LUND UNIVERSITY

Lund University Master of International Development and Management (LUMID)

Master's Thesis

May 2012

Developing the Kingdom of God or the Kingdom of Cambodia? The Gray Area between Ministry and Development:

Evangelical Missionaries in Cambodia and the Synthesis of Social Services and Evangelism in Practice

Author: Erica Schroeder

Advisor: Kristina Jönsson

Abstract

Evangelical missionaries in Cambodia have a dual role as religious actor and development actor. This hybrid identity poses conceptual challenges for development actors, beneficiaries, and even missionaries themselves-- are they doing ministry or are they doing development? Through field observations and interviews in Phnom Penh with evangelical missionaries, this thesis examines how evangelism and social services are synthesized in practice. It argues that evangelical missionary engagement with social services is dually shaped by the unique worldview of evangelical Christians and by the informal status of evangelical missionaries within the formal development sector. These two forces give rise to value-laden social services, which have potential implications for beneficiaries, and even possibly, the broader development sector. This thesis ultimately seeks to progress empirical and conceptual understanding of the nature of evangelical missionary engagement with social services, with particular concern for the debates surrounding proselytism.

Keywords: religion; development; evangelical; missionaries; faith-based organizations; Christian; social services; Cambodia

CONTENTS

Abstract **1**

Abbreviations **4**

1. Introduction **5**

1.1 Evangelical Missionaries in the Cambodian Development Space 5

1.2 Purpose and Rationale of this Study 6

1.3 Research Questions 7

1.4 The Case of Cambodia 7

1.5 Delimitations 9

1.6 Definitions 10

2. Background **11**

2.1 History of Christian Missionaries in the Developing World 11

2.2 Religious Actors in Development 12

3. Analytical Framework **14**

3.1 Evangelicals and their Worldview 14

3.1.1 Evangelistic-Humanitarianism 15

3.1.2 Christian Compassion as a Driving Force 16

3.2 Institutional Theory and the Formal Development Field 17

3.3 The Proselytism Debate 19

3.4 Bridging the Conceptual Framework to the Analysis 20

4. Research Methods **21**

4.1 Qualitative Research Strategy 21

4.2 Epistemological and Ontological Lenses 21

4.3 Data Collection 21

4.4 Data Analysis 22

4.5 Quality Considerations 24

4.6 Ethical Considerations 24

5. Results and Analysis **24**

5.1 Evangelical Missionary Engagement with Social Services in Practice 25

5.1.1 Synthesizing the Evangelical Worldview with Social Services ... 25
5.1.2 Evangelical Missionaries in Relation to the Formal Development Arena ... 31
5.1.3 Summary ... 35
5.2 Potential Implications ... 36
5.2.1 Paradoxes and their Predicaments ... 36
5.2.2 Summary ... 39
6. Conclusion ... 40
7. References ... 42
Appendix I –Participants ... 47

Abbreviations

DAC – Development Assistance Committee

FBO – Faith-Based Organization

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

ODA – Overseas Development Assistance

UNICEF—The United Nations Children's Fund

WV – World Vision

1. Introduction

1.1 Evangelical Missionaries in the Cambodian Development Space

Development practitioners and academics have been increasingly captivated by the intersection of religion and development, given the inextricable presence of religion in both the potential sources and solutions of economic and social inequality in the developing world. While the role of religious actors in development has been a subject of growing interest, evangelical missionaries have rarely been considered for their distinctive agency within the development sector. Little research from a development perspective has focused on them exclusively —leading them to be termed "invisible NGOs" by Julie Hearn (2002) who brought attention to the fact that they are ignored by literature on civil society (33). Lack of research means the details of missionary roles within specific development contexts are not widely known, making it hard to assess possible implications for development. This is unfortunate since missionaries challenge normative development frameworks and pioneer relationships with communities defined by their own terms, all with an air of controversy.

Evangelicals challenge the traditional schema of "development actor" by "operating fairly independently, sometimes as family units, often with funding from their home churches, and generally without any real oversight of their engagement or any attention to their effectiveness" (Loewenberg, 2009:795-796). At times evangelicals take an extemporaneous "show up and do what you like" approach to development engagement (ibid:796). This is in contrast to "mainline"[1] Christian missionaries who tend to be more entrenched in local infrastructure given their links to local colonial past (ibid). Additionally, like other Christians working in developing countries evangelicals engage in development as praxis of the social mandate of the Bible, but unlike other Christians engaged in development, they intentionally synthesize social services with evangelism. Such distinction is reflected in a study of 57 international religiously-affiliated humanitarian agencies that found them to be comparable to secular agencies in operations. The only exceptions were *evangelical* agencies that seemed to differ (Kniss and Campbell, 1997 in Thaut, 2009: 327). Evangelical agencies were found to be primarily church planting[2] organizations who were involved in relief and development as a secondary ad-hoc activity (ibid). This is

[1] "Mainline" generally refers to Christian denominations with longstanding history, such as Roman Catholics and some Protestant denominations.
[2] Church planting refers to the creation of a local "indigenous" church.

in comparison to mainline religious agencies that have the primary focus of relief and development and are hard to differentiate from secular NGOs (ibid).

These divergent models of organizational structure and engagement with beneficiaries raise important questions about the nature of the relationship between evangelical missionaries and the developing world. Such queries are relevant in nearly every developing country given the reach of the evangelical missionary enterprise. In this thesis, however, I will focus on evangelical missionaries within the context of Cambodia. Previous research has found that Cambodians differentiate between the work and motivations of "Christians" (evangelicals) and Catholics (mainline), with a more favorable opinion of Catholic organizations than other Christian organizations (ibid). While there is no clear explanation for the divide, some suggest it is the wide perception among Cambodians that evangelical groups use development projects as a time and space to proselytize, while others have suggested the long history of the Catholic Church in Cambodia has endowed it with deeper roots (ibid). Regardless of the explanation for the difference, it draws attention to the fact that development work by evangelicals is perceived to be different. The question of what these differences are in practice, and what the possible implications are, will be the subject of this thesis.

1.2 Purpose and Rationale of this Study

Development practitioners and academics have only recently begun to problematize the agency of religion in development beyond simplistic notions of religion as an inhibitor or facilitator of development (Hoffstadaedter, 2011:3). Increased dialogue has emerged specifically around the role of faith-affiliated actors due to interest in their possible advantages or drawbacks in development practice, but there are still questions surrounding how they differ from their secular counter parts in orientation and operations (Thaut, 2009:321). Furthering the confusion is the treatment of the faith-based sector as a homogenous unit-- as if the actions of all Christian agencies are influenced by Christianity in the same way, when in reality, there is great diversity among them (ibid). Further research is needed to illuminate the nuanced spectrum of actors and programs so that understanding can transcend a simple "religious-secular" dichotomy. While great advances have been made there is still a great deal of research to be done because as Sider and Unruh (2004) raise, "The lack of clarity creates problems for studying, funding, and making policies regarding social service and educational entities with a connection to religion (109-110)."

Missionaries are unique within the context of development given their explicit intent to engage in not only social service activities, but also religious activities. More than that, they intentionally combine social services with evangelism--a controversial practice (Flanigan, 2007:168). They are also unique in their mode of engagement with social services, which has been noted to be lacking in structure and oversight (Loewenberg, 2009:796). While some scholars have offered some attention to missionaries for their unique engagement with social services, little research from a development perspective has focused on them exclusively. Therefore, it is my intention to do exactly this; contributing to the ongoing intellectual process of differentiating religiously affiliated development actors.

Furthermore, I seek to undertake this task within the context of the Cambodian development arena. Delaney & Scharff (2010) write that in Cambodia "the work that faith inspired organizations do, as a whole, but also individually, is generally poorly known, even within specific faith communities" (12). What knowledge exists is patchy which has hindered the understanding of the role of faith-affiliated actors in Cambodian development strategies and programs (ibid). Also, while evangelical missionaries have been noted in the Cambodian development space (Delaney and Scharff, 2010; Baird, 2009; Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, 2010; MoSVY, 2011), there has been no in-depth research into how they engage with development activities.

1.3 Research Questions

While some literature has offered several theoretical differences between evangelical missionaries and other actors engaged in development activities, there is still little knowledge of what evangelical missionary engagement looks like in practice. This is especially unfortunate given tensions within the formal development arena about the synthesis of social services and evangelism, an essential element of the evangelical missionary approach to social service provision. Limited real-life knowledge about missionary engagement with social services stymies dialogue that could have great significance for beneficiaries on the receiving end of controversial and under-analyzed practices, as well as for the broader development community. Thus, this thesis will seek to answer:

(RQ1)*What is the nature of evangelical missionary engagement with social services in practice?*

And subsequently:

(RQ2)*What are the potential implications of such engagement?*

1.4 The Case of Cambodia

While this paper will call on examples from academic research carried out across the world, my primary research is situated within the context of the Cambodian development sector. Missionaries engage in development activities in nearly every developing country, but by looking solely at the case of Cambodia I expect to offer a contextualized investigation of missionary activity. Cambodia's history is one of brutality, marred by five years of civil war, followed by the infamous oppressive Khmer Rouge regime led by Pol Pot, and a genocide killing roughly 1.7 million people (21%of the population) from 1975-1979 (Cambodian Genocide Program, 2012). Its turbulent history has left gaping holes in social and physical infrastructures, which has resulted in an influx of civil society actors attempting to fill the gaps. The result is a development landscape in Cambodia that is vast and complex, with the estimated number of NGOs ranging from 600 to upwards of 3,000 (Delaney and Scharff, 2010:50). Within the broad spectrum of civil society actors are a range of religiously-affiliated actors. Christianity, however, is the foundation for the majority of them (Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, 2010:41). Thus, Cambodia serves as a useful landscape for exploring the intersection of development and evangelical missionary activities.

Most religiously-affiliated development actors in Cambodia intentionally separate their development initiatives from their religious outreach, recognizing the tensions that arise from juxtaposition of the two (Delaney and Scharff, 2010:13). On the contrary, evangelical missionaries often purposefully juxtapose the two, given theological beliefs that make social action and evangelism mutually constitutive (Thaut, 2009:341). This results in the creation of hybrid organizations that blur the boundaries between development and Christian ministry, by synthesizing social services and evangelism. For instance, a third of residential care centers in Cambodia are owned and managed by Christian organizations, many of whom have a declared proselytizing mission (MoSVY, 2011:31). One such organization is Four Square Orphans, an openly evangelical organization, which is responsible for the most orphanages in Cambodia (108 in total). On their website, they offer donors "the chance to start an "orphanage" and a church at the same time…for $2,000 a month an individual or an overseas church group can build and fund an orphanage that will be physically attached to a church" (ibid:28). The website goes on to say, "The children receive Christian care and upbringing and the church realizes a debt free facility" (ibid). This is just one example of the muddled delineations between Christian ministry and social service provision in Cambodia.

In their investigative report *Faith-Inspired Organizations & Development in Cambodia* Delaney and Scharff (2010) highlight the contentious nature of the combination of these activities saying proselytism

and evangelism in Cambodia was "an issue that surfaced often, with wide differences in approach and practice" (13). They stress that it "is vital to appreciate the real complexity of the concerns and debates around the definition and impact of proselytizing, which is as important as it is controversial" (ibid:63). It appears to at times directly hurt development cooperation. Some NGOs have purposefully stopped collaborating with organizations because they were "pushing religion" (Carroll, 2010). For instance, some evangelical service providers for sexually trafficked girls promote Christianity in their rehabilitation programs. This has been met by criticism from other NGOs working with sex-trafficking victims who argue that girls who have just faced that level of trauma should have their basic needs such as security, shelter, food, and clothing met without having to deal with outside ideological influences to complicate the situation (ibid). This might be viewed differently if the girl were likely Christian in which case, Christian counseling could be a great deal of comfort, but in Cambodia this is unlikely, hence where the controversy arises. Cambodia's population is approximately 95% Buddhist and "Buddhist values, rituals, and institutions are the cornerstone of Cambodian identity" (Delaney and Scharff, 2010:13). The increasing visibility of churches and especially missionaries is thus met with unease by many Cambodians who see it as a threat to Cambodia's historically Buddhist identity (ibid:62).

Faith based actors have been credited with several, though not fully substantiated, comparative advantages (Lipsky, 2011:27). Commonly commended is the social capital they gain through their faith foundations, as it can lead to a deeper level of commitment and trust between actors, allowing for greater satisfaction among beneficiaries and overall program quality (Cnaan et al., 1999 in Lipsky, 2011:27). I feel that literature has been relatively reconciliatory in its attempt to present a synergistic relationship between religion and development; one that is likely the result of a perceived shared agenda between development and religion-- improving the human condition. Research on religion and development likely promotes this perception by looking at examples where the religion of the development actor and the religion of their target population has been the same. By investigating evangelical missionaries in Cambodia, an overwhelmingly Buddhist country, alternative perspectives about the relationships between religiously-affiliated actors and development are offered. For, "a particular area of concern appears to be the role of non-Buddhist and especially Christian organizations in a highly Buddhist society, and questions about how far the admirable development work they do is colored by efforts to convert Cambodians to their faith" (50).

1.5 Delimitations

Scholars caution there is a tendency to view faith-affiliated development actors as a homogenous unit. Missionaries, who are often presented as a subcategory of such actors, could be argued as an equally complex category of actors that tends to be spoken of as a single group. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that this thesis does not seek to understand the engagement of *Christian* missionaries in social services, but specifically *evangelical Christian* missionaries. Additionally, while lines can be drawn based on theological stances such as evangelical, Catholic, and Mormon, boundaries can also be conceived among different organizational types. In simplistic terms, religiously-affiliated organizations are often understood to be the "religious cousin" to the "secular NGO". This implies a specific type of organizational structure that is relatively formalized. There are many prominent evangelical development NGOs that could be categorized this way such as World Vision and Samaritan's Purse. While such organizations are worthy of research given their noted presence and influence in the developing world, they will not be the focus of this thesis.

I instead explore the lesser-known evangelical actors in the developing world—independent evangelical missionaries. By interviewing individual missionaries, rather than focusing on the organizational level, insight into the grassroots movement towards social engagement within the evangelical enterprise can be gained. Furthermore, this contributes to an understanding of the independent evangelical missionary as an individual yet noteworthy actor engaged in social services, something lost by focusing on the organizational level. However, I will inevitably discuss the role of evangelical organizations as many missionaries tend to be affiliated with at least one, if not several, organizations in the field.

Additionally, while social services are not the exclusive development related activities that missionaries carry out, they do appear to be the most prevalent and prominent activities. They are also the most controversial because social services serve as effective vehicles for evangelism. For these reasons, I have intentionally decided to focus on missionaries engaged in social services. In addition, I would like to acknowledge that a thorough investigation of evangelical missionary involvement in social services would include the perspectives of social service beneficiaries. Unfortunately, time and access constraints did not make this a possibility for my research. This is an angle often neglected in research on religiously-affiliated service providers, which could possibly reveal different perspectives about the character and activities of missionaries (Kissane, 2008:95).

1.6 Definitions

In the favor of clarity, it is important to explicitly state what is meant by several frequently used terms in this thesis. First, *evangelicalism* is a broad concept and not a denominational category or a political label (Wellman and Keyes, 2007:384). In this thesis it is understood as an umbrella term for conservative Christians who are "characterized by commitment to personal religion, reliance on Holy Scripture as the only basis for faith and Christian living, emphasis on preaching and evangelism, and usually conservatism in theology" (Barrett, 1982:71 in Hearn, 2002:39).

Secondly, *proselytism* and *evangelism* both denote the sharing of one's faith with another person, generally in promotion of it. They are frequently used interchangeably, which is reflected in the writing of this thesis. It should be noted though that proselytism tends to be more frequently associated with debates about the potential negative impacts of sharing religion in certain scenarios, whereas evangelism is a more general term. This minor (and at times ambiguous) differentiation is also reflected throughout this thesis. Additionally, it must be emphasized that proselytization is not synonymous with "conversion" for one can proselytize without converting someone.

The terms, *discipeling, ministry, worship,* and *witnessing* are all terms frequently used by evangelicals to indicate the sharing of faith with others and are also commonly used interchangeably.

2. Background

2.1 History of Christian Missionaries in the Developing World

The interaction between western Christianity and the developing world has long been one of both humanitarian and theological narratives. Missionaries are perhaps most notably (or infamously) associated with the colonial era when Catholics and Protestants sent missionaries to around the world to evangelize. However, there were differences in mission models that emerged in the 18th century that are still relevant today. The Catholic Church sent missionaries under the guidance of the Vatican, whereas Protestants, without similar hierarchical structures, used a grassroots movement to send ordinary church members abroad, financially supported by congregations (Robert:2009). These missionaries engaged in ministry and humanitarian activities such as "translating the Bible, founding churches and schools, improving people's lives through western medicine and agriculture, and convincing them that their eternal salvation would be secured by following Jesus" (ibid).

Given the intimate link between missionaries and colonialism, it is no surprise that the dismantling of colonial structures in the 1950's and 1960s affected the missionary movement. When colonialism ended there was "a radical critique of the concept of European Christendom, including the rejection of missions as Western impositions on other cultures and religions" (ibid). This led many western mission agencies to make development their primary focus as a "form of reparation for the legacy of colonialism" (ibid). In the 1960s the Catholic Church reformed its missions approach and indigenized its mission theology and structures and adopted new openness to local cultures. Mainline Protestants who were self-critical of their paternalistic mission practices developed new mission theories of "partnership" (ibid). While mainline denomination missionaries re-evaluated and concurrently decreased, evangelical missionaries repudiated that evangelization should be sidelined. They "rejected the idea that the end of western colonialism required the end of cross-cultural missions" and so they organized themselves into independent grassroots networks in order to continue evangelizing to "unreached peoples" (ibid). By the end of the 1980's approximately nine of every ten American Protestant missionaries were evangelicals (Hearn, 2002:39).

2.2 Religious Actors in Development

Research on religion in development has centered on classifications of faith-based organizations or "FBOs". The term FBO is used here with hesitation since faith-based *organization* implies a degree of formality that is not applicable to many evangelical missionaries, and thus risks skewing appreciation for how they operate. That being said, the large body of research that has emerged on FBOs is relevant to note since its main goal, to differentiate the characteristics and actions of religiously-affiliated actors in the context of development, is inherently related to the subject of this thesis.

A common categorization of FBOs is based on the saturation of faith in organizational identity and activities, presenting a spectrum of organizations from completely secular to exclusively religious (Jeavons, 1998). Evangelical missionaries would certainly sit at the exclusively religious end of this spectrum. Clarke (2006) understands *faith-based missionary organizations* as actors who "spread key faith messages beyond the faithful, by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it, or by supporting and engaging with other faith communities on the basis of key faith principles" (840). Both of these conceptualizations account for missionaries engaged in development activities, however, they also combine other ardently religious actors in the same category. For instance, World Vision (WV) is a prominent NGO with an identity intimately informed by Protestant Christianity with evangelical leanings

(Thaut, 2009:345). While pushing the accepted boundary between proselytism and social services at times, WV is one of the largest international development agencies in the world (ibid:344). In Cambodia, it is the largest religiously-affiliated development organization (Delaney and Scharff, 2010:56). It employs approximately 1,000 people in Cambodia, has projects in 28 areas and has a massive operating budget (in 2009 it spent US $17.8 million on programs) (ibid).

Therefore, to propose that missionaries are simply more fervently religious than other FBOs, does not capture something critical about how they engage with development activities. While WV is noted for comparable characteristics to evangelical missionaries given its religious identity, and even overlap in some activities (Thaut, 2009:345), there is an essential difference between the two actors. WV has arguably achieved a degree of legitimacy in the formal development arena. In comparison, the evangelical movement has sprouted an internationally active constituency also engaging in development related activities that is not comparable to an organization with the size and influence of WV.

Based on observations in Tanzania, Loewenberg (2009) notes, many evangelicals travel to developing countries independently or with their family, operate without oversight, and are often accountable only to their church congregations (796). This observation is consistent with what Gramby-Sobukwe and Hoiland (2009) describe as a trend within the evangelical community to promote hands-on ministry rather than fund "professional" development organizations (105). Globalization and new tools in communication and air travel facilitate the involvement of ordinary Christians who want to partake in mission trips. This has resulted in a "vast network of mission amateurs" (Roberts, 2009) which has seen rapid expansion in the informal development arena given the decentralized nature of evangelicalism and its freedom from hierarchical structures (Hofer, 2003:376). This is consistent with the historical landscape of missionary engagement described previously, which highlighted that evangelicals have always had a grassroots network of individuals working independently on ministry and humanitarian projects.

Missionaries interviewed in Cambodia were characteristic of the portrait above. That is that their presence in Cambodia can be explained independently of their affiliation with any organization. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, lines will not solely be drawn between evangelical missionaries and other development actors on the basis of faith saturation in identity and activity, but also on the basis of organizational structure, something which has consequences for how they engage with development, but has been severely overlooked by literature.

3. Analytical Framework

Since missionaries have received minimal consideration in development literature, there are no well-established frameworks for investigating their presence in the development context. This section is an attempt at pulling together several concepts and on-going theoretical discussions with utility in an analysis of the nature of evangelical engagement with social services in the development context and potential implications.

3.1 Evangelicals and their Worldview

The concept of *worldview* will be utilized for understanding the uniqueness of the evangelical perspective of the world and its problems, and subsequently, how this informs their choice of actions in the developing world. No formal theory of "worldview" exists (Koltko-Rivera, 2004:22) so in this framework it is employed as a general concept built from the perspectives of several scholars. First, a worldview is broadly understood as a conceptual canopy placed over one's surrounding environment, giving meaning to an individual's experience of life (Ham, 2006:479). It includes ways of describing the universe, life, what is and what ought to be, as well as what objects, experiences, and relationships are good, bad, desirable or undesirable (Koltko-Rivera, 2004: 4). More than that, it defines what goals should be pursued (ibid).

Wellman (2008) argues that evangelicals create and are shaped by a religious moral worldview that produces a sense of power transcendent of themselves or their community (37). At the very core of this worldview is a steadfast personal relationship with Jesus Christ (ibid:90). They believe Jesus died on the cross to relinquish the sins of the world, and so in accepting him as their savior they overcome their sin and are "reborn" with "new spirit" and the promise of eternal life in heaven is now within their reach (ibid:92). The ongoing narrative of the evangelical worldview is the push and pull of the conflicting forces of sin and redemption (ibid) in which Jesus is the source of redemption, and consequently represents "life" and "hope", but unfortunately "many people do not know this". Evangelicals therefore feel a sense of urgent duty to "win" others to Jesus to prevent them from going to hell (ibid). This duty is reinforced by the "Great Commission" mentioned in the bible where Jesus sends his followers to "make disciples of the world" (ibid). Therefore, missionaries are not only offering the hope of new life and eternal salvation, but also living out a Biblical command.

From the evangelical worldview emerges a saved/unsaved dichotomy, which in turn causes the world to be divided into "evangelized" and "unevangelized" regions (ibid:104). In her research on evangelicals engaged in development work in Zimbabwe, Bornstein (2002) found that evangelical categories of "evangelized" and "unevangelized" mirrored the categories of "developed" and "undeveloped" (7). This caused evangelicals to view the world divided between evangelized/developed and unevangelized/undeveloped (ibid). Subsequently, it is by natural extension that the call to evangelize would also include the call to engage in development related work since the hardships of the "unevangelized/undeveloped" are understood to be the result of spiritual *and* material poverty (ibid). Several scholars have theorized how the evangelical worldview is acted out in developing countries. Their perspectives are presented below.

3.1.1 Evangelistic-Humanitarianism

Thaut (2009) classifies the modes of humanitarianism among Christian FBOs as it relates to their theological beliefs and subsequent actions. Her proposed category of Evangelistic-Humanitarianism is the category most fitting for evangelical missionary engagement in developing countries (ibid:342). "The primary mission of Evangelistic-Humanitarianism is to meet the needs of and expand the fellowship of Christian believers" (ibid:341). Contrary to the logic that a humanitarian group is engaged in humanitarianism due to their belief in humanitarian principles, those engaged in Evangelistic-Humanitarianism do so because they believe in spreading God's kingdom on earth. "The agency may be engaged in supporting relief or development projects not as their primary goal, but, rather, as part of an express purpose of spreading the gospel message (ibid:341-342)." Evangelistic-Humanitarianism frames success "in terms of the agency's effectiveness in spreading the gospel through its humanitarian operations" (ibid:342). Their ultimate motivations for providing relief and development services is for "helping to extend the church, build up the community of Christians globally, and serve the spiritual needs of humanity" (ibid).

While building the Kingdom of God as an ultimate goal seems radically different from that of secular humanitarian actors, it has to be contextualized within the evangelical worldview. "Conditions of poverty and distress are generally interpreted by evangelicals as evidence of spiritual as well as material deprivation (Elisha, 2008:178)." Evangelicals therefore believe, that through Jesus, social change will happen and that evangelism and social action are thus inseparable (Samuel, 1999:229 in Thaut 2009:341). Evangelical missionaries are first and foremost influenced by the belief that "the most

important work of Christians is to spread the Christian gospel in order to bring the spiritual transformation that society needs and that advances the Kingdom of God on earth (ibid, 341)". Therefore, it is not necessarily the great material needs of developing countries, but rather the great masses of people in the world who have yet to be reached by the Christian gospel, that compels them to act. While these might seem like two distinct realities, and arguably are, through the worldview of an evangelical, they are one in the same.

3.1.2 Christian Compassion as a Driving Force

In Christian narratives and imagery, it is common for Jesus to be depicted helping the poor. This portrait often bestows Christians with a sense of duty to act with the same compassion as Jesus for the needy (Bradley, 2005; Elisha, 2008; Wellman, 2008). Bradley (2005) explores the notion of Christian compassion and its relationship with social services in a case study of a Christian NGO in India. While recognizing that operating out of compassion can be greatly influential on motivation and long-term commitment to projects, she warns about the risk of conflating compassion with action saying "any action that results from compassion is never problematized, it is assumed to be good (ibid:348)." Reflecting on her case study she argues, "compassion alone cannot bring good results" (ibid:341). She reasons that projects driven only by compassion have limited impact because "compassion operates through symbolic projections of an objectified image of suffering" (ibid). Compassion in its essence is directed towards an object of pity. For Bradley this compassion is directed at the image of what she calls the *underdeveloped Other*—"someone who is needy and destitute" (ibid:343). Direct and meaningful dialogue with target beneficiaries is obstructed by this symbolic construction of the Other because it causes emotions of pity to block clear and detailed discussions (ibid). The Other thus becomes an archetype and is imagined to embody the community as a homogenous weak and needy unit. "The complexities of needs present in a community are rendered invisible/…/Differences between individuals are ignored and projects are subsequently based on misrepresentations of what is desired by those affected (ibid)."

In a study of evangelicals engaged in social action in Knoxville Tennessee, Elisha (2008) found a similar conundrum arising from a romanticized notion of Christian compassion.

> When conservative evangelicals offer assistance and encouragement to poor and distressed people, they interpret their actions as unconditional gifts, free of the constraints of interest, debt, and power. However, their theology asserts that even the most "unconditional" gift of all (eternal salvation) is conditioned on the recipient's obligation to receive that which ultimately

> can never be repaid and thus remain a willing subject of divine authority. So while evangelical acts of compassion and charitable gifts are conceived as graceful gestures with "no strings attached," they invoke norms of reciprocity and indebtedness that are central to evangelical thought. (157)

It is important to acknowledge that secular development is not completely free of similar power imbalances. For Stirrat and Henkel (1997) giving within the context of development is ethically problematic because it carries with it conditions which can lead to patronage, which in turn, can be viewed as a form of dominance over an Other (72). Missionaries and secular NGOs can both be seen as imposing expectations on the Other that places them in a "position of indebtedness" making them "pliable" (Bradley, 2005:342). Trends in international development encouraging bottom-up strategies and community empowerment are active attempts at countering this by promoting self-realization in the Other as they receive the gift, hopefully minimizing cycles of indebtedness (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:73). Missionaries however are less likely to seek ways to minimize such risk since they do not acknowledge a problem.

Some research suggests evangelicals tend to be more compelled by the forces of Evangelistic-Humanitarianism than the desire to emulate Jesus' compassion (Wellman, 2008). This is one of the most significant divides between evangelicals and mainline Christians in relation to social service provision. Evangelicals interpret the presence of people in the world who still need to hear about the "good news of Christ" as the most pressing need in the world, and therefore, the need to share the "good news" is the most important act of a Christian (ibid:92). In contrast, less theologically conservative Christians believe in the power of *doing* God's work rather than simply promoting the *belief* of it (ibid:94). As such, they are first and foremost concerned with humanitarian/development work because it is "good" and "right" and not because there is some "higher need". Subsequently, they deprioritize the religious mission of churches in favor of social engagement and the needs of the community. To them, being Christian is being "Christ-like" which can be done without trying to "make others Christian". Nevertheless, evangelicals do to some degree internalize their actions as a mirroring of Christ's compassion.

3.2 Institutional Theory and the Formal Development Field

Organizational "field" is a concept embedded in the larger theoretical framework of institutional theory, which is concerned with how structures such as rules, norms, and routines are established as the dominant conventions for social behavior (Scott, 2004:207). A field is understood as a community of

organizations providing similar or related services (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983:148). Members within a field share a common meaning system and have preferential engagement with other members within their field rather than those outside of the field (Scott, 1994:207-208). Prevailing rationalized concepts emerge within a field and organizations concerned with maintaining legitimacy within the field seek to incorporate associated practices and procedures (Meyer and Rowan, 1991:41). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggest that this drive towards legitimacy and the subsequent conformity to practices and procedures deemed “legitimate” within the field, means that organizations within an established field will have a tendency towards homogenization (148).

Thus, “international development” can be conceptualized as its own organizational field given the coalescence of actors around normative frameworks for action such as the Millennium Development Goals (Fukuda-Parr and Hulme, 2009:16). Actors also conform to practices and ideologies such as notions of empowerment, participation, bottom-up approaches, indigenous knowledge, and other “buzz words” (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:67). These actors are most typically official development agencies, international NGOs, government agencies, civil society organizations and private individuals and businesses (Kharas, 2011:3). Despite this broad range of actors, a select few arguably lead the development agenda. "The top 10 development agencies in the world account for 60 percent of gross official development aid (ODA) disbursements, while the top 20 donors account for 93 percent of ODA" (ibid). Groups like the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), composed of the world's major donor countries, play a leading role in the global governance of development by facilitating the creation of standards and norms for development practice (ibid).

There are no formal mechanisms for groups such as the DAC to ensure adherence to their principles, but there are other modes of control over the development field, which come in the form of stipulations on funding. For the most part, donors fund civil society organizations that are willing to align with their priorities rather than challenge them (McDoui-Ra and Rees, 2008:24). As such, civil society actors supportive of the status quo are favored in place of those challenging the development agenda (ibid). Put simply, the development arena is "dominated by professional, formal, and compliant actors" and "must curb any radical or transformative inclinations to continue to receive access and funding" (ibid) clearly supporting the homogenization hypothesis of institutional theory.

One characteristic of the development field of particular noteworthiness is its predominantly secular worldview (Hoffstaedter, 2011:13). Traditionally development has been perceived as a domain of the material world, contrasted with religion, which deals with the spiritual (Marshall, 2001:345). This has led

to a spiritual-secular dichotomy, in which dominant international development actors pursue development through the prism of modernization theory and secularism, sidelining religion to the prevailing ideal of economic growth (Selinger, 2004:524-528). Thus, development has tended to “respectfully avoid” religion as it is considered a personal domain and not one in which development should engage with (VerBeek, 2000:39). Further enhancing this divide is the value-laden language and approaches of religiously-affiliated actors, often referring to concepts of “love, “compassion”, and “forgiveness”, which is met with apprehension in the secular development world that is colored by the expectation of the “separation of church and state” (Delaney and Scharff, 2010:49). This is compounded by concerns about proselytization (Karam, 2010:468; VerBeek, 2000:40).

Most religiousy-affiliated agencies are aware of these concerns and have changed accordingly, reflected in the fact that most faith-related agencies are moderately to highly secularized (Jeavons, 2002:99). That is, they have made the decision to make development their primary goal and downplay their religious identity (Hoffstaedter, 2011:13). If this means detaching any religious components in their programming, they will in order to qualify for funding (Stavland, 2011:6) or to appear “more professional” (James, 2009:11). This ability to separate social service from religious goals is in line with the previous discussion about worldviews. Mainline Christians can easily reconcile the absence of religious goals and activities in their social services because within their Christian worldview the ultimate aim is to embody Christ’s compassion, which to them, is accomplished by the social service itself.

Therefore, the Christian agencies engaging most with the formal development arena are likely to be mainline Christian. They are making the conscious effort to engage in the bureaucratic processes established by the international development “field” and consequently become a more formalized, and ultimately, *legitimate* actor. This in turn grants them access to "political spaces where the international development agenda is negotiated and set" (McDuie-Ra and Rees, 2008:28). In contrast, evangelicals given their fundamental inability to disconnect their religious mission from their humanitarian mission, often work with missionary groups that are generally known to lack specialization, standardization, centralization, and configuration and are likely to count proselytization as a main activity (Abuyuan, 2006:71). This causes formalized agencies to deem them less desirable development partners and perpetuates their existence as “informal” actors (ibid).

3.3 The Proselytism Debate

Evangelical social action is intimately informed by the evangelical worldview, which inevitably leads to a blurring of evangelism and social service engagement. Through the lens of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proselytization is the right of an evangelical given their right to freedom of religion and their right to freedom of expression and association (An-Na'im, 1995:15). The challenge is that "Proselytism is hardly ever simply and exclusively about the communication of a religious message, to be accepted or rejected on its own terms", because most often the target group is unlikely able to exercise *true* freedom of choice given "material and political interests and concerns of both sides" (ibid:5). Thus, the integration of proselytization with social services gives rise to serious debate.

Opponents of proselytization argue that power inequalities emerge when a Christian message is being disseminated in the context of human suffering to a "necessarily captive audience, even if acceptance of that message is not a prerequisite for aid" (ibid:326). While some might petition that social service clients can always "opt out", Flanigan (2007) argues that they are "not in the position to choose with which organizations they will associate, nor to choose not to consume certain services" since many agencies are the sole local provider of certain services. Furthermore, the fundamental nature of the services often provided—meeting basic human needs—the choice to disassociate due to religious differences is not a realistic option. "While clientele may not be 'coerced' into participation in the most literal sense of the word, economic and social conditions oblige them to consume services from whoever provides them, regardless of the religious affiliation of the NGO or the religious activities that may accompany service provision" (ibid).

3.4 Bridging the Conceptual Framework to the Analysis

Reflecting on the concepts presented above it is important to draw out the essential elements framing the data analysis. First, the evangelical worldview views underdevelopment in theological terms and consequently views the remedies for it in theological terms as well. This in turn creates a divide between evangelical missionaries and the formal development arena, which has specific proscriptions and expectations for any actor wishing to gain legitimacy. However, missionaries cannot be completely removed from the development context despite their distance from the formal arena, for, perhaps to the frustration of both parties, missionaries and development practitioners intersect in their efforts to provide social services. Missionaries, while not "in" the formal development arena like many other religiously affiliated development actors, can still be analyzed in relation to it. This portrait, of

missionaries as actors intimately informed by their inherently religious worldview and operating tangentially to the formal development arena, will be the conceptual linchpin of the analysis.

4. Research Methods

4.1 Qualitative Research Strategy

In my investigation of evangelical missionaries, I sought to capture the complexity of their presence in a development context and convey the multidimensional nature of their engagement with social services in Cambodia. As such, a qualitative research design was most fitting (Creswell, 1998:15). Through a qualitative approach, I was able to carry out in-depth interviews with evangelical missionaries involved in a variety of social service activities. This subsequently facilitated my analysis of *what* their engagement with social services looks like through the lens of their worldview and *how* evangelical Christians interact with the development arena in Cambodia (ibid:17). In line with the qualitative tradition of naturalism I was interested in the social reality of evangelical missionaries on their own terms (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997 in Bryman, 2008:367). I was most interested in gaining rich descriptions about them and their interactions in the context in which they are embedded (ibid).

4.2 Epistemological and Ontological Lenses

Throughout my field research I was guided by the epistemological stance of interpretivism in that I was seeking to grasp the subjective meaning of evangelical social action (Bryman, 2008:16) through access to evangelical missionaries' own interpretation of their role in Cambodia (ibid:366). I was further guided by the ontological stance of constructionism due to my inclination to believe that meaning is constructed through social interactions and that categories utilized by people for meaning are social products (ibid:20). Evangelical missionaries are compelled to engage in social services due to their theologically constructed worldview, which greatly influences why they choose to engage in social services, but also flavors the social services they undertake. Therefore, in understanding evangelicals to have their own constructed reality built of their "truths", explanations, and beliefs, I was interested in understanding how these constructions influence their behavior (Patton, 2002:96). Of additional importance, was my desire to explore the consequences of these constructions for those they are interacting with—primarily other development actors and social service beneficiaries (ibid).

4.3 Data Collection

Field data was collected in Phnom Penh Cambodia from November 2011-March 2012 primarily through individual interviews with evangelical missionaries and supplemented by field observations. Most interviews were one-on-one and took place in person in Phnom Penh. In the few instances where a missionary couple was being interviewed they were interviewed together. I also held one focus group discussion with three missionaries who worked with the same missionary agency. On one occasion where a missionary couple was working in a rural area outside of Phnom Penh, questions were relayed and subsequently answered via email. All in-person interviews took place in environments familiar to the missionaries being interviewed. On several occasions, I conducted interviews in the work place of the missionaries, but the majority of interviews took place in a missionary-run Christian coffee shop frequented by evangelical missionaries in Phnom Penh. The length of interviews averaged sixty to ninety minutes.

My approach to correspondence with missionaries, and in turn my interviews, was intentionally informal while maintaining an air of professionalism. The missionary community in Phnom Penh is informal and I merely mirrored their own approach to interaction. Therefore, most of my interviews took place over coffee or lunch and were consequently "conversational" in style. I used a semi-structured interview format given the informal nature of my interviews, but also because the heterogeneity of my sample would have made it impossible to create a set list of questions applicable to everyone. Therefore, while general topics directed all interviews, there was still a great deal of flexibility.

Of great insight to my research were the opportunities I had to carry out participant observation. The informal nature of the missionary community in Phnom Penh made it relatively easy, as a young American, to enter and interact with various expatriate evangelical social circles. I utilized my ease of presence and gladly observed the places and events I was invited to through the contacts I made. They included: Bible study with a village outside of Phnom Penh, a social evening in Phnom Penh with girls from a shelter for trafficking victims and their caretaker, a Bible outreach in a known prostitution area of Phnom Penh with the same group of girls and their caretaker, a Bible study with approximately thirty Christians expatriates (many who were evangelical and/or missionaries), and a Bible study at an orphanage in Phnom Penh.

4.4 Data Analysis

Interviews were recorded and later transcribed and detailed notes were made immediately after field observations. These sources of "raw" data were analyzed through the "framework approach". That is,

data was read and reread to draw out themes and create conceptual categories (Pope et al., 2000:114). These categories were further refined by viewing them through the prism of the analytical framework (ibid). Therefore, the data analysis was at once both deductive and inductive. It sought to see what themes emerged from field data regarding the nature of evangelical engagement with social services in Cambodia, but it was also closely informed by the categories already laid out in previous literature (ibid).

4.5 Sampling

A majority of interviews were the result of snowball sampling initiated by several gatekeepers I met through chance meetings in Phnom Penh. Four additional interviews were secured through a purposive sampling method by emailing publicly listed missionaries on the internet and by directly emailing evangelical missionary groups in an attempt to acquire as diverse of a sample as possible. In total, there were twenty-four participants. All were evangelical missionaries engaged in at least one social service related activity in Cambodia. However, the nature of evangelicalism as a broad category and not a definitive religious denomination meant the identification of interviewees as evangelical missionaries had to take place without universal measurements. As such, labeling was through self-identification as evangelical, or through conversations that revealed consistency with all characteristics of the definition of evangelical employed for this research (as outlined in 1.6).

All interviewees (Appendix I) had been working in Cambodia as a missionary for at least a year, although several had lived in Cambodia for upwards of twelve years and considered it home. All were from western countries: Canada (1), Australia (3), New Zealand (1), and United States (19). The greater number of Americans acquired primarily through snowball sampling is likely reflective of evangelical missionary demographics[3]. Perspectives were consistent across all nationalities however, so it is not suspected that this had noteworthy impact on findings.

The organizations missionaries were affiliated with were primarily centered on children's welfare including education and residential care. Several missionaries worked with organizations typically classified as skills-training social enterprises and two were involved in health care and nutrition programs. Most missionaries had a direct role in social service provision, although several had auxiliary roles as administers or coordinators. The flexible and informal nature of the majority of these organizations however meant that all missionaries, regardless of role, served in some direct capacity with program beneficiaries as a spiritual mentor.

[3] Americans have consistently accounted for over 50% of the world's evangelical missionaries (Hearn, 2002:37).

4.5 Quality Considerations

Conscious effort was made to ensure the quality of the empirical data and the rigor of its analysis. This was guided by four quality criteria proposed by Yarley (2000, in Bryman, 2008:380). First, great consideration was taken for the *sensitivity of the context* of the research*;* most certainly in relation to the social setting research was conducted in, but also with respect for the relevant theoretical stances and ethical concerns. Also, *commitment and rigour* were hallmarks of the research process. Substantial efforts were made to engage with evangelical missionaries in the field at every opportunity and to be immersed in their "bubble", while also ensuring thorough attention to relevant literature and theories to guide observations and discussions to promote accurate data collection and analysis. *Transparency and coherence* while writing this thesis has been sought by clearly articulating methods and analytical reasoning and seeking reflexivity. Finally, attempts have been made to relate data back to its potential *impact and importance* to relevant theory and the broader range of individuals impacted by missionary involvement with social services, including development actors, beneficiaries, and even missionaries themselves. Additionally, I have sought the use of multiple data sources (literature review, observations, and interviews) to allow for triangulation of data in hopes of reducing the risk of chance associations (Bryman, 2008:245)

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Regarding the sensitivity of religious identity for many people, and especially in light of the controversy surrounding missionary activities, there are several ethical considerations to note. First, research was conducted under the guiding principles of integrity, maturity, and respect for context (Scheyvens and Storey 2003:166). Oral consent was obtained from all participants and all were clearly notified of the aims and process of the research, that their participation in the research was optional, and that they could withdraw at any point (ibid:142). Participants were encouraged to ask any questions about the research if they had any to ensure transparency and comfort. Furthermore, since several missionaries did not want to give the name of their affiliated organization in interviews, this clearly implied that there was great sensitivity surrounding their presence in Cambodia, as such it was promised to all missionaries that their identity and the identity of their organization would remain anonymous. Therefore, all identities and identifying characteristics have been removed from the presented data.

5. Results and Analysis

The analysis first concentrates on how the ideological underpinnings of the evangelical worldview are transferred into practice. Then it moves to how evangelical missionaries operate in relation to the formal development arena in Cambodia. Together, these two areas of inquiry will answer (RQ1) -- *What is the nature of evangelical missionary engagement with social services in practice?* The findings of which will inform the analysis concerned with (RQ2), which will be embedded in the proselytism debate— *What are the potential implications of such engagement?* Discussion is further divided thematically based on core themes and subthemes that were recurrent during field observations and interviews in Phnom Penh.

5.1 Evangelical Missionary Engagement with Social Services in Practice

5.1.1 Synthesizing the Evangelical Worldview with Social Services

The evangelical worldview permeates nearly every aspect of an evangelical missionary's life, thus it is the natural starting point for understanding their engagement with social services, which always incorporates evangelism in some capacity. Evangelistic-Humanitarianism and Christian compassion provide different rationales for the synthesis of social services with evangelism. Interviews with missionaries in Cambodia showed that they tended to be more influenced by one of the two, but generally, both were motivating goals to some degree.

"For us it's theological, Jesus said there are two commands, 'love God with all your heart spirit and mind and love your neighbors the same'. And so to us it would just be the natural corollary of that world view (Interview 4)." The same missionary conveying he acts out of compassion stated his core purpose as a missionary was the creation of indigenous evangelical churches in Cambodia. He also said bluntly that his reason for choosing Cambodia as a country to work in, over any other developing country, was that it was a country with very few Christians. This highlights how Christian compassion and Evangelistic-Humanitarianism come together as integrated, rather than opposing, forces for social action. He sees his social actions as a mandate of the gospel, but also in the process, a facilitator of his ultimate goal of spreading God's kingdom in Cambodia. In essence, western missionaries, using development projects, create friendly environments from which indigenous evangelical communities can grow (Hofer, 2003:383). It is a two-way process though, for development is not only useful for building the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God is perceived as necessary for the development of Cambodia. Thus, missionaries in Cambodia expressed two different, yet equally symbiotic relationships between

evangelism and social services—*development as a tool for evangelism* and *evangelism as a tool for development*.

Evangelism as a Tool for Development

Missionaries expressed Buddhism and the culture it contributes to in Cambodia as an underlying reason for much of Cambodia's development challenges. Buddhism was associated with backwards practices and mindsets that are detrimental to Cambodian society, contributing to its underdeveloped status. One example given several times was the perception that Cambodian's had a fatalistic outlook on life because they accepted their circumstances as a result of choices they made in a past life and thus are not proactive about changing their circumstances. Missionaries then contrasted this perspective with their notions of Christianity, which were heavily laden with the ideas of hope, love, and self-actualization. One missionary told the story of a 7-year-old girl in her neighborhood who was recently gang raped. To her the horrific event was a reflection of the weakness of Cambodian culture, because men in Cambodia are "broken" and "whole" men do not rape children. While expressing they need to go to prison, she also was explicit that that was not the real solution, what they really need is to be made "whole" (Interview 9).

The concept of "brokenness" surfaced in nearly every interview. It is the idea that without a personal relationship with Jesus, a person is "broken". That is, their life is lacking something fundamental, which is interpreted as the root cause of their problems. In accepting a relationship with Jesus, a person is understood to become "whole". Buddhism was understood by missionaries to be misguided religion, and thus Cambodians were missing an opportunity for a relationship with Jesus—which is expected to be the untapped solution to much of Cambodia's suffering.

> Literally, the goal is to share the gospel and to share that these people can have freedom with Christ and /…/and ultimately, they'll realize that they want out of their lifestyle and their lives will just change (Interview 6).
>
> I think that it's really important for people to know about Jesus and I think it's really important for people to know it's not just a religion, that it's a relationship with a real person who will change your life, he'll heal the hurts of your heart, he'll heal the hurts of your body, he'll heal the hurts of your family and it's a real thing (Interview 16).

As such, spiritual transformation becomes a primary goal for any social service program run by missionaries. As told by one missionary involved in a skills-training program for male prostitutes, the desired changes in the men were not visible so the program was redesigned. Skills-training was

supplemented with daily discipleship since the "only thing that can really change somebody from the inside out is the Lord (Interview 11)." Social service provision emulates Jesus' compassion for the broken person, but the social service itself is not understood as the primary transformational force for service beneficiaries. Rather, social services are the *vehicle* through which the true transformational force—a relationship with Jesus—can be transferred to the broken person.

While providing social services was certainly agreed to be "good" and "important" and "Christian-like", it is not the ultimate form of compassion, and therefore not the supreme goal. Missionaries expressed this best when answering how they thought their approach to social service engagement in Cambodia was different from secular social service providers. Two themes emerged. On the one hand, many missionaries did not even understand why a non-Christian person would engage in social services. For them, their own purpose in Cambodia was so entwined with their evangelical worldview that the idea that someone without a Christian worldview could be compelled to "serve others" was not comprehensible. One missionary even shared that she was confused about how a non-Christian even oversees social service programs to begin with since they do not pray for guidance about how to run the services (Interview 17). Secondly, once missionaries did acknowledge that non-Christians did engage in social services in Cambodia, they expressed those services to be inferior to Christian services in terms of ultimate meaningfulness. "I don't know, without Jesus, like without God or Jesus being a part of this, like, what are you telling them? What can you tell them about themselves? Even if you say 'you're beautiful because I think you are', is that enough? (ibid)" The Christian elements of services were clearly articulated as the true source of change in a person's life; that if you are counseling a person and can share with them that Jesus loves them unconditionally, then you have truly given them something meaningful.

This sentiment permeated all opinion of the secular approach to development. The issue ran even deeper for several missionaries who saw the challenge not simply as introducing Jesus to improve the lives of Cambodians *now*, but to secure their *eternal salvation*.

> You can have these social services/…/ but at the end of the day /…/if they don't believe in Christ their eternal destination is not being changed at all /…/yeah they're not living in this hell here on earth because of all these great programs /…/but only to go to hell afterwards (Interview 6).

Another missionary dedicated nearly exclusively to church planting expressed skepticism about the ambitions of a friend involved in a nutrition program for children in rural villages stating, "You can give them food, but if you haven't saved their souls, what have you really done? (Interview 5)" Hence, under

the evangelical worldview, the ultimate form of "help" you can give anyone is a relationship with Jesus. In turn, evangelism becomes a tool for development in that, on an abstract level, from the missionary point of view, evangelism is the means to development; as Cambodians "come to Christ" their lives will improve and development will ensue.

Development as a Tool for Evangelism

According to the notion of Evangelistic-Humanitarianism, the main reason to engage in development or humanitarian activities is to promote the growth of the Kingdom of God (Thaut, 2009:341). This leads development to be viewed as a tool for evangelism rather than a worthwhile mission in and of itself. This is a fundamentally different perspective than the broader development sector. Missionaries interviewed in Cambodia were consistently in agreement with this belief based on their descriptions of what they were doing in Cambodia. When asked directly if social services were in essence a "gateway" to teaching about Jesus several agreed while others felt the relationship was not so literal, although it could be argued that the end result is the same.

One missionary described a reciprocal relationship between the nutrition program she oversees and the ministry it fosters in villages outside of Phnom Penh. "So while feeding these children these supplements, during that time as well, we're doing teaching and training, our training incorporates health, hygiene, maybe some Bible and some language training (Interview 14)." The nutrition program is the means to entering the village to begin discussions with community members about Christianity. This is echoed by her pride in what she described as a success that emerged directly from the program. "The nutrition program led to a church plant, all of it was a direct reflection of the nutrition program. It started with us getting our foot in the door there (ibid)." She explicitly stated that the nutrition program is the "doorway" to a "strong ministry" in the village. In fact, an instructor from an international Bible institute recognized the "successful" pairing of the two activities and has since created a ministry model based on her program for other missionaries (ibid).

An interesting twist on the use of development as a tool for evangelism is the use of children as a conduit for reaching parents with the Christian gospel. The missionary running the nutrition program described how their model of community engagement allowed them to reach children with the gospel by providing nutritional snacks and education, but that this was then followed up with additional efforts to engage parents. "We've actually gone, I guess you could say door knocking. We ask (parents) 'what do you think about the program? How is it helping your children? So you're seeing how Jesus is working

in your children's life, would you like to see how he can work in your life too?' (ibid)" A missionary who teaches at a Christian school said, "We host concerts and we invite the parents to come along and the siblings to come along as well…and within that we'll usually have a little bit of Christian message in it (Interview 8)." Another missionary who teaches at a different Christian school expressed similar approaches for engaging parents, primarily using student performances to introduce parents to Jesus (Interview 7).

For some missionaries, social services are more than just a gateway to talking about Jesus, but are actually a prerequisite for further activities. One missionary involved in literacy education in rural villages described his organization's literacy-training program. The literacy materials used included readings about health and "scriptural truth". In this instance, literacy training provides the time and space to engage with Cambodian villagers, which can double as time and space to talk about Jesus. Even more than that, the missionary expressed that it was not simply about giving people the skill to read, he described literacy training as a necessary accessory to evangelism so that Cambodians can read the Bible (Interview 4). These examples all testify to the ways in which missionaries are utilizing development as a tool for evangelism in Cambodian communities.

Hybrid Identity

The synthesis of social services and evangelism poses unique conceptualization challenges for the identity of missionaries and the organizations they work with. Missionary identity gets caught in the crosscurrent of two different operationalizations of their evangelical worldview, which causes them to use evangelism as a tool for development *and* development as a tool for evangelism. As hard as it is from the outside to parse out their ultimate goals--is it development?--is it evangelism?—it seems to be equally confusing to missionaries when asked to reflect on the matter. One missionary labeled the organization she worked under as "a service provider" for prisoners and described their activities to consist mainly of education and training. "(Organization's name) is a service provider, that's their main thing /…/so they're not going in and trying to convert all these (people), that's not how it works (Interview 13)." She very clearly distinguishes between a development aim and an evangelistic aim, but upon further discussion, it seems that there might be more to the story. After her comment about social services being the goal of the organization's activities, she said, "/…/but in the process, just thousands and thousands are coming over to Christ (ibid)."

A similar contradiction surfaced later in the interview in which she stated the English class she teaches was strictly English lessons only, but said just after, "/…/*but* there are so many opportunities to talk about (ministry) (ibid)." So the portrait presented at the beginning of the interview of a strictly social service organization evolved into a more complex portrait of an organization with less than straightforward goals. When asked for clarification if the organization's purpose was "humanitarian" or "ministry" she said, "I'd say humanitarian. It's a 'humanitarian ministry'/…/we're a service provider, but we're a ministry (ibid)."

Regarding this dual identity a different missionary said "/…/it's not that I'm humanitarian, it's not that I'm a believer in Jesus, it's a natural expression of knowing God and I know that people in my organization would say the same (Interview 16)." It is hard to say what the implications of such tangled identity might be for missionaries and their organizations without research evaluating their projects' outcomes, but there is another more pressing concern for the development community about this hybrid identity. That is, most missionaries spoken to expressed that their organization was an "NGO" and that it was registered with the Cambodian government as an NGO. The term NGO has certain connotations, and while it is recognized that religiously-affiliated NGOs have religious elements worthy of consideration, it could still be argued that there would be an overwhelming assumption that the main goal of the group was humanitarian related. Missionaries interviewed suggested it is not so straightforward. When a focus group of three missionaries was asked if their organization was a skills-training organization or a ministry, one woman responded, "*On paper?*" Another woman from the same focus group followed with:

> There's definitely, like, the government, I think they know that Christian organizations are here. But, there are a lot of rules that you could get in trouble with if the government knew, like you can't require any of your workers to do anything Christian/…./There are rules, but you have to be caught in the act. (Focus Group Discussion)

Another missionary expressed a similar façade at her organization, which is a widely known social enterprise in Phnom Penh that has no appearance of affiliation with Christianity in any way. "/…/on the outside, it's number one our look is a business, but we're also an NGO, vocational school, and ministry. And I think on the inside, ministry is number one (Interview 17)." This was not the only instance that missionaries implied the appearance they took on was for strategic or legal purposes. A missionary working as a teacher with a school intimately entwined with an evangelical church said:

> We have to address ourselves as an NGO because we're on an NGO visa. The NGO I work for is connected to the church, but its separate to the church for visa reasons. We need to call it

> "(name) foundation" but the church is "(name) fellowship". But that's what we have to do for legal reasons. We can also separate it so that we are seen as a legitimate group. (Interview 8)

Aside from the "on paper" differentiation between the school and the church, the differentiation between activities is not so forthright. In a separate interview, another missionary working in the same school was asked how connected the ministry goals were to its education goals as a school. She responded that the kids have bible class every day and that she prays with her students before class on a daily basis as well. "(We) are encouraging the staff to bring God into everything, to bring God into science, bring God into every area, we want to make sure that there isn't a separation, we want to make sure that it's all together. So I would say we're working very hard on no separation between the two (Interview 12)."

5.1.2 Evangelical Missionaries in Relation to the Formal Development Arena

In turning attention back to the analytical framework, it is reminded that missionaries operate outside of the bureaucratic structures of the formal development arena. The synthesis of practices described above reinforces the understanding of why they are marginalized to the sidelines of the formal development arena. The intention here is not to use empirical data to support the argument that missionaries are excluded from the arena, but to understand how that exclusion shapes the nature of missionary engagement with social services. It is important to start from the evangelical perspective that operating outside of the formal development arena is not a limiting factor, because instead, they are engulfed in an alternative development arena, the *Christian* one, which shares many of their same values by virtue of operating under a shared worldview. In the same way that the bureaucracy of development creates and reinforces norms for formal actors, the informal Christian arena creates norms for missionaries. The realities of informal engagement seemingly allow missionaries to operate exclusively with their own language and practices. It also allows them to carry out the creation of "Christian spaces". In essence—they can operate on their own terms.

The Evangelical "Bubble"

Civil society actors are key advocates and implementers of Cambodia's aid effectiveness agenda (Delany and Scharff, 2010:146). They can participate in formal planning and coordination of aid and development priorities through several local and national networking bodies (ibid:147-148). It is observed though that evangelical and church linked groups hesitate to participate in such networking (ibid:149). Therefore, while the preference for formal actors in the development arena might exclude

evangelical missionary groups for its own reasons, it seems some evangelical missionaries might intentionally sidestep engagement with formal development arenas.

When exploring in interviews why missionaries avoided the formal development arena, it became clear that they did not necessarily notice they were doing so. Many missionaries attested to the size and strength of the Christian expatriate community in Phnom Penh, something observed throughout the research for this thesis. Missionaries were thus so deep in a network of other Christian expatriates, missionaries, and evangelical organizations that they were in what could be described as their own "bubble". This bubble included not only a large number of individuals, but also numerous Christian-run cafes that offered Christian spaces for meeting within Phnom Penh, as well as many churches and organizations that generally had doors open for social and worship related events. The Christian network of missionaries and NGOs is so vast and active in Phnom Penh that as far as they were concerned they *were* part of an arena of development actors. Missionaries did agree however that there was a clear divide in Cambodia between secular and Christian organizations and many even described great rifts between Christian organizations (mostly between evangelical and mainline Christian). Missionaries even noted lack of cooperation, and at times competition, between evangelical organizations.

All missionaries were in unanimous agreement that for Cambodians to have a relationship with Jesus would be the ideal development solution for Cambodia, a different discourse than the one of the formal development arena. But, conversations about synthesis of evangelism with social service activities is common and accepted within the Christian expat community, which often serves as the only social and professional network for missionaries. Therefore, despite their status as disengaged controversial actors in the formal development arena, they are *righteous* actors within their evangelical "bubble".

Christian Language and Practices

The dialogue of missionaries across interviews revolved around the notion of "broken" Cambodians, which becomes the instigator for acts of "compassion". Returning to Bradley's (2005) critique of compassion as a driving force for social action, compassion poses two significant risks; the risk of obstructing realization of real community need through the creation of a singular Other (in this case "broken" Cambodians) (343); and the risk of never problematizing actions because they are assumed to be good (348). Bradley observed that "prayer is used as a mechanism through which the 'outsiders' convey to the community what they feel the development priorities are" (ibid:345). Prayer in this

context allows missionaries to feel they are "following in the footsteps of Christ", but unfortunately the process obscures any efforts to seek the information and insight of beneficiaries (ibid). This process was observed during field research and attested during interviews.

Several missionaries described the concept of a "vision trip" in which a foreign evangelical Christian makes a short trip to Cambodia to see what is happening on the ground by consulting with other Christians working there to find "their calling", or what they "have a heart for". This was the starting point for several organizations that were discussed in interviews. All of the processes described above are done in conjunction with a great deal of prayer and ultimate decisions are understood to be the "will of God". As a result, many missionaries have stories about how they did not "choose" what they are doing in Cambodia, or did not even choose to go to Cambodia at all, but rather, God decided for them. One missionary said that often times projects are generated based on the God-given "gifts" of incoming missionaries, and not necessarily the needs of the community, although they would try to be matched (Interview 4). Thus, the decision about what activities to initiate is a top-down process in which God is the ultimate decider.

Not surprisingly, the divinely inspired activities have a preoccupation with the archetypically "broken"; likely stemming from Christian narratives about the types of people Jesus assisted. With the exception of a few missionaries, all missionaries were engaged in social services with vulnerable populations—orphaned children, women rescued from sex-trafficking, and prostitutes. The sense of righteousness derived from the perceived emancipatory quality of their activities, propagate some questionable practices observed and discussed during field research. Missionary descriptions about their actions had vigilante undertones in which they understood themselves to be "rescuing" people that had fallen through the cracks of any existing social service architecture in Cambodia. For some missionaries "rescuing" took on literal meaning as it did for one missionary running a shelter for trafficked girls. She spoke with great enthusiasm of how she had "chased down pimps" in the middle of the night to "rescue" some of "her girls" (Interview 2).

Overwhelmingly, missionary actions were highly spontaneous and took place without much forethought, and certainly without oversight. For instance, when asked how they decided what projects to initiate, missionaries typically expressed that they "felt the need". An example is one missionary involved with a safe-house for children in Phnom Penh. An American missionary couple had taken a vision-trip to Cambodia which resulted in them "having a heart" to open a safe-house for children in abusive situations. The goal of the house is to provide a safe place in Phnom Penh for children while

their families in the village are "discipled" by pastors. It is hoped that after a year the family situation will have improved and the children can return home. While acting out of compulsion meant the safe-house was up and running quickly, the missionary admitted that there were no established criteria for assessing when the children could return home (Interview 9). Given that the "improvement" of the family was left to the subjective perceptions of the pastor who was "discipeling" them (so assumedly, attempting to invoke change through a relationship with Jesus), the likelihood of the child returning home seemed questionable. When asked about this the missionary admitted the home was more likely a "permanent foster care situation" (ibid). Missionaries felt such "see" and then immediately "do" behavior was one of their strongest attributes, which was understood as a direct benefit of not being a part of the bureaucratic development system. Unfortunately, this raises concerns about the degree of freedom missionaries seem to operate with, especially when it comes to working with children. The story of the safe-house was very similar to many others told about orphanages with no exit strategy for children, despite some which had been in operation for over ten-years.

Orphanages in Cambodia have been at the center of growing attention given the efforts of UNICEF and the Cambodian Government to promote family-based and community-based family support over residential care (MoSVY, 2011:13). This is in light of the fact that orphanages have been steeply on the rise in Cambodia despite government policies that regard it as a "last resort" (ibid:12) because children are not actually orphans; but rather, poor families are utilizing orphanages as replacement living situations. Despite this concern, missionaries seem to be actively involved in the creation of orphanages. It is very likely they are unaware of the concerns about orphanages since it is a current topic of discussion in the "formal" development arena, but the evangelical worldview is worth noting in this situation as well. Because missionaries see Buddhism as a major source of societal problems, where UNICEF and the government see the orphanage problem as a call to strengthen family finances so that children can stay at home, this is not a solution in the eyes of a missionary. For the missionary, the child must be removed from the family context and offered a loving home (often associated synonymously with "Christian home"), or the family should be supported in becoming Christian so the child can stay (as exemplified by the goal of the safe-house).

Creation of Christian Spaces

Baird (2009) discusses evangelical missionary engagement with institutional care of children in Cambodia, describing what he calls the creation of "Christian places". "These spaces are very clearly meant to be "Christian spaces"…While these orphanages are supposed to provide a "family"

environment, it is clear that these are "Christian family spaces," not actual family spaces." (ibid:466) This is consistent with observations at residential facilities and discussions with missionaries involved in residential care. For Baird, the creation of isolationist "Christian places" facilitates conversion to Christianity. While never explicitly stated, missionaries insinuated intentions aligned with this idea. A missionary couple described the environment of their organization's orphanage, which was meant to "help (children) in their Christian roles (Interview 15)". All of the staff is Christian and they mentor and "disciple" the children "so that they're walking with God, so that they know what it is to walk with God, and to have a genuine relationship with God (ibid)."

Such Christian environments were associated with creating loving and supportive atmospheres in which children can grow and have better opportunities than on the "outside". Similar environments were also described at shelters for women who had been removed from sex-trafficking situations. The director of one such shelter mentioned that one of the girls who had been living in her care had become pregnant and moved back to live with her family to raise the baby. While acceptance from her family could on the one had be seen as overcoming unlikely odds given the stigma that many previously trafficked women face, in the eyes of the missionary it was a complete tragedy. When pressed about it she said that it was sad because the girl's family was not Christian, and thus the girl would be living and raising her child in a non-Christian environment (Interview 2).

From the evangelical perspective the "Christian space" maintains a sense of hope and possibility for change in the beneficiary's life, while outside of that space looms challenges that might cause a beneficiary to revert to non-Christian ways. Whether intentional or not, the nearly exclusive cooperation and collaboration with only other evangelical mission type organizations means that beneficiaries of programs also become "trapped" in an exclusively Christian social service network. Further research is needed to fully explore the phenomenon, but comments by missionaries about their partnerships suggest that evangelical social services feed into one another. For example, a skills-training organization for sex-trafficking survivors had partnerships with several Christian shelters in Phnom Penh. When the women were ready to leave a shelter, they could move on to the skills-training center. While partly out of convenience, the missionary expressed this was also a way to help the women stay in Christian environments (Interview 17).

5.1.3 Summary

(RQ1) is concerned with the nature of evangelical engagement with social services in practice. Emerging from the analysis is a portrait of evangelical engagement with social services that is highly laden with the motivations and expectations of the evangelical worldview. Goals are set in relation to what the missionaries perceive as the best opportunity for improvement in Cambodians' lives—a relationship with Jesus—an ideal that perpetuated by the Christian "bubble" missionaries operate in. The "bubble" reinforces their unconventional approach to social services because they are disengaged from any other approaches by virtue of isolation from the formal development arena, and because they near exclusively engage with other missionaries who affirm the success of missionary approaches. This has the secondary effect of isolating missionaries from the debates surrounding their engagement, because within their social circles, and even their professional circles, the synthesis of evangelism and social services is not only widely accepted, but also *expected*. The "bubble" extends beyond Cambodia since many missionaries are accountable only to their home congregations and donors (generally congregation members) who share such expectations.

5.2 Potential Implications

Beidelman (1974) argued that "compartmentalization, rationalization, and circular thinking" are all aspects of missionary beliefs and that missionaries can "be prisoners of their concepts and unable to grasp the full implications of their policies and actions" (246). "The actual practice of missionizing is itself grounded in profound and insoluble contradictions/…/where there is an especially keen awareness of the gap between ideal (sacred) and actual or necessary (secular) behaviour. (ibid:244)" An analysis of missionary engagement with social services would not be complete without consideration for the paradoxes that arise from the reasoning for, and subsequent realities of, the synthesis of evangelism and social services. Emerging from these paradoxes are several possible implications of missionary engagement with social services, which is the concern of (RQ2).

5.2.1 Paradoxes and their Predicaments

The Illusion of Choice

Interview questions intended to probe how missionaries mentally and practically maneuver around the contentions surrounding the synthesis of social services and evangelism led to multi-dimensional responses about the issue. On the one hand, missionaries always offered that beneficiaries are not "forced" to become Christian. Generally, however, social services were so imbued with ministry that

“opting out” was not really a possibility, which missionaries acknowledged. In fact, the beneficiary’s participation in explicitly religious programming such as Bible study or church service was expected in the majority of cases. This was justified by the fact that beneficiaries only had to “respect” and participate in the activities and not necessarily “become Christian”. Examples of this included an orphanage, which requires all of their children to partake in daily prayers, scripture reading, singing of Christian songs, and weekly attendance at church, and a shelter for sex-trafficking victims with mandatory daily Bible study. In one situation, there was one organization that was essentially paying their beneficiaries to attend religious services. The organization was a social enterprise so the individuals receiving training were also paid employees of the business arm of the organization. Every paid workday incorporated approximately an hour-and-forty-five minutes worth of religious activities. The missionary describing the scenario admitted that this made it virtually impossible to avoid participation in religious services. However, it was hailed as a generous offer since beneficiaries were paid to do something other than “work” (Interview 17).

Opponents of the synthesis of social services and evangelism draw the line at the beneficiary’s ability to make the conscious choice to engage or disengage in religious components of a service if so desired. For missionaries, the line seems pushed slightly farther. That is, the combination of services was deemed acceptable because no one was “forced” to be a Christian. Therefore, it seems missionaries associate the choice of becoming a Christian as the ethical boundary, and not the choice to be free from association of anything Christian. While critics would contend that this scenario limits freedom of choice[4], missionaries would see it as offering choice—offering the choice to be a Christian. As such, a paradox emerges in which there is the perception of choice, though arguably, there is likely limited choice. In her rights-based examination of social services delivered by religiously-affiliated actors, Flanigan (2007) documents the perspective of a secular NGO worker about the conundrum:

> They say the religious part of their program is optional and that they aren’t forcing it on anyone. But I don’t think they realize, I mean when someone has nothing for so long, and then you come and give it to them, that gives you a lot of power. And I don’t mean just food and clothes; it’s the hugs, the attention. You can say, “Well we don’t tell them they have to believe in God.” But in those kids’ eyes, you are God. They worship you, because you are the first person who treated them like a human being, maybe in their whole life. And if you tell that kid that you believe in this guy called Jesus, they are going to believe it too. But not because they sat down and thought about it and made a choice. Just because they love you. And they want you to love

[4] *Conversion* is not inherently bad, but it is generally agreed that it should be based on pure personal volition. It is when *choice* about conversion is questionable that controversy arises.

> them back, and they already had a lot of love taken away from them, and they aren't gonna let it happen again. (173)

To continue receiving services beneficiaries are expected to engage in religious activities. This opposes one of the fundamental features of non-profit engagement in social services as described by Frumkin (2002), "Nonprofit organizations cannot coerce participation or consumption of their services. The sector makes choices available, rather than deciding for others." (4) Theoretically, beneficiaries could express their dislike with the requirements, or they could ultimately leave the services altogether. Flanigan (2007) contends however that this is not realistic when beneficiaries are reliant on the services to meet basic needs (172).

Creating or Breaking Communities?

Missionary anecdotes about their role in Cambodia are replete with testimonies about how they are "restoring lives" and making people "whole". Individual transformations, particularly spiritual ones, are held in high regard and valued as success stories. Digging below these stories reveals another layer to missionary intervention. When asked if there were ever any tensions that arose when beneficiaries converted to Christianity, missionaries were very quick to confirm the hardships this places on beneficiaries.

An interesting phenomenon arising from newfound Christian identity is that beneficiaries express to missionaries new struggles in their life, in addition to the ones they were already facing. These challenges were often related to situations they found themselves in that involved their participation in Buddhist ritual. For example, during holidays or funerals, they did not want to dishonor their family, or worse, be shunned by their family, by not participating in Buddhist ceremonies. Yet, participation in non-Christian ritual from an evangelical perspective is disrespectful to (Christian) God (Baird, 2009:464). Thus, beneficiaries expressed an emotional tug of war between relating with their family and friends who were still Buddhist and living within the worldview of their new religion. "What we think might be their struggle, they're like, 'no my struggle is going to the Wat', or you know, 'my struggle is bowing down to this idol' (Interview 11)." Story after story recounted awkwardness, and at times outright ostracism, between beneficiaries, families, and even villages. "It's really hard, I know a girl who's been stoned like three times in her village. She tells her family she's Christian and they literally stoned her (Focus Group Discussion)."

Baird (2007) also found frequent social conflicts erupting in Cambodia as a direct result of community divisions from the conversion of some community members to Christianity. This was particularly so when younger people would choose to convert and their parents or grandparents did not (ibid). In one village, he found there was a physical split of the community, in which Christian households were required to remove themselves from the area linked to village solidarity (ibid). The paradox in this scenario seems to be that in the attempt to ameliorate the struggles of Cambodian's, new struggles are sometimes created. In the attempt to make people "whole", families and villages are sometimes "broken". While this paradox is evident from a development standpoint, it is not irreconcilable from the perspective of Evangelistic-Humanitarianism, which "requires active Christian witness in the face of opposition or risks" (Thaut, 2009:343). The Bible warns that Christians will face persecution, but such suffering is reasoned commendable, in the anticipation of eternal salvation with Jesus (ibid). In interviews, missionaries expressed sadness that beneficiaries had to endure such persecution, but it was simply understood as the high price people have to pay.

5.2.2 Summary

The question of whether missionary involvement with social services is "good" or "bad" is best left to an ethicist, what can be noted though is there do appear to be some inconsistencies in how missionaries perceive their engagement and the real effects it may be having. This thesis has only been able to point out what the potential implications of missionary engagement with social services are (the concern of RQ2) and not draw any conclusions about them. Previous research has stated, and missionaries' own insight has further confirmed, that beneficiaries acquire new challenges by receiving missionary-run services. Further concern is raised since the degree to which beneficiaries are able to disengage from these services is questionable.

These realities, stemming from the hybrid nature of evangelical engagement with social services, seems to pose another challenge. There is concern that the heterogeneity of religiously-affiliated actors in Cambodia might be lost to non-discerning locals (Delaney and Scharff, 2010:55). A Cambodian with a negative opinion of missionaries might "view all Christian-inspired organizations as hidebound evangelizing bodies" (ibid). It is a possible concern for any organization attempting to engage with individuals and communities. The wide variety of actors in Cambodia makes it very likely that Cambodians have a hard time differentiating between the intentions of actors. Baird (2009) reflects on his experience as a researcher investigating missionary activity in Cambodia. He writes, "Since I am a

Caucasian, I have often been erroneously identified as a Christian missionary. In one case/…/ men who had been drinking rice beer prior to my arrival, and were a bit tipsy, frankly told me when I first arrived at their village, that if I was a missionary, I was not welcome and should leave (465)". Thus, the actions of a few proselytizing missionaries could impact the efforts of other organizations (religious or secular), something which is supported by research with similar findings in other Asian countries (Ferris, 2005; DeCordier, 2009).

6. Conclusion

In practice, evangelical engagement with social services is at its very core, a complex interplay between ministry and development. In Cambodia, evangelical missionaries present an agenda that at once seeks to build the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Cambodia. From the secular perspective, the two ultimate goals are in opposition, but from the evangelical perspective, the goals are mutually reinforcing. Where the nature of evangelical engagement instills a sense of righteousness in the missionary given its accordance with their worldview, it instills suspicion in many development actors. This means that the nature of evangelical missionary engagement is highly dependent on who is assessing it. In the eyes of the missionary it is benevolent, effective, and transformative, but in the eyes of many development actors it is deceptive, divisive, and controversial. This divide is the very reason missionary engagement with social services is a source of contention.

It must be stressed that all missionaries interviewed expressed extreme allegiance to the cause of helping Cambodia, and in particular, their beneficiaries. They most certainly are providing assistance where assistance is greatly needed. However, the findings of this thesis suggest there are possible negative implications of their actions despite them being well intentioned. The many unknowns left about these implications serve as obvious trajectories for future research. One noteworthy investigation would be to see if the activities of proselytizing missionaries create barriers to development cooperation for non-proselytizing actors as some have suggested they do. Along that vein, future research might consider the perspective of secular and mainline Christian development workers to see whether they think their own work has been impacted by proselytization. Additionally, exploring beneficiaries' perspectives and opinions of missionary-run social services is sorely needed. In light of current trends in development to bridge the secular-religious divide between actors by seeking new partnerships with FBOs, the insight from such research would be valuable for development practitioners and policy makers. For, as this research found, many missionaries carry out ministry under the guise of an NGO,

meaning development actors who do not wish to engage in such practices must be inquisitive and discerning about partnerships.

The evangelical missionary enterprise is hard to capture in numbers given its transnational and decentralized character, but the evangelical presence in Phnom Penh observed during research attests to its vitality and ambition. The reality is however that the presence of the evangelical missionary enterprise is not unique to Cambodia, it is engaged across the developing world and it is “as formidable as it has ever been” (Hearn,2002:39). As of 2002 the evangelical missionary enterprise had “an annual income of over two-billion dollars, equivalent to one-fifth of aid transferred by NGOs worldwide” (40). By 2008 the budgets of the major evangelical missionary agencies totaled nearly six-billion dollars (Zinsmeister, 2012). The Southern Baptist Convention, the largest and one of the most active evangelical branches in the United States, is expected to have a record budget for international missions in 2012 at $324 million (up from $309 million in 2011) (ibid). Thus, it is very likely that evangelical missionaries will continue to challenge the normative frameworks of the formal development arena across the world. It is therefore important that development actors begin to consider evangelical missionaries for their unique interactions with development, for just because they are “outside” of the formal development arena does not mean they are irrelevant.

Word Count: 15,059

7. References

Abuyuan, Alethea T. *Faith-based Organizations, International Development Agencies, and Environmental Management*. Diss. PhD. University of Southern California, 2006.

An-Na'im, Abdullahi A. "Introduction: Competing Claims to Religious Freedom and Communal Self-Determination." *Proselytization and Communal Self-Determination in Africa*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1999. 1-28.

Baird, Ian G. "Identities and Space: The Geographies of Religious Change amongst the Brao in Northeastern Cambodia." *Anthropos* 104 (2009): 457-68.

Beidelman, Thomas O. "Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa." *Journal of the International African Institute* 44.3 (1974): 235-49.

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs. *Faith-Inspired Organizations and Global Development Policy: A Background Review "Mapping" Social and Economic Development Work in Southeast Asia*. Rep. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University, 2010.

Bradley, Tasmin. "Does Compassion Bring Results? A Critical Perspective on Faith and Development." *Culture and Religion* 6.3 (2005):338-351.

Bryman, Alan. *Social Research Methods*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford UP, 2008.

Cambodian Genocide Program. "The CGP, 1994-2012." Yale University. Web. 10 May 2012. <http://www.yale.edu/cgp/>.

Carroll, Ethan. "Moving Toward Hope: Observations on Religion and Counter-Human Trafficking in Cambodia." *World Faiths Development Dialogue*. Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, 31 Mar. 2011. Web. 10 Feb. 2012. <http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/wfdd/blogs/dispatches-from-cambodia/posts/moving-toward-hope-observations-on-religion-and-counter-human-trafficking-in-cambodia>.

Clarke, Gerard. "Faith Matters: Faith-Based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development." *Journal of International Development* 18 (2006): 835-48.

Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998.

DeCordier, Bruno. "The "Humanitarian Frontline", Development and Relief, and Religion: What Context, Which Threats and Which Opportunities?" *Third World Quarterly* 30.4 (2009): 663-84.

Delaney, Augustina, and Michael Scharff. *Faith-Inspired Organizations and Development in Cambodia*. World Faiths Development Dialogue, November 2010.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48.2 (1983): 147-60.

Elisha, Omri. "Moral Ambitions of Grace: The Paradox of Compassion and Accountability in Evangelical Faith-Based Activism." *Cultural Anthropology* 23.1 (2008): 154-89.

Ferris, Elizabeth. "Faith-Based and Secular Humanitarian Organizations." *International Review of the Red Cross* 87.858 (June 2005): 311-25.

Flanigan, Shawn T. "Paying for God's Work: A Rights-Based Examination of Faith-Based NGOs in Romania." *Voluntas* 18 (2007): 156-75.

Frumkin, Peter. *On Being Nonprofit: A Conceptual and Policy Primer*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002.

Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, and David Hulme. *International Norm Dynamics and 'the End of Poverty': Understanding the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*. Working paper no. 96. Manchester, UK: Brooks World Poverty Institute, 2009.

Gramby-Sobukwe, Sharon, and Tim Hoiland. "The Rise of Mega-Church Efforts in International Development: A Brief Analysis and Areas for Future Research."*Transformation* 26.2 (2009): 104-17.

Ham, Mary Anna D. "Worldview." *Encyclopedia of Multicultural Psychology*. Ed. Y. Jackson. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006. 479-81.

Hearn, Julie. “The ‘Invisible’ NGO: US Evangelical Missions in Kenya.” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32 (2002): 32-60.

Hofer, Katharina. "The Role of Evangelical NGOs in International Development: A Comparative Case Study of Kenya and Uganda." *Afrika Spectrum* 3 (2003): 375-98.

Hoffstaedter, Gerhard. *Religion and Development: Australian Faith-Based Development Organisations*. ACFID Research in Development Series Report No. 3. Australian Council for International Development, October 2011.

James, Rick. *What Is Distinctive About FBOs?* Tech. no. 22. International NGO Training and Research Center, 2009.

Jeavons, Thomas H. "Identifying Characteristics of Religious Organizations: An Exploratory Proposal." Ed. J. Demerath. *Sacred Companies*. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Jeavons, Thomas H. "Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Do We Know One When We See One?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33.1 (2004): 140-45.

Karam, Azza. “Concluding Thoughts on Religion and the United Nations: Redesigning the Culture of Development.” *Cross Currents* (2010): 462-474.

Kharas, Homi. *Evolving International Architecture for Development Cooperation*. Policy Paper. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2011.

Kissane, Rebecca J. "How Do Faith-Based Organizations Compare to Secular Providers? Nonprofit Directors' and Poor Women's Assessments of FBOs." *Journal of Poverty* 11.4 (2008): 91-115.

Koltko-Rivera, Mark E. "The Pyschology of Worldviews." *Review of General Psychology* 8.1 (2004): 3-58.

Lipsky, Alyson B. "Evaluating the Strength of Faith: Potential Comparative Advantages of Faith-Based Organizations Providing Health Services in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Public Administration and Development* 31 (2011): 25-36.

Loewenberg, Samuel. "Medical Missionaries Deliver Faith and Health Care in Africa." *The Lancet* 373.9666 (2009): 795-96.

Marshall, Katherine. "Development and Religion: A Different Lens on Development Debates."*Peabody Journal of Education* 76.3&4 (2001): 339-75.

McDuie-Ra, D., & Rees, J. A. “Religious actors, civil society, and the development agenda: the dynamics of inclusion.” *Journal of International Development* 22.1 (2010): 20-36.

Meyer, John W., and Brian Rowan. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." Ed. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991. 41-82.

MoSVY. *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia*. Rep. Cambodian Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation, 2011.

Patton, Michael Q. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002.

Pope, Catherine et al. "Analysing Qualitative Data." *BMJ* 320 (2000): 114-16.

Robert, Dana L. *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Scheyvens, Regina, and Donovan Storey, eds. *Development Fieldwork*. London: Sage, 2003.

Scott, W. R. "Institutional Theory: Contributing to a Theoretical Research Program." *Great Minds in Management: The Process of Theory Development*. Ed. Ken G. Smith and Michael A. Hitts. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2004.

Selinger, Leah. "The Forgotten Factor: The Uneasy Relationship between Religion and Development." *Social Compass* 51.4 (2004): 523-43.

Sider, Ronald J., and Heidi R. Unruh. "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Services and Educational Organizations and Programs." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33.1 (2004): 109-34.

Silverman, David. *Doing Qualitative Research*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications, 2005.

Stavland, Ole M. *Balancing Word and Deed--Challenges of Forging a Common Development Thinking in Faith-based Organisations: A Study of Norwegian Lutheran Mission*. Rep. Dublin: Kimmage DSC, 2011.

Stirrat, R. L., and Heiko Henkel. "The Development Gift: The Problem of Reciprocity in the NGO World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 554.1 (1997): 66-80.

Thaut, Laura C. "The Role of Faith in Christian Faith-Based Humanitarian Agencies: Constructing the Taxonomy." *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 20.4 (2009): 319-50.

Ver Beek, Kurt A. "Spirituality: A Development Taboo." *Development in Practice* 10.1 (2000): 31-42.

Wellman, James K. *Evangelical vs. Liberal: The Clash of Christian Cultures in the Pacific Northwest*. New York: Oxford UP, 2008.

Wellman, James K., and Matthew Keyes. "Portable Politics and Durable Religion: The Moral Worldviews of American Evangelical Missionaries." *Sociology of Religion* 68.4 (2007): 383-406.

Zinsmeister, Karl. "Unto the Nations: Is the Focus of American Evangelicals Shifting Overseas?" *Philanthropy Magazine* (Winter 2012). Philanthropy Roundtable, Winter 2012.

Appendix I –Participants

	Social Service Activity	Nationality	Date of Interview
Interview 1	Residential Care of Children	United States	November 28, 2012
Interview 2	Residential Care of Trafficking Victims	United States	November 30, 2012
Interview 3	Residential Care of Children	United States	February 3, 2012
Interview 4	Healthcare and Education	United States	February 21, 2012
Interview 5*	Education	United States	March 12, 2012
Interview 6	Counseling for Trafficking Victims	United States	March 14, 2012
Interview 7	Education	United States	March 14, 2012
Interview 8	Education	Australia	March 15, 2012
Interview 9	Residential Care of Children	United States	March 16, 2012
Interview 10	Rehabilitation and Skills Training for Trafficking Victims	United States	March 20, 2012
Interview 11	Rehabilitation and Skills Training for Trafficking Victims	United States	March 21, 2012
Interview 12	Education	Canada	March 21, 2012
Interview 13	Education	New Zealand	March 23, 2012
Interview 14	Nutrition and Health Education	United States	March 26, 2012
Interview 15*	Residential Care of Children	Australia	March 27, 2012
Interview 16	Education	United States	March 27, 2012
Interview 17	Rehabilitation and Skills Training for Trafficking Victims	United States	March 29, 2012
Interview 18*	Education	United States	March 30, 2012

*Denotes an interview with a missionary couple.

Focus Group Discussion (3 missionaries)	Rehabilitation and Skills Training for Trafficking Victims	United States	March 17, 2012