation in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, after the 2010 earthquake.*
Photo courtesy of Rev. John Flynn.

Flynn heard about a Pentecostal congregation that had lost its church building and many homes. Five hundred members of the church were camping on a soccer field. When he and the CBN crew arrived, a handsome, mature woman of short stature was preaching to the group. Although her own home had not been damaged, Pastor Yvette was sleeping on the field with her flock, who had been fasting, praying, and listening for God's instructions. Flynn felt they shared the bonds of kinship in Christ, and he began visiting them regularly to offer his encouragement, witness, and spiritual support.

Pastor Yvette's congregation was reeling from the catastrophe in which an estimated 300,000 people lost their lives. Some experts named the Haiti earthquake the worst disaster in the history of the Americas. The situation was dire: most government buildings had fallen, thousands of homes lay in rubble, and pipes for the capital city's water reservoir were nothing more than mangled bits of metal. Pastor Yvette's congregation would be swept up in this new phase of Haiti's history as the global humanitarian system mobilized.

This article focuses on relationships and exchanges of thought between Flynn's mission organization, God's Heart Ministries, based in the American Midwest, and Pastor Yvette's Pentecostal congregation's post-quake refugee encampment. Both belong to the conservative and

aggressive transnational network of charismatics called the New Apostolic Reformation. During fieldwork in Haiti, I asked how these evangelicals reacted to, and made sense of, the earthquake and the profound suffering it caused, including the congregation's displacement into a tent encampment, and how they responded to the humanitarian aid that flooded the country.

In this essay, I argue that the transnational New Apostolic movement is a social network that created the conditions for Haitian refugees to arrive at two positions that might seem contradictory. On one hand, newly displaced born-again Haitians used the movement's theology and moral discourse to make sense of the quake as God's punishment of a sinful nation whose church is divided, whose people worship demons, and whose government is corrupt. These church members are neither comforted nor persuaded by the geo-political, economic, and historical reasons that many experts gave for the destruction caused by the quake. Rather, like Pat Robertson and some other conservative Christians, the congregation's members located the meaning of their displacement in a punitive biblical framework in which God purifies his beloved church of sin through tests, punishment, and suffering.

On the other hand, despite their alliances with American evangelicals and agreement with some conservative American Christians that the quake was God's punishment, these Christian refugees warned each other against relying on American or other foreign aid. They accepted humanitarian aid selectively, rejected it when possible, and interpreted the aid they did accept as having been sent by God. Their strict moral order allowed the congregation to formulate an uncompromising critique of the Haitian government, the United Nations peacekeeping mission, and foreign humanitarian relief. They developed a stance of Christian self-sufficiency, anti-foreign-aid, and anti-dependency. Their critique of foreign aid and dependency mirrored the critique of humanitarian aid launched by both Haitian intellectuals and by Haitian and American anthropologists; however, the church members expressed it in a Christian moral register. Theirs is a local, evangelical, grassroots iteration of a similar critique that anthropologists have made of humanitarian aid and NGO involvement in the country, from a very different ideological site.

The radical emphasis on direct communication with God through prophecy, strict Christian holiness practices of purity, honesty, and daily discipline, and the unity of the church as the Body of Christ has allowed the congregation to function as a highly coherent mutual aid society. The evangelicals regard their survival in the camp, the sufferings they endure, and their (ideal of) rejection of humanitarian aid as evidence that they are the pure, beloved of God in the Body of Christ. The Haitian government, United Nations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), United States and even many of its Christian missionary groups are

unsaved, corrupt, and to be kept at a distance. In turn, they themselves send missionaries to other parts of Haiti, sometimes even to places not damaged by the earthquake. Their conservative Christian punitive theology combined with radical empowerment and action has contributed to this congregation's sense of strength, security, cooperation, and well-being, and has allowed the group to move unusually quickly through the three stages of refugee identity, articulated by anthropologist Michel Agier and elaborated below—destruction, confinement, and action. This congregation was able to move through their exodus of displacement and return to houses not after generations but within two years of the disaster, when 600,000 others were still living in camps.⁴

This case study examines the religious responses to disaster of one refugee congregation within a radical strand of evangelicalism that competes for influence throughout global circuits of Christian missions. It may present a counter-example to the more common partnerships between refugees and religious organizations that are institutional, focused on material aid, and participate in formal structures of governance. I offer critical leverage toward revisiting the limits and failures of humanitarianism through the study of a non-material mission and would-be “victims” who minimized their acceptance of humanitarian aid. Humanitarianism, its compassionate logics notwithstanding, is part of a system of unequal relations of power. The refugees in the church encampment were acutely aware of this relationship and ultimately rejected the victimhood thrust upon them by way of discourses about Christian morality and submission.⁵

INSTANT REFUGEE CRISIS AND HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE

In the thirty-five seconds it took for the earth under central Haiti to destroy lives and buildings, the country became a major site of emergency humanitarian relief. Experts estimated that a million and a half people instantly became homeless. Overnight, Haiti had a major population of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP), many of whom would come to refer to themselves as “refugees.” Displaced persons began living in public spaces and set themselves up in ad hoc encampments throughout the affected zones. Because the many NGOs already operating in Haiti also lost buildings, vehicles, and personnel who would ordinarily lead relief efforts, the humanitarian response had added layers of complexity. “Haiti has been an exceptional disaster, unlike any other disaster in recent humanitarian history,” offered the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).⁶ Most international relief organizations mobilized, and so many foreign organizations were trying to enter Haitian airspace that in the weeks after the

quake, coordination and logistics were a major problem. Every category of human survival was in crisis for millions, and OCHA activated a cluster system to parcel out necessities to organizations.⁷ There were different units in charge of Early Recovery, Protection, Camp Coordination and Management, Water Sanitation and Hygiene, Health, Emergency Shelter, Nutrition, Emergency Telecommunications, and Logistics.

Most major aid organizations had already been operating in Haiti, known as “the Republic of NGOs,” with the largest number of NGOs per capita of any nation. Haiti had been subject to devastating structural adjustment policies imposed by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund that only served to entrench its already severe poverty. For years before the earthquake, Haiti had been described as a “failed state” or an “apparent state”⁸ with a highly dysfunctional and unstable government listed as one of the most corrupt in the world.⁹ A dynamic described by one analyst as a “cold war” had developed between the NGO sector and the Haitian government, wherein multilateral agencies circumvented the government by funding the NGO sector. NGOs provided eighty percent of public services even before the quake. In turn, government officials developed an antipathy for NGOs, which often functioned with more funding and higher levels of training than government sectors, but with less input from Haitians themselves. In the agricultural, food security, and educational sectors, USAID even funded NGOs whose policies ran against priorities set by the Haitian government.¹⁰ The country was politically dysfunctional and ecologically unsound, and the majority of the population was neither literate nor employed. After political tumult in 2004, a “security force” called the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) became a militarized multinational presence throughout the country.

Physician-anthropologist and United Nations Special Envoy Paul Farmer called the earthquake an “acute-on-chronic” event.¹¹ The disaster deepened the divide between the Haitian government’s limited capacity to act and the foreign aid sector’s better and more visible ability to provide medical, food, and shelter relief. The quake destroyed nearly all the major government buildings in the Haitian capital and incapacitated an already weak infrastructure. Large multinational humanitarian relief organizations set up operations fueled by record-breaking donations from households throughout the Americas.¹² All major international humanitarian aid organizations were present in the Haiti quake zone, including the International Organization for Migration, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Save the Children, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), Oxfam, and the World Food Program. Many of the organizations were explicitly religious,

including Church World Service, World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, Samaritan's Purse, Jewish Distribution Committee, Islamic Relief Agency, and even the Church of Scientology.

Anthropologists have recently analyzed the ever-increasing scale of global humanitarian aid, its logics, and its contradictions. Michel Agier has written of humanitarian organizations that support refugee camps as "a globalized apparatus: a set of organizations, networks, agents, and financial means distributed across different countries and crisscrossing the world as they herald a universal cause."¹³ Didier Fassin has described the logic of "humanitarian reason" wherein a global moral community moves out of collective compassion to give succor to victims of war, disaster, or disease, but simultaneously enters into governing, controlling, and containing populations of vulnerable people.¹⁴ The refugee camp emerges as a kind of governance machine of biopower, a political power aimed at containing and controlling life. Agier characterizes the camps as a form of totalitarianism, with absolute power over life and death.¹⁵ This has resonance with the Haitian IDP camps in the sense that the shelter, water, food, and medical care—fundamental necessities for sustaining life—are given at the mercy of relief organizations. But the humanitarian machine is far from a well-oiled, regulated system of governance or even regular provider of basic services. Some Haitian IDP camps were "adopted" by specific NGOs, others by the Haitian government, and others received no aid whatsoever. Many camps developed committees of leaders while others did not. In some cases the leaders were established community leaders, while in other cases they were simply opportunists and self-appointed entrepreneurs who understood that NGOs were seeking to partner with "leaders." There was enormous variation in quality between camps. While some were fairly well organized, with latrines, lighting, water, clinics, and schools for children, other camps were completely ad hoc and received intermittent and unpredictable food aid or medical aid, if any at all. The Haitian case, with its overwhelming scale and profound need, is less of a totalitarian order than what Elizabeth Cullen Dunn terms an "ad hococracy," where humanitarian aid based on guesswork, failed coordination, and "satisficing" becomes "a form of power that creates chaos and vulnerability as much as it creates order."¹⁶ OCHA and numerous journalists and anthropologists decried the lack of coordination among aid organizations that hampered effective delivery of resources.¹⁷

A year after the quake, contracts for services such as potable water and sanitation began to run out in the camps, and only one-fifth of the camps had education, health care, or psychosocial facilities. Further, the Haitian government halted all food distribution in April 2011. Although NGO-managed camps were twice as likely to have services, people did not know which organizations did what or when deliveries or projects

would occur.¹⁸ Medical teams arrived to set up clinics for several days or weeks. Groups brought tarps, tents, building materials, food, water, and school supplies. In any case, the vast majority of people working or volunteering for foreign and local NGOs brought material aid to the IDP camps. It is a small minority that brought only the Word of God and centered their activities entirely on the idea of spiritual support and revival.

NEW APOSTOLIC MISSIONS AND “SPIRITUAL SUPPORT”

New Apostolic evangelical missions such as Pastor John Flynn’s, unlike most other Christian missions, are purposely *not* engaged in providing material support. Rather, these groups focus their attention on the evangelizing thrust of the Great Commission in the gospel of Matthew (28:16–20). Formulated in the 1980s by American and Argentinean pastors and theologians, the New Apostolic Reformation, also known as Spiritual Mapping, and the Apostolic-Prophetic Movement, has grown into a loose network of charismatic (evangelical and Pentecostal) Christians, who take an aggressive stance towards evangelizing and revival and promote the thought and rituals of spiritual warfare. The movement encompasses such well-known figures as television evangelist Benny Hinn, Reverend Franklin Graham of Samaritan’s Purse, Dr. Thomas Fortson of Promise Keepers, David Yonggi Cho of the Yoido Full Gospel Church in Seoul, Bishop Ezra Sargunam of the Evangelical Church of India, and many others.

Flynn, the apostle from God’s Heart Ministries, has continued his emphasis on spiritual support alone even since the quake, operating against the overwhelming current of both secular and faith-based organizations (FBOs) and their emphasis on material humanitarian aid. The main goal of God’s Heart Ministries is to help trigger an evangelical revival in Haiti. The mission entails working with a small number of dedicated Haitian pastors to support them in calling for repentance and “fanning the flames” of revival. Flynn travels to Haiti each month with small groups of missionaries. Flynn has identified understanding the spiritual cause of Haiti’s problems and “having a heart for revival” as the true solution for the troubled nation.

During his visits, Flynn prays and preaches with congregations such as Pastor Yvette’s, and his missionaries and their Haitian hosts engage in praise, worship, song, laying on of hands, and exchanging of prophecies. The missionaries do not donate monies, goods or gifts, nor do they join in physical labor or other “worldly” support (medical, education, building, translating, etc.). Rather, Flynn organizes conferences for pastors throughout the country and accepts the many invitations to participate in large-scale revivals in public parks or large churches,

where he sings and preaches his message of revival in Kreyòl (Haitian Creole).

Flynn has been inspired by the New Apostolic Reformation started by C. Peter Wagner (b. 1930), a “missions strategist” in the Department of Church Growth at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. Wagner taught that missionaries should focus on places where the government forbids Christian missions (as in Islamic countries), or where populations are Christianized but impoverished, subject to the vicissitudes of unstable governments, or prevented from prosperity and peace because of violence or war. In such places, the obstacle to progress was what he termed “demonic entrenchment,” a situation where ancestral spirits or deities, actually satanic demons, were the underlying causes of social ill. This approach to missions, called Spiritual Mapping, entails mapping social space to determine the presence of old relationships with deities or spirits, which in evangelical terms amount to “territorial demons,” working with satanic force to hold back the blessings of the Holy Spirit. Spiritual Mapping consists of reading histories and ethnographies of an area and using “spiritual discernment” to locate past (or present) sites where non-Christian forces have operated. The only true and lasting solution for “demonic entrenchment” is for Christian intercessors to cast out local territorial demons and pray for Christian revival.

Following the philosophy of Spiritual Mapping, Flynn’s mission was “to draw pastors, leaders, and Christians into a deeper experience of God’s presence in order to stir a unified hunger for revival and national transformation.” Consistent with the idea that indigenous religions are usually demonic, Flynn identifies Afro-Haitian religion as such. What is more, he subscribes to a new interpretation of Haitian history, in which a religious ceremony performed at the beginning of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) of slaves against their French masters is seen as inaugurating a “blood pact” with Satan.¹⁹ “We are to be one of the many servants He calls to serve Him in re-claiming a nation that has been dedicated to Satan for two hundred years.”²⁰ Flynn’s website, publications, and sermons to churches throughout the Midwest have been successful enough to encourage Americans who feel called to help spur revival in Haiti to donate to his cause. Financially, then, this mission of evangelization and revival is funded by American Christians who share the New Apostolic or Spiritual Mapping movement’s emphasis on spiritual mission over material aid; however the mission is a modest project in relative financial terms. Flynn has many partners throughout Haiti, and preaches in scores of churches and outdoor revivals. He finds the pastors in Haiti who also have hearts for revival and transformation. Amidst the chaos of the quake’s aftermath and outside of the humanitarian “adhocracy,” Flynn sits with them, prays, discusses, preaches, and encourages.

**PUNITIVE THEODICY, ANTI-DEPENDENCY,
AND ONE REFUGEE CHURCH**

I met Pastor Yvette and her congregation on the six-month anniversary of the quake when I traveled with Flynn to research the New Apostolic movement in Haiti. We drove from our missionary guesthouse in Flynn's white Nissan Pathfinder, a vehicle typical of NGO workers. We entered the encampment through an opening in the mammoth concrete wall separating the soccer field from the road. We stepped from the car into the blinding hot sun and breathed in air that was thick with the exhaust of United Nations peacekeeping tanks, dust swirling up from the road, smoke of the charcoal cook fires, and the sour odor of sewage wafting from giant latrines along one side of the field.

The congregation's members warmly received us in the temporary worship area they had built in their half of the camp. Pastor Yvette had claimed a long open space after the quake, and worked to clear any demonic forces in order to dedicate it to God for prayer services. Two-by-fours held up an enormous tarp serving as a roof. The people had arranged the rest of the soccer field in rows and rows of small tents, lean-tos, or sheets strung up with twine. Pathways led through the rows in an orderly sort of maze, with bare spaces on the camp's edges for tethered goats. The whole life of a small neighborhood unfolded each day on that field; people rose, bathed skillfully out of single buckets of water, cooked what they had over charcoal braziers, tended to children, went out to seek work or business, and returned with whatever small gain they might have procured that day. Some people set up businesses right in the camp; it was possible to buy cooked food, mobile telephone minutes, and other items. However, many more languished with nothing to do, having lost their means of support in the disaster.

After the earthquake, like millions around them, the congregation's members were faced with the startling prospect of their new identities as refugees, or in legal terms "Internally Displaced Persons." They suffered through "the stage of destruction," the first of what anthropologist Michel Agier has identified as the three stages of refugee identity. After years of working among refugees in various parts of the world, Agier has charted out the pattern of exodus:

an experience whose meaning appears more clearly if we approach it in three stages—the founding moments of a new kind of wandering life. First of all, the stage of destruction—land, houses and towns ravaged by war, as well as the broken trajectories of lives and the irreducible mark of physical and moral wounds. . . . Then that of confinement. . . . Finally, the moment of action, still uncertain and hesitant; the search for a right to life and speech. . . .²¹



Photo 2. *The congregation camps under sheets and tarps in the weeks after the earthquake. Photo courtesy of Rev. John Flynn.*

By the time I met Pastor Yvette and her congregation, they had moved from the phase of destruction to the phase of confinement. As in other camps around the world, they were facing “months of waiting, years or whole life-cycles spent in transit on the fringes of cities or in camps. . . .”²² While Flynn and I could come and go from the camp to the guesthouse and from there by plane to almost any country we liked, the people in Pastor Yvette’s church were stuck on the field because they had nowhere else to go. Many had lost any identity papers they might have had, and only a few had ever had passports, let alone the prized visa allowing them to leave Haiti. Though they had survived the quake, they were at the bottom of what Ronen Shamir describes as a new global regime of mobility, wherein the “differential ability to move in space . . . has become a major stratifying force in the global social hierarchy.” In an age when some groups are transnational, cosmopolitan, and highly mobile, others, like refugees, live lives characterized by “processes of closure, entrapment, and containment.”²³ Even though the people living in encampments had survived the quake, they remained “unscaped”²⁴ as displaced persons in their own nation, effectively without citizenship or rights. They were Fanon’s *damnés de la terre*, or Agamben’s “bare life,”²⁵ living at the mercy of the biopolitical system of humanitarian “ad hococracy.”

Humanitarian relief had certainly helped the encampment. The camp was officially under the auspices of the Haitian Red Cross, which delivered a large bladder of potable water and set up the latrines that

made the soccer field more livable than the approximately 40 percent of camps in the capital without any water supply and 30 percent without toilets.²⁶ Women's groups had worked to provide small solar lanterns that converted into flashlights for personal use in an effort to curb the rising rates of rape throughout the camps.²⁷ Pastor Yvette, whose congregation had availed themselves of tarps from USAID and tents from other humanitarian groups, was especially pleased with the solar lanterns and demonstrated to us that they also featured a plug with which to charge a telephone. The congregation accepted humanitarian aid selectively, but were wary of it, as we will see below. They did not like the implications of receiving aid—that the church members were victims and depended on other, unsaved people, for survival.

Agier points out that in the logic of the humanitarian system, “the only status acceptable in the camps, and even decreed, is that of victim. . . . These wandering and waiting beings no longer have anything but their ‘bare lives,’ the maintenance of which depends on humanitarian aid.”²⁸ One could see this logic of passive victimhood bearing down on the people in the camp, especially those who were not part of Pastor Yvette's church. Nothing was possible without outside aid: not shelter, not a bucket of water. The church members, by comparison, were anything but passive: they were quite active in camp governance. They formed committees to communicate with the Red Cross, and the men set up vigilance brigades to patrol the camp after dark and provide security against robberies and sexual assaults. They related numerous occasions on which they caught predators trying to attack people in their tents or attempting to snatch children from the paths. Often, they said, the predators were supernatural, *lougarou* who wanted to consume the energies of the children. But even as they told me about the patrols, they attributed their safety to God. “God gives us security,” said Pastor Yvette.

The congregation functioned as a tightly knit mutual-aid society whose members supported one another in every way one might imagine. They had, as they said, “put themselves under the authority” of Pastor Yvette. Said one former gang member from the slum of Cite Soleil, “She is our mother and our father. Even if we go to her tent at 2:30 at night she will wake up with us and help resolve our problem.” This Pentecostal congregation followed strict codes of holiness: daily prayer, Bible reading, obedience to the pastor, cooperation and sharing among church members, abstaining from non-Christian (unmarried, homosexual) sexual relations, birth control, gambling, drinking, secular dance, dishonesty and, for women, wearing make-up, jewelry, or false hair. Within the first few hours of meeting them, it was clear to me that members of the congregation did not believe they were victims. They repeatedly described themselves and each other as God's servants and soldiers. When I asked how it was to live in the camp after having lost their houses and often loved ones, not a single person complained. *Nou tre byen, wi,*



Photo 3. A tarp, salvaged church pews, and a sidewalk become a sanctuary for prayer in the weeks after the earthquake. Photo courtesy of Rev. John Flynn.

avek Jezu (We are very well, here with Jesus), the reply usually came cheerfully, assuredly. Uncomfortable just sitting in the heat and dust, smells and buzzing flies, I marveled at their good cheer.

The congregation adhered to a totalizing *nomos*, or meaningful order. Like others in the New Apostolic network, they lived as Christian maximalists, meaning that religion permeated all aspects of their existence.²⁹ For them, the Bible held the sum total of knowledge necessary to make sense of life and death. They regarded the Bible as the inerrant word of God, and placed great significance on the Pentecost event, described in the Acts of the Apostles (2:4) as the moment the Holy Spirit poured down onto Jesus' apostles and they "spoke in other tongues." They believed that those baptized in the Spirit may manifest "spiritual gifts" such as prophesy, visions, healing, and other miracles. Among the members of the congregation was a circle of twelve prophets—eleven women and one man—who prayed and prophesied together early each Friday morning.

Flynn and I were privy to the theodicy of Pastor Yvette's prophets: the disaster was God's divine justice punishing Haiti for its sins. The church received this revelation explicitly when the prophet Sister Rose spoke "in the Spirit" to a small group of assembled worshipers. Making pronouncements in the first person, Sister Rose as the Holy Spirit spoke of

the earthquake as a judgment on a disobedient nation, but the church here in the camp would be safe and protected. “I alone am keeping you alive and I am leading you,” said the Holy Spirit-Prophet. “If you choose me I will choose you. If you glorify me I will glorify you.” Sister Amanda, who had fallen and blacked out during the quake, had lost her leg. The prophet bent over Sister Amanda, who still had bandages wrapped at the end of the amputated leg. “I could have let you die but I only took your leg. That is my mercy and my judgment.” Although this God had devastated the nation, the neighborhood, and their church building, and had claimed life and limb, the only possible response was total obedience to His will.

We spoke often about God’s relationship to Haiti. Pastor Yvette agreed with Flynn and Pat Robertson that Haiti’s problems had a spiritual cause. She subscribed to the idea that revolutionaries had made a pact with the devil in order to free themselves from the French, but like Flynn she put most of the blame on Christians themselves. While the root cause of Haiti’s problems was the “blood pact,” the current disunity in the church—quarrels, gossip, and divisions among the saved—was also to blame. She also felt God was angry at Haiti for the corruption of its government.

Negative Religious Coping

The idea that disaster is divine punishment is an expression of what psychologists call “negative religious coping,” which blames victims for their own suffering.³⁰ Research shows that those who use negative religious coping are often biblical literalists who subscribe to a deuteronomistic view of history.³¹ In Deuteronomy, God demands strict obedience and sends disasters and curses in punitive judgment against those who do not obey the commandments. Some argue that negative religious coping leads directly to worse mental health over time, but studies show that even negative religious coping is more beneficial to people than believing that nothing and no one is in control. This biblical interpretation is a certain one, and certainty is preferable to ambiguity for many victims of disasters.³² It seemed to be a deep comfort for evangelical Haitians living in tent encampments, where life was uncertain and subject to humanitarian “ad hoc”.

For the New Apostolic Haitians and their American missionary, God was in control, and the only requirement for His church was to repent and obey. This high investment in faith guided the interpretations and responses of members of Pastor Yvette’s congregation. The burden was on them as born-again Christians to repent for the sins of the nation and divisions within the Church. Said Pastor John in his word to the congregation, “We need God’s people to humble themselves and enter into

repentance on behalf of the church and the nation! Then will God Himself show up; His heart will overflow into the nation, and we will all stand back and marvel at what the Lord Himself is clearly doing. This is revival! Hallelujah!” The congregation erupted with applause, praise, and loud Amens.

The same conservative, moralizing theodicy in which the quake was seen as God’s punishment for a sinful nation also gave rise to the congregation’s moral stance against humanitarian aid. Pastor Yvette and her Haitian pastor colleagues took issue with both the Haitian government and foreign aid, because aid was being distributed by people who were unsaved, impure, and corrupt. In the estimation of Pastor Yvette and her circle of pastors, they themselves were an iteration of the true Body of Christ and must follow the continual, near-daily revelation God gave them through the Holy Spirit. According to Pastor Yvette, God told her that the church members should not compromise their dignity for aid. Instead, God sent help to the church directly:

God commanded us not to stand in any lines for food. I went one time to see what was happening; they were giving out tickets and people were coming back the next day for the rice. It was a mess. People were shoving and yelling. They wanted to take my name and address but I refused and left. God commanded us not to line up for food. He sent people directly to us for food.

Said the prophet Sister Rosa, “Some days, I don’t know where my food is coming from. I am out of food, and I have used the last rice I had. On those days I pray and trust in God. Someone comes to me and gives me rice, gives me food.” Living in uncertainty and poverty in the aftermath of the quake, members of the congregation developed a radical orientation of faithful survival and dignity where they were “living in the hand of God.” They repeatedly told me “we live by faith.”

The question of food aid has become a complex one in Haiti. It is true that food aid has sustained displaced populations, and it was life-saving in the months after the quake; however, so much free rice has reduced retail prices of grain products and made an already-collapsed rice-growing industry even less profitable. Oxfam issued a post-quake report critiquing the lack of support given to revitalizing domestic production and stating, “the aid architecture and organizational structures generally proposed by international organizations are for the most part not grafted onto Haiti’s traditional structures and have therefore weakened the socioeconomic organizations and structures that should have been tasked in this new phase.”³³ What results is a scarcity of rice and other grains historically grown within Haiti, and this scarcity gives rise to the need for food aid deliveries and the scenarios of indignity that Pastor Yvette described.

Pastor Yvette and the other pastors had developed a stance of Christian self-sufficiency and Haitian “defensive nationalism” as a response to the humanitarian aid pouring into their country. Her critique included not just the indignities of receiving aid, but also the profit-making and even profiteering that she perceived many foreign relief workers to be engaged in. She explained how her congregation handled a foreign contractor’s offer to clear the rubble that had been their church:

Our church was totally collapsed flat. We waited for months for help in clearing the rubble. One day a *blanc* [foreigner] just like you came to me and said his company could clear the rubble for eighty thousand dollars. “What eighty thousand dollars?” I said. Where would I get eighty thousand dollars? He came back a couple of weeks later and said he could do it for forty thousand dollars. “What forty thousand dollars?” I said. God told me that the people could clear the rubble. God told us which week to reserve and set aside. He told the church to come to the [church] courtyard, that everybody would come and help clear the rubble, and do what they could. Every man and woman who could walk and lift something came that week. We had twelve hundred people, men and women; everybody lifted some concrete and took it away. In one week we cleared all the rubble and cleaned up the site. We were our own forty thousand dollars.

By cutting its initial bid in half, the demolition company revealed itself to be excessively profit-seeking, and this was a discouraging experience for the displaced church members. The twin moments of a foreign company asking for a large sum of money and the congregation forming a work party to clear the rubble themselves became a parable about the potential corruption of foreign involvement and the power of Christian self-sufficiency.

Pastor Yvette and her pastor colleagues had developed a logic consistent with that of Haitian activists and anthropologists working in Haiti who were documenting a pattern of “disaster capitalism,” where private firms profited from cleaning up and rebuilding after disaster, often through no-bid contracts. Out of the \$200 million in relief and reconstruction contracts USAID issued for Haiti’s reconstruction during the first eighteen months, only 2.5 percent went to Haitian firms. The vast majority of organizations contracted for demolition and reconstruction were American, so the monies—estimated at 93 percent—of USAID funds went back to the United States.³⁴ The United States ambassador wrote in a report to Washington one month after the quake, “THE GOLD RUSH IS ON! [...] As Haiti digs out from the earthquake, different companies are moving in to sell their concepts, products and services.”³⁵ Subsequent lawsuits revealed the way reconstruction was effected through Americans seeking profit when, in one example, the

American USAID “unified relief and response coordinator” in the weeks after the quake sued a Florida-based disaster recovery company for \$500,000 dollars in “consulting services” nine months later.³⁶ From the highest level of international public-private reconstruction planning, down to the instance of clearing the rubble of one church, many who were helping Haiti recover from the disaster were also helping themselves through high profits.

God had told Pastor Yvette that the Body of Christ would rebuild His church without outside help. She related this to the congregation and, little by little, church members began to rebuild. Using donated cement and other materials, skilled tile layers, carpenters, electricians, and window installers in the congregation came forward to rebuild the church. By the summer of 2011, a spacious, simple one-story building with a metal roof stood on the site of the old three-story church.

In the view of the New Apostolic pastors, outside aid had become a curse instead of a blessing to many Haitians, who had become so dependent on foreign aid they had lost the habit of doing things for themselves. Her colleague Pastor Jacques during a guest sermon in Pastor Yvette’s church preached, “The donations of the *blanc* are putting the country back together. Everybody is waiting for the *blanc* to fix their building. Our hope is in God and his promise. We are not waiting for the *blanc* but for God.” In his view, Haitians were in many cases perfectly able to clear rubble, rebuild houses, or set up institutions (such as schools and clinics) for themselves, yet they had forfeited their agency to the foreign development groups who had become such a major presence in the country. Church leaders may or may not have been aware of a statement issued by forty popular Haitian organizations on 1 April 1 2011 stating, “The structures of domination and dependence have been reproduced and reinforced by the constellation of agencies including [the United Nations], the IHRC and large international NGOs.”³⁷ Leaders of those organizations took a position that accorded with analyses of Haiti’s structural dependency by anthropologists and political scientists arguing that NGOs function as political agents in a neoliberal capitalist regime and their effect is to divert locals away from collective political organization and towards micro-enterprise and other projects in accord with American hegemony.³⁸ The Haitian pastors in the New Apostolic Reformation probably do not share the political-economic analysis of neoliberalism; however, they agree that the foreign involvement in Haiti is creating dependency and inhibiting Haitians from determining their destinies. During one sermon Pastor Jacques looked approvingly at Flynn and me, sitting toward the front of the newly rebuilt sanctuary. “That’s why we like Pastor John,” he said. “We know he does not have any money. He does not try to come and buy us and do things for us. He comes to the Body of Christ to share the word of God.” The church erupted with applause for Flynn and his simple message of revival.

While capital is not a primary object of transaction between Flynn's mission and Pastor Yvette's church, they nevertheless have built a social circuit of mutual influence and symbiotic financial benefit. Monies raised by Flynn enable him to operate his ministry to travel to Haiti, maintain his website, and communicate with other evangelicals throughout the world. In turn, Pastor Yvette, her congregation, and her pastor colleagues benefit from his visits (as they also benefit from visits by Haitian pastors), which enrich them through sermons and fellowship, inspiration, and the cultural capital of being known to be in international networks. The object of their transactions is intangible; it is in the exchanges and communal rituals of prayer, fellowship, prophesy, and healing that reciprocity takes place. Money, the love of which is thought to be the root of all evil, is kept discretely out of the center of attention, and material aid is not given or received as such.

Certain that it was not God's wish that they engage in giving and receiving material aid, Pastor Yvette, Flynn, and their network of pastors shared an analysis of Haiti's dependent position in the hemispheric political economy, of the Haitian government's dysfunction and corruption, of the dependency created by relief aid, and of the disparity in wages between foreign NGO workers and the average Haitian they were there to help. They related to me numerous anecdotes in which a foreign aid worker or agent of official reconstruction had failed to deliver on a promise, engaged in corruption, or proposed an exploitative deal to the congregation. They echoed the critiques of NGO programs suggesting that NGO workers, even when aware their programs were not improving conditions, continued to perform the work of the NGO because it provided them with good salaries and lifestyles, either in Haiti or in their home countries, or even kickbacks or bribes.³⁹ Said Pastor Yvette tellingly, "I refuse to let them use me to *blanchi kob* (launder money)."

ACTION AND MORAL ORDER WITHIN A REGIME OF CONTAINMENT

Despite their status as "victims" and even in light of their submission to the will of God, the attitude of Pastor Yvette's congregation was not one of quiet resignation. By the eighteen-month anniversary of the disaster, they had entered Agier's third phase of refugee identity, "the moment of action . . . the search for a right to life and speech. . . ." In fact, church members were active missionaries who perceived themselves as being true Christians capable of carrying out spiritual missions. Said one prophet, who noted that foreigners who came to help them often seemed to be unsaved and corrupt, "The *blanc* need help too; they're unclean. Our bank account is Jesus, it's not the *blanc*."

Pastor Yvette's congregation and the congregations in its network take their Christian self-sufficiency and anti-foreign aid stance beyond the moral rejection of material aid; they also participate in ongoing missions and did so even when they lived in the tent camp. They travel in groups to other parts of Haiti. In one such instance, the church's nurse, Sister Nadine, left her tent and went to stay in the Central Plateau to pray and nurse the sick there, even though that region had not sustained quake damage. One hundred and twenty members went to stay near a hospital in the countryside to evangelize, hold revival prayer and song meetings, pray for healing of the sick, and cast out local demons. For six days they were hosted by a local church in their network, given beds and three meals each day. Returning to Port-au-Prince, they considered their mission a great success, and said they had cured several people, converted others, and purified the land for Jesus. They distinguished their mission work from humanitarian aid that foreigners bring to Haiti. "As missionaries we give Christ's product, not something that would disorient them, something un-Christ-like." Ultimately, the network of charismatics envisions an evangelical Christian Haiti where revival has transformed the nation and "God's people possess His land."⁴⁰

It bears asking how hundreds of people living in an Internal Displacement Camp could possibly have resources that would allow them to refuse food aid, rebuild their own rudimentary church building, and engage in missions to help others. Unlike most refugee camps for people outside their country of origin, these Haitian refugees live near their original houses alongside others in their neighborhood. This allows many of them to continue both informal and formal economic relationships from before the quake. A minority of the congregation is formally employed in some capacity, either as nurses, teachers, or laborers with partial employment. Others are traders or market women in the informal economy that comprises a large share of the Haitian economy. Additionally, following statistics for Haitians generally, many in the congregation, probably as many as half, receive remittances from family members living outside of Haiti in the Haitian diaspora in the Bahamas, Miami, New York, Boston, Montreal, and beyond. Also, contributions that the wider network receives from churches where Flynn preaches are distributed to places of need within the network. What small monies some members have access to, they share with others in the congregation. In this way the congregation is a mutual-aid society, in a position to refuse selectively some of the aid they might be offered by the "ad hoc" of humanitarian agencies. These networks also constitute a kind of rival "ad hoc," but the church members perceive their benefits as coming from God.

In proclaiming that God provides for their every need as a result of their "living by faith," church members are able to "erase the hand of

institutional or human mediation” by using biblical language. They focus attention and discourse on the hand of God as their sole provider.⁴¹ If we look carefully, we can see that the discourse concerning God’s blessings indexes a wide social network of relations—family members in other countries, other members of the church’s network, or, in the case of members who patrolled the camp and rebuilt the church, the church members themselves. By attributing God as the source of material necessities such as food, money, and medical care, the group calls into being a totalizing moral order, which they then claim acts back on them through a beneficent God. The group claims moral superiority over unsaved Haitians, their government, and the entire machine of humanitarian relief. Their conservative theology allows them to form an “explicit moral commentary about their exclusion,” as Paul Brodwin found among evangelical Haitians in Guadeloupe.⁴² Their discursive stance of Christian self-sufficiency allows them to formulate a critique, and disavowal, of their outsider, refugee and victim status. As Stephen Selka found among the Pentecostal Brazilian poor, moral discourse also encompasses a commitment to saving others who suffer in their own country.⁴³

CONCLUSION

After visiting with Flynn’s missionaries, attending Pastor Yvette’s church and prophetic prayer group, interviewing many of them, and conversing about the dire situation in Haiti, I became aware of the complexities of their worldview. Hearing that they agreed with some conservative American Christians that God was punishing Haiti, I initially imagined a group of defeated victims who must feel they deserve to suffer and be ready to take direction from Americans and other foreign organizations. And yet, I learned that their punitive theodicy and negative religious coping constituted a platform upon which they built a strong foundation of faith, a high-functioning mutual-aid society, and an empowering socio-theological position of self-sufficiency. Expecting to meet with grim and dejected victims of the quake and of an angry God, I encountered instead a cheerful congregation speaking constantly about the joy of serving Jesus. Amazingly, the congregation was conducting missions from their own tents, to serve others whom they saw as being more in need than themselves.

I do not mean to paint an overly heroic portrait of this Haitian congregation. Surely they have disagreements, conflicts, and more than their fair share of difficulties. I have not investigated ways in which victims, such as Sister Amanda who lost her leg, experienced being told their hardship was God’s judgment. I have not explored those who might have left the congregation or been dissatisfied with it (nor did

I meet such people). I did find members of a social network that strategically combined an in-group ethos of cooperation and obedience with a selective reliance on outside resources, such as family abroad, charitable donations, and the like. Theirs was a creative, hyper-Christian worldview where all resources were converted into goods sent by God, even the remittances sent by family and whatever humanitarian aid they did accept. In this way they attributed material gain, healing, and positive progress to their status as the servants of Christ, and they confronted suffering as a purifying test meant to strengthen their faith. I saw that these strategies enabled them to move relatively quickly through the three stages of refugee identity articulated by anthropologist Michel Agier: destruction, confinement, and action. Everyone in the congregation has found housing and moved out of their tents and off the soccer field.

Many researchers examining the relationships between refugees and missionaries focus on refugees' interactions with Christian institutions, such as relief agencies and humanitarian aid organizations. This case study has examined missionaries and refugees who deliberately interact outside of institutionalized material aid structures, where American evangelical Christian missionaries' theology rejects material aid in favor of spiritual succor, and where Haitian refugees in tent camps, in turn, selectively refuse material aid in favor of a discourse of self-sufficiency and total faith in God. Mirroring in interesting ways the recent critiques of humanitarian aid that point to problems of dependency, NGOs undermining government and ignoring communities "on the ground," and the disparities between foreign and nationals' NGO workers' wages, Haitian New Apostolic evangelicals have avoided debilitating dependency on NGOs through an exclusive and obedient dependency on Jesus. As a result, Haitian congregations allied with New Apostolics abroad reject partnerships with foreign organizations or missionaries that involve material aid, and themselves send missionaries to other parts of Haiti where God instructs them to go.

This essay is dedicated to the memory of the six members of Pastor Yvette's congregation who died in their church, trying to save others, during the earthquake.

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ENDNOTES

¹ The names of people and small-scale organizations have been changed to protect their privacy and security. All information and quotes were given to me in interviews with Pastor John Flynn and Pastor Yvette and her congregants in Port-au-Prince during the summers of 2010 and 2011.

² Other names for the movement include the Third Wave Evangelical Movement, Spiritual Mapping/Spiritual Warfare Movement, Apostolic-Prophetic Movement, and Revival Movement. See also Elizabeth McAlister, "Globalization and the Religious Production of Space," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44, no. 3 (September 2005): 249–55.

³ See Elizabeth McAlister, "From Slave Revolt to a Blood Pact with Satan: The Evangelical Rewriting of Haitian History," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 41, no. 2 (2012): 187–215.

⁴ Mark Schuller, "Cholera and the Camps: Reaping the Republic of NGOs," York College, City University of New York, and Faculté d'Ethnologie, Université d'Etat d'Haïti, unpublished report.

⁵ For an analysis of how humanitarian processes transformed activists into people who identified as victims, see Erica Caple James, *Democratic Insecurities: Violence, Trauma, and Intervention in Haiti* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

⁶ Abhijit Bhattacharjee and Roberta Lossio, "Evaluation of OCHA [Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs] Response to the Haiti Earthquake," Final Report, January 2011, 9. Available at <<http://ochanet.unocha.org/p/Documents/Evaluation%20of%20OCHA%20Response%20to%20the%20Haiti%20Earthquake.pdf>>.

⁷ The cluster system was started in 2005 in response to the Indian Ocean tsunami and to the genocide in Darfur.

⁸ Nina Glick-Schiller and Georges Eugene Fouron, *Georges Woke up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 214.

⁹ Mark Schuller, "Deconstructing the Disaster after the Disaster," in *Capitalizing on Catastrophe: Neoliberal Strategies in Disaster Reconstruction*, ed. Nandini Gunewardena and Mark Schuller (Lanham, Md.: Altamira Press, 2007), 68.

¹⁰ Schuller, "Deconstructing the Disaster," 73.

¹¹ Paul Farmer, *Haiti: After the Earthquake* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), 3.

¹² Elizabeth McAlister, "Soundscapes of Disaster and Humanitarianism: Survival Singing, Relief Telethons, and the Haiti Earthquake," *Small Axe* 39 (November 2012): 22–38.

¹³ Michel Agier, "Humanity as an Identity and Its Political Effects: A Note on Camps and Humanitarian Government," *Humanity* 1, no. 1 (2010): 32.

¹⁴ Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 1–13.

¹⁵ Agier, "Humanity as an Identity," 33. He uses the concept of biopower coined by Michel Foucault in *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1978), 140.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Cullen Dunn, “The Chaos of Humanitarian Aid: Adhocracy in the Republic of Georgia,” *Humanity* 1, no. 1 (2012): 2. “Satisficing” is a term used by organizational psychologists for situations where decision-making aims to meet an acceptable, rather than optimal, threshold. For more on the term “adhocracy” see Bob Travica, *New Organizational Designs: Information Aspects* (Stamford, Conn.: Ablex Publishing, 1999).

¹⁷ Pierre Minn, “The Coordination and Un-Coordination of International Medical Aid in Haiti,” *Somatosphere: Science, Medicine, and Anthropology*, 13 March 2010, at <<http://somatosphere.net/2010/03/coordination-and-un-coordination-of.html>>.

¹⁸ Schuller, “Cholera and the Camps.”

¹⁹ I have written at length about this mythmaking in McAlister, “From Slave Revolt to a Blood Pact with Satan.” An American missionary to Haiti worked out the theory of the “blood pact” and convinced a minority of Haitian pastors of it, some of whom added details of their own.

²⁰ God’s Heart Ministries pamphlet.

²¹ Michel Agier, *On the Margins of the World: The Refugee Experience Today* (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2008), 3–4.

²² Agier, *On the Margins of the World*, 4.

²³ Ronen Shamir, “Without Borders? Notes on Globalization as a Mobility Regime,” *Sociological Theory* 23, no. 2 (2005): 199–200.

²⁴ Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods, “No One Knows the Mysteries at the Bottom of the Ocean,” in *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, ed. Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2007), 2.

²⁵ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1961); Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

²⁶ Mark Schuller, “Unstable Foundations: NGOs and Human Rights for Port-Au-Prince’s Internally Displaced People,” in *Tectonic Shifts: Haiti since the Earthquake*, ed. Mark Schuller and Pablo Morales (Sterling, Va.: Kumarian Press, 2012), 119.

²⁷ MADRE, CUNY School of Law, BAL, IJDH, and Lisa Davis, “Our Bodies Are Still Trembling: Haitian Women Fight Rape,” in Schuller and Morales, *Tectonic Shifts*, 157.

²⁸ Agier, *On the Margins of the World*, 49.

²⁹ Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 5.

³⁰ Harold G. Koenig, *In the Wake of Disaster: Religious Responses to Terrorism and Catastrophe* (Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press, 2006), 31–33.

³¹ Catherine Wessinger, “Religious Responses to the Katrina Disaster in New Orleans and the American Gulf Coast,” *Journal of Religious Studies* (Japanese Association for Religious Studies), 86–2, no. 373 (September 2012): 53–83, in Japanese. English version is available on Religious Responses to Katrina and Rita website, <<http://www.loyno.edu/~rrkr>>.

³² Harold G. Koenig, *In the Wake of Disaster*, 31–33.

³³ Yvette Etienne, "Haiti and Catastrophes: Lessons Not Learned," in Schuller and Morales, *Tectonic Shifts*, 30.

³⁴ Schuller and Morales, "Disaster Capitalism," in Schuller and Morales, *Tectonic Shifts*, 76.

³⁵ Ansel Herz and Kim Ives, "After the Quake, A 'Gold Rush' For Haiti Contracts," in Schuller and Morales, *Tectonic Shifts*, 77.

³⁶ Herz and Ives, "After the Quake," 77.

³⁷ Groupe d'Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés, "Haitian Social Organizations Demand the Dissolution of Reconstruction Commission," 31 March 2011, at <http://www.papda.org/article.php?id_article=751>. This website is in French.

³⁸ See for example Kevin Edmonds, "Beyond Good Intentions: The Structural Limitations of NGOs in Haiti," *Critical Sociology* (published online 3 April 2012): 1–14, available at <<http://crs.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/04/03/0896920512437053>>; and Sauveur Pierre Etienne, *Haiti: L'Invasion des ONG* (Port-au-Prince: Centre de Recherche Sociale et de Formation Economique pour le Développement, 1977).

³⁹ See Timothy T. Schwartz, *Travesty in Haiti: A True Account of Christian Missions, Orphanages, Food Aid, Fraud and Drug Trafficking* (Charleston, S.C.: BookSurge Publishing, 2008).

⁴⁰ Elizabeth McAlister, "Possessing the Land for Jesus," in *Spirited Things: The Work Of "Possession" in Black Atlantic Religions*, ed. Paul C. Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming). For work on the post-quake politics of religion in the city of Léogâne, see Karen Richman, "Religion at the Epicenter: Agency and Affiliation in Léogâne after the Earthquake," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 41, no. 2 (June 2012): 148–65.

⁴¹ Jin-heon Jung, "Born-Again God's Warrior: North Korean Refugees' Narration of 'Christian Passage,'" in *Refugees, Migrants, and Religious Communities*, ed. Alexander Horstmann and Jin-Heon Jung (Göttingen: Max Planck Institute, forthcoming).

⁴² Paul Brodwin, "Pentecostalism in Translation: Religion and the Production of Community in the Haitian Diaspora," *American Ethnologist* 30, no.1 (2003): 90.

⁴³ Stephen Selka, "Morality in the Religious Marketplace: Evangelical Christianity, Candomblé, and the Struggle for Moral Distinction in Brazil," *American Ethnologist* 37, no. 2 (2010): 304.