Development as religious and secular concept
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**Summary**

This study looks at the way in which the good works inspired by religious motives are related to the secular understanding of development. The aim is to better understand how development workers with religious worldview define the concept of development and how their faith influences their thinking. Faith is understood as the source of values based on which the ideas of development are shaped.

The task is approached by interviewing the Finnish staff members of a Pentecostal development organization, Fida International. Their staff members’ understanding of development is studied. Development as a religious concept is formulated based on the interviews.

The background chapters give the context of the study by introducing the debate and connections between the concepts of religion and development. Also an introduction of the capability approach developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum is provided since in this study it represents the secular understanding of development. The key concepts of the approach: functionings, agency and development are used to analyze how religious values influence the understanding of development.

Chapter four introduces the research material, the methods and the process of analysis. The data consist of 16 interviews carried out in East Africa by the author in the spring of 2016.

In chapter five the results of the analysis are presented. The valued functionings that emerge from faith were: fulfilling God’s call, living out one’s faith, deliverance and trusting God, spiritual growth, freedom from guilt through God’s forgiveness and mercy, and achieving balance and harmony. The results are brought together to formulate a definition of development as religious concept.

Chapter six reflects on the results in relation to the literature focusing on the religious perception of development. The elements that faith brings to the secular understanding of development are intertwined around the holistic approach in which the economic, political, social and spiritual dimensions of development cannot be viewed separately. Therefore, the relationship between God and the human becomes central. The human finds his ultimate purpose and thus the aim of development within God in his Kingdom. Therefore, faith widens the time perspective of development from this life into eternity.

According to the interviewees of the study God has called the human to love him by loving his neighbors. Solidarity, equality and just world become the aim of development within the time frame of this life. To reach there, to have Shalom in this life already, was seen as too idealistic. Therefore, the aim of the man-made development process within this time frame emerges with the ultimate aim of development, the life in God’s Kingdom in the eternity.

**Key Words**

Capability approach, development, religious worldview, faith

**Place of storage**

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Development as religious and secular concept

Contents
1. Introduction ........................................................................................................... 3
2. Religion in development ...................................................................................... 8
   2.1. Emergence of development ........................................................................ 8
   2.2. Religion and development ...................................................................... 12
   2.3. Pentecostalism ......................................................................................... 18
3. The capability approach and development as freedom ........................................ 22
   3.1. Definition of development as the expansion of freedoms ..................... 23
   3.2. Functions ................................................................................................. 26
   3.3. Agency ..................................................................................................... 28
   3.4. Capability approach as a framework for analysis .................................. 31
4. Constructing religious concept of development .................................................. 35
   4.1. Fida International .................................................................................... 35
   4.2. Research method and material ................................................................. 38
   4.3. The process of analysis ......................................................................... 42
5. Development as a religious concept ................................................................... 44
   5.1. Effects of faith on functionings ................................................................. 44
   5.2. Effects of faith on agency ..................................................................... 49
   5.3. Effects of faith on the concept of development .................................... 57
6. Development as a holistic process ...................................................................... 68
   6.1. Development in the religious debate ....................................................... 68
   6.2. Religion in the practical development work .......................................... 74
   6.3. Development as religious and secular concept ...................................... 78
7. Conclusion .......................................................................................................... 83
Bibliography ............................................................................................................. 87
   Sources ........................................................................................................... 87
   Literature ......................................................................................................... 87
   References ....................................................................................................... 87
Appendices ............................................................................................................... 95
   Appendix 1. Outline for the interviews ......................................................... 95
   Outline of the focused interviews of FIDA staff in English: ......................... 95
   Appendix 2. Graphic outline for interviews .................................................. 96
1. Introduction

“At the heart of the whole theology of involvement in development is the Christian faith in the truth that humans are created in the image of God and God has entered into a covenant relationship with all human beings. This human dignity calls for certain rights and freedoms that enable humans to live as humans. In other words, the mystery of humans cannot be understood without the mystery of God.”

According to the Bible, Christians have a duty to help the poor and the needy at home and abroad since all mankind are created by God as his images and thus are equally valuable. Therefore, human dignity and solidarity can be regarded as basic values of the Christianity. The work Christians are carrying out in the developing countries can also be regarded as aiming at fostering the wellbeing and dignity of the fellow human being by advancing their opportunities for achieving good life.

This study looks at the way in which good works inspired by religious motives are related to secular development work. The aim of this study is to better understand how development workers with religious world view define development and how their faith influences their thinking. In order to do that, their religiously motivated perceptions of good life and wellbeing are examined in the context of development cooperation. The concept of development employed by these development practitioners is also considered in relation to a secular concept of development.

Even though religious actors have been the first actors in the development work and still form one of the major groups in the development field, religion, faith and spirituality have been taboos for the development researchers and practitioners. In spite of this, spirituality powerfully shapes and is shaped by the development processes. For example, the dichotomy of the sacred and the secular and the lack of models for addressing spirituality have been identified as possible reasons for the avoidance of spirituality in the development theory and practice. Until about 15 years ago there has been only a limited amount of research and literature on the linkages between development and religion or the dynamics between the two. Therefore, it is relevant to study how religious and secular concepts of development can relate to and be in a dialogue with each other. Since

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1 Kavunkal 2012, 41–42.
2 Ver Beek 2000, 39–40.
actors of faith-based organizations are one significant group in the field of
development, it is important to find out how they define development and what it
means to them.

The relationship between development and religion can been seen as
complex or even problematic. Gregory Deacon and Emma Tomalin for instance
have noted that “deep rooted role of faith-based aid and development sits uneasily
with Western views, which are arguably shaped by religion, but whose authors are
unwilling to acknowledge that influence amidst continuing, also unacknowledged,
domination by rubric of modernity.” Chapter two gives an overall background
and context for the study by introducing the debate and the connections between
the concepts of religion and development. Emphasis is on Christianity, since in
this study the perceptions of development practitioners from the Pentecostal
background are looked into. Therefore, introduction to the Pentecostalism is also
provided in this background chapter.

The capability approach challenges the narrow, long term dominant view of
development thinking, which has focused on economic growth. The capability
approach can be said to represent the leading alternative approach to development
and it takes into account the complexity and the diversity among the goals people
have in order to live in dignity. It has been developed by Amartya Sen and Martha
Nussbaum. The starting point of the capability approach is the commitment to the
equal dignity of people regardless of their class, religion, caste, race or gender.
The capability approach is a value-based approach to development. According to
the capability approach development is expansion of beings and doings that
people have reason to value. Even though for many people religion is the source
of values, religion itself does not get attention in the approach.

In this study the capability approach has been taken as the starting point for
viewing the concept of development. It represents here the secular understanding
of development as a concept. The key question in the capability approach is
“What are people actually able to do and to be?” The question seems too simple
to capture the essence of the whole approach to development, but once an attempt
to answer the simple question is made, the complexity it contains starts to appear.
The real opportunities as well as the dreams and the values individuals have in

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3 Deacon & Tomalin 2015, 69.
4 Sen, 1999.
5 Nussbaum 2011, x.
their lives need to be taken into account in order to find answers to the simple question presented.

The key concepts of the capability approach are used in this study as points of entry to analyze how religious values influence a person’s understanding of development and how that understanding differs from the perception of development based on the capability approach. In the beginning of this study process a visualized working model of the concept of development as understood within the capability approach is formulated. Focusing on the perceptions of religiously motivated development workers the study analyzes how faith and religion influence the understanding of development based on the capability approach by assessing if the elements originating from faith can fit into the formulated working model. The capability approach with its key concepts as well as the visualized working model are introduced in chapter three.

The religious perception of development is constructed by analyzing the interviews of the development workers of one Pentecostal organization. These interviews were conducted as a part of the research project led by Päivi Hasu with the title Religion and Globalization: Evangelical Christianity and Development in Africa. The research project is based on the understanding that there is a need to study the role of faith and religion in development projects and to “investigate how development practitioners actually communicate and interact with beneficiaries at the grass roots level by investigating how faith impinges on the practitioners’ ideas of development and affects decisions and actions about how development is conducted”. Séverine Deneulin and J. Allister McGregor have noted that the capability approach has not yet focused on the subjective assessment of people themselves about their life and wellbeing. Therefore, a qualitative study concentrating on the description of the good life and wellbeing by religious persons themselves contributes to the understanding of the role of faith and religious values in development.

This thesis contributes to the above-mentioned research project by interviewing the field staff of a Pentecostal organization, Fida International, in East-Africa. Fida International is a Finnish faith-based mission and development cooperation organization and it will be introduced in more detail in chapter four. The thesis specifically investigates how faith is interlinked with the staff

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6 Hasu, Research Summary.
7 Deneulin & McGregor 2010, 505.
members’ understanding of wellbeing, good life and development. The Religious concept and understanding of development in this study are based on the perceptions and the values of Fida’s Finnish staff members. The geographical area of focus in this study as well as the choice of the organization to conduct the interviews with were determined by the overall focus of the research project this study is linked to.

Chapter four introduces the research material, the methods and the process of analysis. The data consist of 16 interviews with Finnish staff members of Fida International. The interviews were conducted in February and March 2016 in Kampala, Uganda and Nairobi, Kenya. The analysis was done using the key concepts of the capability approach. The themes that emerge from the material are reflected on in relation to the visual working model of development as defined by the capability approach. The aim is to understand faith as the source of the values that the ideas of development are based on. The visualized model of the concepts of the capability approach helps to assess whether the religious values and the elements brought up by faith can be integrated or added to the model and whether they fit into the perception of development of the capability approach, or whether they represent a totally different understanding of development.

The role of the researcher and her relation with the interviewees are factors that need to be taken into account while critically assessing the study and its limitations. These aspects are reflected on when introducing the material and the collection process. Other factors with possible influence on the study are related to the overall context and timing of the material collection.

Significant changes in the policy and funding provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland took place about six months prior to conducting the field work. Due to the drastic austerity measures of the Finnish government in general, the Ministry cut approximately 40% of their funding for non-governmental organizations. This decision also affected Fida’s development work and staffing. During the field period, Fida International was in the process of drafting a new strategy for the whole organization as well as the strategy that would focus particularly on the development cooperation work of the organization. Staff members in the field were also partly involved in these processes. Regarding this study, these effects were probably of two kinds: time pressure experienced by the staff members on one hand, and the sense of
importance of the theme of the study to the staff and the organization on the other hand.

The interviews became rich narratives with many fascinating aspects from an anthropological viewpoint. Particularly the dual focus in the interviews on asking both personal views as well as impressions of the views of partners or locals brought up interesting issues. The educational background of the researcher is in anthropology and throughout her career she has familiarized herself with development cooperation practice. Researcher herself is a passive member of Finnish Lutheran church, which makes her an outsider in relation to Pentecostalism. Therefore, the main difficulty in analyzing the material was to concentrate and focus only on those aspects that were relevant for this study and to go deeper into the theological aspects of the analysis.

In chapter five the results of the analysis are presented. The key aspects analyzed are brought together to assess whether the values originating in faith bring additional elements to the capability approach and its understanding of development. Based on the analysis a definition of development as a religious concept is constructed.

Chapter six reflects on the results of the analysis in relation to the aspects identified in the literature focusing on religious perception of development. By so doing the analysis goes deeper and the competency of interpretations of the interviews is also looked into. The aim is to understand how the religious actors understand development and how their faith influences their thinking. Attention is also paid to identifying how the secular and the religious concepts of development relate to and are in dialogue with each other. Examples of the way in which religion and faith influence the practical development work are also provided. At the end of the chapter the conclusions on the relationship between the religious and the secular concept of development are presented. Chapter seven summarizes and concludes the study.
2. Religion in development

2.1. Emergence of development

Development practice of today is firmly rooted in missionary work and colonialism. Or perhaps more precisely, development can be understood as a product of Christianity and colonialization. According to Stephen Plant and Daniel H. Weiss, “Before development there were charity, and though earlier Christian thinking and practice do not necessarily determine what comes later it is uncontroversial that they shape it in important ways.” Charity in the statement refers to the economic, social and political concerns and actions that were already present in the early Christian community. Whether charity and justice, or love and rights, are compatible or in conflict with each other, is still one of the underlying questions in the development sector. Thus the roots of the essential aspects of development practice can be seen going back to the emergence of Christianity.

The roots of humanitarianism, which can be regarded to include also development, can also be found nearer. Some relate the narratives of colonialism and humanitarianism back to Columbus and the voyages of discovery era. Starting from those times, there has been a debate in Europe about how to treat the others. Do Europeans or Christians have the right or even the responsibility to interfere and save innocent indigenous people by using power? This debate continues today in the form of autonomy of the states and cultures. When is it appropriate and correct for an outsider to interfere? This is another underlying question in the development debate. According to cultural relativism, each culture has its own internal logic. Cultural beliefs and practices are meaningful in their own context and thus should be understood from within. Therefore, the assessment of cultures

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8 Missionary organizations started developmental activities as part of their holistic missionary approach. In the heart of Christian missionary work resides a powerful and motivational conviction: a human consist of body, soul and spirit. In Christianity it is through faith in Jesus that a person can experience 'life in all its fullness'. John 10:10, Matthew 4:4. But wellbeing requires more than the word of God. The material aspect is also important. Missionaries were working according to this holistic approach by building schools and hospitals. One of the longest discussions among missionaries relates to the balance between the evangelistic and the social aspect of the work, i.e. theology versus practical work. It is also argued that since preaching is contextual, it is not possible to separate it from the local struggles for justice. Bosch 2004, 417. So it can be said that missionaries were the pioneers of development work, even though their ultimate aim might not have been to develop the societies they worked in, but to preach the gospel of Christianity.

9 Plant & Weiss 2015, 56

10 See e.g. the letters of Paul in the New Testament.

11 Johansson 2013, 235–237.
with common criteria is useless and cannot do justice to them. The cultural relativism can function as a methodological principle in order to understand cultures without ethnocentric judgements, but it cannot function as an ethical principle to distinguish the right and the wrong.\[12\]

The use of development as a specific concept started only during 1940s\[13\]. The etymological meaning of the word is ‘the growth of something from one state to another’. An idea of a change is built into the concept of development. After the Second World War, once the reconstruction as well as decolonization started to take place, a debate about the nature of development began in the field of social sciences\[14\]. An idea of a change for the better was unconsciously slipping into the definition of the concept. During that time, it was thought that the development processes of societies follow the same pattern as growth taking place in the nature; the growth of a tree follows certain stages towards the natural end. Societies were also thought to develop from primitive societies through an agricultural and an industrial phase to the final end, towards a mass consumption society. The natural end or aim of development of a society was not questioned. In the 60s development studies were emerging as a multi-disciplinary field. The aim of this new field of research was to support the development processes of the ex-colonies towards independent states\[15\]. Both western and eastern development models had one aspect in common and that was the idea that the state, not religion or the church, had a role to play in development. This perception led to the sociological emphasis in the development studies\[16\]. Religion was not generally seen as a positive structural factor that might be useful in the development theory or in the implementation of the development programs\[17\].

\[13\] Marshall 2011, 30.
\[14\] The term development in social sciences created a lot of discussion when it was introduced. Organizations and people with different backgrounds have different definitions for development. Since change for better is embedded in the concept, there is a need to agree on criteria to evaluate if the state achieved by the change is better from the initial state. Depending on the criteria, development can thus be linked to the idea of progress and technological innovations, growth in economical production and income, decrease in the number of people living in poverty, satisfaction of basic needs or fulfillment of human rights. For some, development can mean respect for cultures and their values and traditions, such as living in harmony with nature. These interpretations and views of the development demonstrate that the concept is strongly linked to what is described as living well or living better lives by different people according to their values. Deneulin 2014, 12.
\[15\] Deneulin 2014, 12.
\[16\] Hoffstaedter & Tittensor 2013, 402.
\[17\] Fanany & Fanany 2013, 30.
When looking back at the attitudes and into the details of history, the underemphasizes on religion is surprising. Extensive traditions of charity work can be found among all religions\(^{18}\). Even though there is room for criticism towards the actions and behavior of early missionaries, their contribution to development through building of schools, hospitals and clinics, and through providing social services cannot be denied. It can even be suggested that “development is a form of mission” theologically as well as practically, and the division between the two is artificial\(^{19}\). From this perspective a religious worldview sets the scene for the development actions, which are regarded as essential ways to live as a human being and a Christian.

Robert Woodberry provides an alternative view to the traditional theories of modernization. According to the traditional theories “liberal democracy and other social transformations traditionally associated with ‘modernity’ developed primarily as the result of secular rationality, economic development, urbanization, industrialization, the expansion of the state, and the development of new class structures”. Woodberry’s view takes the above mentioned issues into account, but he claims that “Western modernity, in its current form, is profoundly shaped by religious factors, and although many aspects of this ‘modernity’ have been replicated in countries around the world, religion shaped what spread, where it spread, how it spread, and how it adapted to the new contexts.”\(^{20}\)

Development as a concept lacks a commonly agreed definition. It can be defined simply as a process of transforming from one stage to the next, but as soon as the concept is used in a wider sense, it becomes problematic. According to Seers “Development is inevitably treated as a normative concept, as almost a synonym for improvement. To pretend otherwise is just to hide one’s value judgements.”\(^{21}\) Through value judgements the direction and aim of development are defined. Value judgements differ between various actors and between time periods. Therefore, the creation of a common understanding of the meaning of the concept of development is challenging.

When the development cooperation sector started to emerge, development was simply understood as modernization, industrialization and growth in gross national product. Today there are more diversified definitions of the development.

\(^{18}\) Deacon & Tomalin 2015, 68.
\(^{19}\) Enright & Ware 2012, 170.
\(^{20}\) Woodberry 2012, 244.
\(^{21}\) Seers 1969.
It can be said that the definition as well as the ultimate aim of development depends on the actor and his background and values. Even though the definitions of the term development vary, Juhani Koponen argues that the core of the modern notion of development has remained unchanged. He states that the pith is composed of two elements. Firstly, development is something which is socially achievable, desirable and beneficial to all. Secondly, social process as a rationalistically planned intervention with good meaning will direct the way to development which is in the long-term interest of all.\textsuperscript{22}

The concept of development has three distinct dimensions. First, development can be understood as a process of change, guided or unguided. Second, it can be regarded as the western donor driven aid business\textsuperscript{23} that emerged after the Second World War. Third viewpoint is called the post-development view by Tomalin. This viewpoint includes approaches to development which emerged in the 80s as criticism towards charity work as well as towards the top-down approaches to development.\textsuperscript{24}

More recent thinking in development can also be seen as an alternative to the mechanistic modernization theory that has not focused on the individual human being, but rather on numbers and economic growth. Best-known of the alternative approaches to development is the human development approach that has established itself through United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The approach, based on Sen’s conceptual work, introduced human development indicators which draw attention to human well-being rather than per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in order to compare and monitor development among different countries. Sen’s capability approach has strongly influenced the evolution of other human development approaches.\textsuperscript{25}

As shown above, there is no general agreement about the initial stages and roots of the development phenomenon or the international aid sector. Some authors trace it back to the birth of Christianity, others view it as the continuation of missionary work and colonialism. Uma Kothari presumes that there has been a need to separate ongoing humanitarian development project from the exploitation

\textsuperscript{22} Koponen 1999, 2.
\textsuperscript{23} This is also called developmentalism, which refers to multiple layers of ideas, debates and actions as well as structures and institutions that have been established as part of international development cooperation sector. Koponen 1999, 2.
\textsuperscript{24} Tomalin 2013, 16–17, 21.
\textsuperscript{25} Tomalin 2013, 3.
of colonial time. This can be the reason why some authors hold a view that the humanitarian development project as we know it today only started after the Second World War.

One remarkable classification criterion of development is the emphasis either on change or on state. The western thinking seems to value a constant change, a progress and an improvement, but the aim of the development ideal can also be achieving a balance or a harmony, where the need for change ceases to exist. These two perceptions already contradict each other. Additionally, development can be defined from the perspective of an individual person or from the level of a community; the focus can for example be in the material resources or in the capabilities, depending on the criteria set.

2.2. Religion and development

One of the widely agreed definitions of religion describes it as having two aspects; on one hand a shared belief in supernatural being and on the other hand, something that is practiced by worshipping. Peter Berger states that the definitions of religion have two different approaches. The first one defines religion substantively focusing on the meaning contents of the phenomenon. The second approach to definition pays attention to the functionality of religion by concentrating to the role of religion in the social and psychological system.

The classical approach to religion by Ninian Smart identifies the following dimensions in religion: the practical and ritual, the experimental and emotional, the narrative or mythic, the doctrinal and philosophical, the ethical and legal, the social and institutional, and the material dimensions. It can be said that for many, religion means that besides the objects and the world as we see, there exists something else or more. In religious thinking this invisible world is not separate from the visible one. The invisible world or reality is the home of spiritual beings or entities. Spirits are also believed to have powers to influence the material world.

According to Gerrie ter Haar religion motivates people, influences their thinking, gives moral guidance and empowers people in their efforts to change the

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26 Kothari 2005, 51.
27 Based on the comments of Hallamaa via email 1.8.2016.
29 Berger 1974, 126.
30 Smart 1989, 13–21.
life for better\textsuperscript{31} i.e. to develop. This important role of religion in people’s lives is the reason why ideas of development might not be formulated in material terms and progress not seen in economic terms only,\textsuperscript{32} even though development indicators have generally concentrated on the material aspects of life. Materialistic development indicators might also have contributed to the marginalization of the interest of development actors in the role of religion in the development process\textsuperscript{33}. Religion is the source of values for people and societies. Values determine what type of development is valuable for an individual as well as within the society. According to the liberalist thinking there is no common goal for all people. Instead, everyone should be free to seek whatever they value. In order to allow these individual determination processes to take place the improvement of the material resources is necessary. In contrast, in religious thinking there is a notion of joint development aim for all people.\textsuperscript{34}

The terms religion and development have many common dimensions. According to Gerhard Hoffstaedter and Matthew Clarke: “Development is the belief in a model of and for change with predictable and knowable outcomes. Mission similarly, is the belief in a grand plan that conveys a knowable truth and certainty. Both systems of belief depend on their ‘missionaries’ to change the world and make it something more akin to their own.”\textsuperscript{35} Basically both of the concepts have a vision of how the world and lives of others should be changed. From the religious perspective, the main focus of transformation is on individual or on the inner transformation. That is seen as the necessary condition for transforming the society and the world as a whole. From the perspective of secular development, the interest is primarily in the external environment or in the social arrangements that are made by people to distribute the material resources among themselves. What is aimed at, is to find out how the environment and the structures should be transformed in order for development to take place.\textsuperscript{36}

Various academics in the field of religious studies argue that the terms secular and religious cannot be separated, since these concepts developed in relation to one another. Therefore secularism also has many definitions.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} ter Haar 2011, 7.
\item \textsuperscript{32} ter Haar 2011, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Based on the comments of Hallamaa via email 1.8.2016.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Based on the comments of Hallamaa via email 1.8.2016.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Hoffstaedter & Clarke 2012, 192.
\item \textsuperscript{36} ter Haar 2011, 5.
\end{itemize}
According to many in secularization the role of religion is shrinking on the individual as well as on the social level. Secularism is opposing the view in which God, other type of divine forces, or the sacred, rule and influence people and their lives. A person, the society or the state do not refer to the divine elements in making sense of themselves and the life. The divine forces do not legitimate the actions of people in any way. People organize themselves, resolve conflicts and choose alternatives without leaning on supernatural powers. Often secularism is not regarded as a stable state of affairs. It is more like an unsteady process and therefore religious and secular are simultaneously present\textsuperscript{37} influencing each other.

Charles Taylor differentiates three types of secularity processes; secularized public spaces, the decline of religious belief and practice and new conditions of belief. By the last type of secularization, he means a transition from a society where belief in God is unproblematic and cannot be challenged to a society where belief in God is regarded as one option among others\textsuperscript{38}. Berger argues that the functional definition and approach to religion “serves to provide quasiscientific legitimations of a secularized world view”.\textsuperscript{39} Therefore he states that the substantive approach to religion is important. By not understanding or studying religion “from within” on its own terms, the entire nature of religion as a phenomenon is lost. This then leads to secularized view of reality. According to the secularized view of reality any references to transcendence can only be understood and explained from the perspective of sociological or psychological functions, because otherwise they are just meaningless.\textsuperscript{40}

Secularism has been the trend in Europe, but not in developing countries. Religion is part of a vision of ‘good’ life for most of the people in developing world. Nevertheless, in the history of international development it has not been recognized that when secular policy makers try to make a policy for religious people, they are likely to fail\textsuperscript{41}. Therefore, there is a demand for studies focusing on religious ideas which the development organizations are based on and where their staff get their inspiration.

\textsuperscript{37} Barnet & Gross Stein 2012, 15–16.
\textsuperscript{38} Taylor 2007, 20.
\textsuperscript{39} Berger 1974, 128.
\textsuperscript{40} Berger 1974, 129.
\textsuperscript{41} Haynes 2013.
Even though missionary organizations started developmental activities as part of their holistic missionary approach and with other faith-based organizations (FBOs) were already involved in the development field before the whole sector of development as such existed, religion was traditionally not regarded as the driver for change by many researchers, actors and donors in the development and humanitarian sector. Over the years the context in which FBOs work has changed. Remarkable shift in development studies and on the policy and practice level has taken place over the past decades. The relevance of religion to development efforts and outcomes has started to be seen also positively. In the beginning of this millennium the interest of donors towards religion and faith, and towards their contribution to development, has increased dramatically. Even on the level of the United Nations and the World Bank, the interest towards the faith dimension of development began to raise. Donors such as DIFID, USAID and SIDA started to pay attention to the faith aspect and explore this dimension of development and possibilities it might offer more systematically. Practical example of this donor interest as well as the interlinkages between faith and development are the results of the study by the World Bank, which showed that the major aspect of well-being amongst the poor was a sense of connection to the transcendent.

Rick James underlines that even though donors recognize the importance of religion and possibilities of FBOs in development, there still exists strong ambivalence in the general attitude towards religion in development. This fact also hinders FBOs ability to articulate or even consciously explore their identity as a faith based actor. Since religions are dealing with absolutes and unconditional, religious conviction leading to totalitarian characteristics can be

42 Gerard Clarke has defined FBO as “any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith”. Clarke & Jennings 2008, 6.
43 Tomalin 2013, 8.
44 DIFID=Department for International Development of Government of United Kingdom, USAID=United States Agency of International Development, SIDA=Swedish Development Cooperation
45 James 2009, 6–7.
47 In addition to traditional missionary organizations, there are also various different types of faith-based organization taking part in the development work today. Therefore, the definition of FBO itself is problematic. There is no clear definition of what it means to be a faith-based organization and therefore the term confuses and divides. According to James the term can be regarded as a product of the aid industry and therefore it does not correspond perfectly to the reality. He adds that “for many, the term FBO conceals much more than it reveals.” James 2009, 4.
48 James 2009, 10.
seen as a danger. Mission, vision and values can be easily sanctified and they in return can lead to coercion.\textsuperscript{49}

It is argued that FBOs have added value added in development work. The benefits that FBOs as development actors can provide to aid are linked to the view point that FBOs and their staff have stronger commitment to the cause and better access to communities where development programmes are being implemented, the high trust and good image that the FBOs as actors have, their holistic care approach, and the perception that FBOs are creating less conflicts\textsuperscript{50}. It is also argued that through their own religious activities or sensitivity to faith, FBOs are in better position to uplift the poor. Religious identity is seen to bring additional strengths to that task.\textsuperscript{51} Though to give empirical evidence of the aspects mentioned has proven to be difficult. According to Laurie Occhipinti information that would allow for a systematic comparison of performance between FBOs and secular NGOs is lacking\textsuperscript{52}. Carole Rakodi even doubts if such comparison can be made\textsuperscript{53}. According to Andrea Paras and Janice Gross Stein the impression of religious organizations being more successful in the development sector might not link to their religious identity, but instead to their ability better to bridge the divide between the sacred and the profane and to renegotiate its contours, than secular organizations.\textsuperscript{54}

If compared in terms of identity, development approaches or any other aspect, FBOs vary a great deal. Some of them might be present among the people they work with and have good access to communities, but not all. Also access to resources and globalized faith networks, which might have power to mobilize or lobby important international institutions, can be the reality for some FBOs. FBOs can be powerful at local, national and global levels, but this can make the problematic aspects linked to the role of FBOs more powerful. FBOs, like religious leaders with spiritual and temporal authority, can frame their teachings and advice within a discourse shared by many in the communities in which they operate.\textsuperscript{55} Therefore the authority and trust that they have, can either facilitate or work against development.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49} Holenstein 2005, 367–373.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Hoffstaedter & Tittensor 2013, 404.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Hoffstaedter & Tittensor 2013, 406.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Occhipinti 2015, 333.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Rakodi 2012.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Paras & Gross Stein 2012, 231.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Jennings 2013, 373.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Michael Jennings questions the comparative advantage of FBOs, asking if FBOs are really able to engage with beneficiaries in particular ways, reach particular communities and have particular impacts. And if so, is it because of their organizational form or the method of engagement that gives them an advantage, or is there something about the `faith´ itself that is critical? Faith can matter, not necessarily only because of the religious teaching and religion itself, but because of the particular context. In some locations it can be difficult, if not impossible, for a secular organization to adopt and understand how messages are transmitted and how they are interpreted and acted upon.

As already illustrated, the position of faith is controversial in development. This might reflect the weak understanding of the religious worldview by other development actors. Issues that particularly concern the secular actors in religion are linked to the questionable approaches towards rights and particularly towards the rights of women and other marginalized groups, sectarianism, the role of religion in catalyzing social tensions and conflicts, and above all, evangelization, witness, and proselytism in the context of development programmes.

Since the relationship between the development worker and the local people can be mixture of cooperative relation and power game, it can be argued that any form of evangelism is inappropriate or even unethical. Steve Bradbury states that the integration of evangelism and development poses a real dilemma for the development establishment, because development is still viewed as a secular and material enterprise. Secular actors might be suspicious towards the religious actors and assume that the religious actors and FBOs will favor like-minded community members or communities instead of working for universal benefit. It can also be feared that they are using aid and development as a channel for proselytism. FBOs have responded to this worry by preparing a joint statement, reflecting their current practices and coming up with their own guidelines for their witness and mission among those of different religions. Also many donors have

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56 Jennings 2013, 372.
57 Jennings 2013, 373.
58 Jennings 2013, 374.
59 Bradbury 2013, 424.
60 Bradbury 2013, 422.
61 Williams 2009.
strict rules and guidelines in order to prevent the use of development funds for proselytism.

One aspect of the development is people changing their thinking and behavior, usually through interaction and a dialogue with others. These others are often development workers. Regardless of their background or the organization the development worker is employed by, they have their personal values, ideas and principles that guide their work and behavior including interaction with their colleagues and counterparts. The excessive horror towards proselytism and faith-based actors seems to ignore the fact that there is no development process or intervention without influencing ideologies or values, no matter how secular the actors are. Katherine Marshall has suggested that limited understanding and poor communication among religious and secular actors has contributed to misperceptions and has blocked potentially productive avenues for dialogue and cooperation that could enhance the quality of development. Plant and Weiss see careful theological considerations and reflection crucial for a full conceptual understanding of the relationship between religion and development in the historical and contemporary contexts, and that such approaches can uncover additional angles and insights not available through social scientific approaches alone.

2.3. Pentecostalism
This study focuses on the staff members of Fida International, a particular kind of Pentecostal FBO. Pentecostalism itself is divided into classical Pentecostalism, charismatic movements and neo-charismatic movements. Fida International represents classical Pentecostalism. The roots of Pentecostalism are in the sanctification movements within the Methodist and Baptist churches in USA. Azusa Street revival in 1906 in Los Angeles became famous for the baptism of the Holy Spirit and made the movement international. Pentecostalism does not have an official founder, but Methodist priest Charles Fox Parham’s name is usually linked to the birth of the movement. Pentecostalism was initiated as an internal reform movement within the churches, but started soon to form its own congregations due to the suspicious attitude of the old churches.

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63 Marshall 2015, 386.
64 Plant and Weiss 2015, 64, 66.
65 Melton 2005, 60–61, 421.
Methodist priest Thomas Ball Barratt was invited to Finland in 1911 and in 1915 the first Pentecostal congregation was established in Helsinki. In Finland the movement is quite diverse, the main movement has divided into several different denominations over the years. Pentecostalism in Finland grew significantly in the 1970s-80s due to the charismatic preacher Niilo Ylivainio and the membership has increased steadily even after.

From the beginning the Pentecostal movement has oriented itself strongly to missionary work and evangelization. It spread rapidly and is still spreading strongly particularly in Africa, Latin America and Asia. Finnish Pentecostalists are exceptionally active in missionary work. In Finland, Fida International is the largest missionary and development organization rated by the number of the missionaries in the field. It is also the largest European missionary organization with Pentecostal roots.

Dena Freeman calls the last thirty years the Pentecostal explosion which has changed the whole religious landscape of developing countries. Even though its roots are in United States, Pentecostalism has proved to fit well in Africa. According to Freeman, Pentecostalism shares some common features with traditional African worldview and beliefs. African ontology includes the idea of good and bad spirits and the belief in supernatural beings that can influence this world directly. The same applies to Pentecostal thinking. Therefore, Pentecostalism can be more easily understood and accepted in the context of Africa. Compared to Protestant and Catholic thinking Pentecostalism doesn’t differ as radically from the earlier dominant worldviews in Africa.

There is a lot of diversity among Pentecostal churches, particularly in Africa. According to the Pentecostal tradition local Pentecostal congregations are independent and every believer is blessed with priesthood and the Holy Spirit. This principle advances the diversity of practices. Diversity is observable in teaching, practices and ceremonies as well as in membership. There are congregations in rural areas in Africa, which gather mainly poor farmers as well as city based churches where the membership is from the upper class.

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67 Heino 1997, 86.
68 Kärkkäinen 2005, 313.
69 Freeman 2015, 115.
70 Anderson 2004, 208.
71 Long 2012, ix.
Even though Pentecostal churches are diverse, there are some characteristics that are common to all Pentecostal and charismatic churches. Pentecostal teaching emphasizes the religious experience and the personal encounter with the Spirit of God. The person is baptized in the Spirit or filled with the Spirit. Since the emphasis is on the personal religious experience, making the individual decision about living in faith is also important. Allan Andersen expresses the issue by saying that “by his Spirit, Christ transforms the lives of believers in a `born again’ experience and makes them useful in this world in the service of God and humanity.”\(^\text{72}\) The other common feature in Pentecostal churches is the participatory, ecstatic, spirit filled church service,\(^\text{73}\) which aims at experiencing and encountering God.\(^\text{74}\)

Spiritual healing and deliverance are also emphasized in Pentecostal thinking. There is a belief that through prayer and the work of the Holy Spirit a person can heal in the name of Jesus. The belief in healing and miracles is linked to the belief in devil and his actions. Therefore, liberating a person from devil belongs to the same category with healing and miracles. Traditional African religions with strong spiritual world are often associated with devil worship. This leads the believer to separate and cut clearly off from the past and from earlier spheres of life. Dena Freeman suggests that even though letting go of the past might be challenging this practical aspect of Pentecostalism has proved to be one of its attractions. Pentecostalism demands and legitimizes behavioral changes that might be regarded even radical, such as restructuring of extended families, community, and other social relations. The focus is on personal transformation.\(^\text{75}\)

Freeman talks about a radical transformation within Pentecostalism, which she describes as follows: “Pentecostal churches are exceptionally effective at bringing about the type of change that is often called `development´ - sustained social and economic transformation from `traditional´ modalities to forms of behavior and relationship that fit well with the prevailing neoliberal capitalist system.”\(^\text{76}\) She explains the radical transformation to be the outcome of three interlinked processes of change. The first one can be called empowerment of an individual or personal transformation, where the shift is from seeing oneself as a

\(^{72}\) Andersen 2004, 187, 189, 205.
\(^{73}\) Freeman 2012, 12.
\(^{74}\) Andersen 2004, 204.
\(^{75}\) Freeman 2012, 12–14.
\(^{76}\) Freeman 2015, 117.
victim to the view of seeing oneself as a victor. The second change process takes place in values. Old values are replaced with new ones, which then start to function as moral legitimacy for changes in behavior that might otherwise be impossible to do in the given context. The third change takes place in the social and economic relationships in families and communities, if the other circumstances are favorable.

Relating Pentecostalism to the process of development in Africa and assessing the causes for its power and success in attracting new followers, Freeman points three factors above others. Firstly, the holistic ontology is experienced natural in the context; secondly, the important role of charisma and ecstasy in transforming subjectivity and creating the embodied experience of the actual rebirth and thirdly, spreading the gospel energetically by utilizing modern marketing and advertisement methods. If focused particularly to analyze the factors contributing to the development process, she underlines the following factors. Pentecostal churches are mainly maintained by their members and therefore, churches need to respond to the needs of their followers, which often are linked to the development efforts. Secondly, since Pentecostalism focuses on transforming individuals, Pentecostals have become experts in empowering people. The born-again person sees himself as an agent with power to change things. This can lead to new behaviors and social relations, which are central in social and economic change. The third remarkable aspect in Pentecostalism that can contribute positively to development is participation. Pentecostal churches are very good at fostering participation and involvement on many levels within the church and at attracting communities at large to get involved. The last point for Freeman is the holistic ontology of Pentecostalism that recognizes the social and cultural reality of people and also provides a person legitimate and morally acceptable way out from traditions, which can then influence social relations and behavior in a way that is more concentrated on individual choices, achievements and freedoms.

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77 Freeman 2012, 12.  
78 Freeman 2015, 117.  
79 Freeman 2012, 22–25.
3. The capability approach and development as freedom

This chapter begins by giving an overview of the capability approach with its core elements. The capability approach is presented as a theoretical analysis framework for the concept of development. It introduces the concepts and the framework for analyzing and formulating the perception of development as it is understood by the Pentecostal development workers. Simultaneously the capability approach represents the essential secular perception of development.

Amartya Sen presented the capability approach as a theoretical framework to assess development at the level of individuals. The capability approach and its key concepts were introduced and brought together for the first time in his book “Development as Freedom”, which came out in 1999. Already in 1979 Sen was questioning the way equality and development were being measured. Sen himself emphasized various capabilities that each person has in order to achieve the life that he has reason to value. Sen’s work provided new perspective to welfare economics, social choice, and poverty and development economics.

Ingrid Robeyns describes the capability approach as a “theoretical framework that entails two core normative claims: first, the claim that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and second, that freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people’s capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value.80". The capability approach relates to various attempts to focus on human development and people’s freedoms in the overall discourse of development. Ubuntu philosophy, liberation theology, participatory development, community mobilization and later on, rights based approach are few examples of these people-centered approaches to development which have emerged in the academic discussions.81 The capability approach has become the main theoretical challenger to the purely economistic or otherwise narrow views of development.

The capability approach has provided the framework and basis for designing the Human Development Index for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Sen was involved in formulating the index to measure development trends in countries from a more human centered point of view. From 1990 onwards UNDP has produced Human Development Reports in order to widen the

80 Robeyns 2011.
view of development beyond the comparisons of national gross domestic product (GDP) indicators which only focus on the economic performance of countries.

The capability approach is used in various fields, including development studies and policy making, welfare economics, social policy, and social and political philosophy. It is seen as a conceptual framework for normative exercises, such as the assessment of individual well-being, the evaluation and assessment of social arrangements and the design of policies and proposals about social change in society. The aspect in which the capability approach differs from other well-being approaches is that the focus in it goes beyond the subjective categories such as happiness, and material means such as resources, income or wealth. The capability approach points out the type of information to pay attention to in order to make any judgements on how person’s life is or has been. According to it, the information required relates to human functionings and capabilities. Since the approach has provided tools required for interpersonal comparison of well-being it has attracted many theorists. In order to apply the approach there is a need to decide what the relevant beings and doings are, and how various functions and capabilities of different persons should be integrated into overall assessment of well-being. If the approach is used more broadly, it pays attention to other normative considerations, such as efficiency, agency, and procedural fairness.\(^{82}\)

One aspect of Sen’s thinking is that he hasn’t explicitly recognized the role of religion in development or as a source of values. In fact, Sen is worried of adherents of certain religion interpreting political and social action through their religious lens\(^ {83}\). However, the capability approach pays attention to different values people have and acknowledges the role of values in determining the individual perception of good life and well-being. Religion has a central role in formulating the values at individual as well as societal level. In this study the influence of religious values on the perception of development of Pentecostal development workers is analyzed.

### 3.1. Definition of development as the expansion of freedoms

According to the capability approach, development is understood as the expansion of freedoms. “It is a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”\(^ {84}\).

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\(^{82}\) Robeyns 2011, 2.

\(^{83}\) Sen 2006, 78.

\(^{84}\) Sen 1999, 3.
This particular perspective draws the focus on the very end, aim and objective of the whole development, well-being of a person and his possibility to live the kind of life that is valuable for him.

There are many different aspects that can influence freedom as well as different means to expand freedom. Therefore, freedom has a substantive role in the capability approach. According to Sen’s definition freedom is the real opportunity that people have to accomplish what they value. A person can choose to suffer in one area of life to reach satisfaction of his choice in another arena. Sen examines the aspects of opportunity and process within the concept of freedom. Alkire and Deneulin clarify this division of freedom and its linkages to the capability approach by arguing that capability is attached to the opportunity aspect of freedom, which focuses to the ability of a person to achieve what he values or has reason to value, while the process side of freedom links to the concept of agency and the personal process of freedom within it. The process side of freedom draws attention to the freedom involved in the process itself. Thus both aspects of freedom are important. Processes need to allow for freedom for a person to act and decide, but there has to be freedom in actual opportunities that are available as well, taking the personal and social circumstances into account.

Sources of unfreedom mentioned by Sen are tyranny, poor economic opportunities and poor public facilities, systematic social deprivation, poverty, intolerance, and repressive state. It is not difficult to think of practical examples of unfreedom. When looking at situations where people don’t have real opportunities to participate, the reasons for this limited freedom can be several or combinations of different factors. Poor educational system or racism are examples of institutions that produce systematic social deprivation that can limit opportunity freedom to participate. Poor public facilities, such as transportation system and weak road network can limit the freedom to participate. Hostile authorities can do the same. The limitations can influence the freedom of the person to participate to the life of his community socially, politically or economically or they can cover all different domains. Unfreedom can be caused by unfree process or by limited freedom.

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86 Alkire & Deneulin 2009, 36.
87 Alkire & Deneulin 2009, 37.
88 Sen 2002.
89 Sen 1999, 17.
opportunities that a person has to be or do what he values. Thus both aspects are important in order to understand and analyze development as expansion of freedom.

Sen gives two reasons for freedom to be such a central issue to the development process. The evaluative reason for Sen is that if development progress is to be assessed it can be done mainly by observing whether people’s existing freedoms are further enhanced or not. The effectiveness reason refers to the role of free agency of people in achievements of development. Free agency is the central motor of development. What a person can achieve depends on the opportunities available as well as the agency freedom he has. Shared norms and social values influence the freedoms people have, but at the same time social norms and values are influenced by society, social interaction and public discussion. Therefore, in turn participatory freedoms of the people affect social norms and values.

As formulated by Sen, “Freedoms are not only the primary ends of the development, they are also among its principal means.” The constitutive role of freedom underlines the basic value of enriching human life. The instrumental role of freedom pays attention to the way in which rights, opportunities and entitlements influence the enlargement of freedom and by doing so, also contribute to the overall development. Sen also states that “Greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world, and these matters are central to the process of development.” Sen’s view of development can be said to represent an agent-oriented view. Provided with opportunities, a person can change his life, influence his own destiny as well as help and support others. Passive recipients of aid, beneficiaries, should be seen as active actors, agents, who influence, construct and direct the process of development. According to Sen, the role of state and society in general is to strengthen and protect human capabilities. This means that people themselves are active in formulating development processes, not passive recipients of ready-designed, planned and made development.

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91 Sen 1999, 4.  
93 Sen 1999, 11.  
95 Sen 1999, 18.  
96 Sen 1999, 53.
Sen recognizes that individuals are surrounded by institutions, that they live and operate within different social structures. Thus also the existence and functioning of different institutions influence individual’s freedoms either positively or negatively. Additionally, different freedoms are interconnected, they can either reinforce or weaken one another. Examples of different kinds of freedoms start from basic freedom to survive and goes up to freedom to participate and to use and enjoy one’s talents. So different freedoms from social, political and economic spheres are all included. The key concept, capabilities, refer to the substantive freedoms the person has to enjoy the kind of life he values. Capability is seen as freedom. It is the freedom to choose the kind of combinations in life that the person values and live the life valuable to oneself. Examples of limited basic capabilities can be identified in premature mortality, undernourishment, constant morbidity, illiteracy and states alike.

Sen also adds that “responsibility requires freedom, without substantive freedom and capability to do something, a person cannot be responsible for doing it. But having the freedom and capability to do something does impose on the person the duty to consider whether to do it or not and this involves individual responsibility. Freedom is both necessary and sufficient for responsibility.” The other two central concepts of the capability approach are functionings and agency.

### 3.2. Functions

Functionings are the type of activities and states that compose the well-being of a person or, by Sen’s definition, “the various things a person may value doing or being”. The valued functionings, of course, cover the basic necessities of life, such as being free from hunger, thirst and other life threatening issues as well as having the possibility to be sheltered, feel secure and free from diseases that can be easily protected from. But valued functionings can also be something else, being well educated, being an excellent musician, being respected by one’s neighbors, having a high status in the society, being active participant in the political life of the society or being content and having self-respect. Functionings
can be either very elementary ones for human life or complex activities and personal stages as well as anything in between.\textsuperscript{102}

According to Alkire and Deneulin, an important contribution of Sen to the discussion about capability has been in uniting the concepts of functionings and opportunity freedom in formulation of the capability as a concept. Functionings represent different fields of life. They can relate to bare survival as well as to good health, meaningful or decent work, level of education, social relationships, empowerment, self-expression, or culture. In other words, there is no limit. This is why the approach is applicable in various different contexts. Sen didn’t want to formulate any list of functionings himself. Nussbaum developed the capability approach by outlining a list of ten basic capabilities. They relate to following: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reasoning, affiliation, concern for other species, play, and control over one’s environment.\textsuperscript{103}

Value is a significant aspect of functionings. Issues and aspects that are valued by the person are important. Different states, situations or actions are only counted as something worth achieving, if they are valued by the person. In addition to the being and doing activities that are valued, functionings are also described as things people have a \textit{reason} to value. This addition underlines the fact that people have different views, and social choices need to be made between those. Capabilities combine opportunity freedom with functionings. Just like a person with money can buy different combinations of things, a person with many capabilities can select among many functionings and be the agent of his own life. Capabilities can be defined as the actual possibilities which are open to the person and valued by him.\textsuperscript{104} To assess capabilities one has to observe peoples’ actual functionings enriched with other relevant information. There is a certain leap from functionings to capabilities, but evaluating actual functionings also provides one channel to assess how a person values those options that are available for him.\textsuperscript{105} Functionings can be expanded by force, coercion, domination or colonialism, but focusing on freedom brings people’s own role into the picture.\textsuperscript{106}

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\textsuperscript{102} Sen 1999, 75.  \\
\textsuperscript{103} Nussbaum 2000, 77–80.  \\
\textsuperscript{104} Alkire & Deneulin 2009, 32.  \\
\textsuperscript{105} Sen 1999, 131.  \\
\textsuperscript{106} Alkire & Deneulin 2009, 36.
\end{flushleft}
3.3. Agency
Agency is defined in the capability approach as “someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives”\(^{107}\) without using any external criteria. Individual agency is a central concept for Sen to focus on to understand development challenges. Agency is considered as a part of an active agent of change. Individuals, each agency, have different types of opportunities due to constraints originating in their context and environment. These limiting factors can be cultural, social, or political as well as economic challenges and barriers. So when looking into the individual agency the surroundings need to be taken into account. Social arrangements influence agency, but as Sen remarks, individual agency can also influence the context the person is in. Sen emphasizes the centrality of individual freedom together with the forces that influence the extent and reach of that individual freedom in analyzing development. From his perspective individual freedom should be seen as a social commitment. Therefore, the expansion of freedom is both the end and the main means of development.\(^{108}\)

The concept of agency is central when evaluating “what a person can do in line with his or her conception of the good”\(^{109}\). The element of choosing oneself is important here. It can even be regarded as a valuable functioning.\(^{110}\) Agency is related to the discussions highlighting self-determination, authentic self-direction, autonomy, self-reliance, empowerment etc. Additionally, the concept of agency widens the concern of person’s own well-being to the lives of others, since the person can be active and has the ability to act according to his aspirations. Agency includes power and direct control. It is not limited to individual agency, but entails also what a person can do as a member of a group and community. Agency can advance well-being, but it can also be directed to other goals the person values or has a reason to value.\(^{111}\)

“Capability approach stresses the freedom to choose one’s life path, the exercise of agency in a manner that enhances overall wellbeing. Still agency remains an elusive analytic construct. Composed of psychological traits such as confidence, will, intention, autonomy, and aspiration, agency is a subjective

\(^{107}\) Sen 1999, 19.
\(^{108}\) Sen 1999, xi-xiii.
\(^{109}\) Sen 1985, 169–221, 206.
\(^{110}\) Sen 1999, 76.
\(^{111}\) Alkire & Deneulin 2009, 37.
concept that interacts in complex and mutually constitutive ways with material resources, opportunity structures, and life histories.”

The role of choice as well as the level of individualism within the capability approach are often misunderstood. People’s capabilities have been referred to simply as choices. Choice as a term doesn’t include the issue of value, which is central to capabilities. Therefore “expanding people’s choices”, the expression often used, might give the impression that the more choices there are, the better. This is not the case. Instead, according to the capability approach, the goal is to expand the quality of human life, not the number of choices available for them. As Sen underlines, the amount of options and choices is not the main question. The content, the attractiveness of the available options, is also a significant factor. The freedom one has to reach something valuable to him together with the available options all need to be taken into account while looking at capability.

Many of the choices or decisions are not made by individuals. They might affect various people and therefore are made by discussing and consulting with others. Choices are outcomes of joint processes. Individuals are not making their decisions in a vacuum. Many capabilities also need to be created and sustained by people acting together. The capability approach recognizes and takes into account the human diversity since that is one of the leading ideas of the whole framework, but the approach should not be seen promoting individualism.

The success of one’s agency to reach one’s aims is controlled by factors in the surrounding environment. The context sets the social norms as well as the legal regulations. There are also institutional factors that limit or facilitate the possibilities of an individual to act according to his choices. One of the longstanding debates in social science is the ability of an agent to act versus the power of the surrounding structure and limits that are within the structure. Fischer remarks that “the opportunity structure comprises these institutions that govern people’s behavior and that influence the success or failure of the choices that they make.” He emphasizes that the agent by itself is not enough to make changes. The

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112 Fischer 2014.
113 Sen 1999, 117.
114 Alkire & Deneulin 2009, 34–35
115 Robeyns 2011, 7.
116 Fischer 2014, 6.
capacity and the psycho-social power might be there, but adequate resources and favorable opportunity structures within which to act are also needed.\textsuperscript{117}

The capability approach is holistic in the sense that it looks at the development process as a combination and integration of economic, social and political factors. Therefore, the approach also pays attention to the social norms and values and recognizes their role in the overall process of change as well as their potential as being important factors in limiting or expanding people’s freedoms. Shared values and social norms affect the social practices. Sen emphasizes the importance of political freedom precisely because it gives citizens space to discuss, debate and participate in defining the shared values and priorities. Individual freedom within society is a social product. Between the two, there is a mutual relationship: Social structures can expand individual freedoms and individual freedoms can be used to improve social structures to be more effective, appropriate and enabling for individual freedoms. There are conflicting elements present in relation to development processes, which often include changing traditions. On the other hand, traditional authorities might demand individuals to follow traditions and a person can even value traditions, but at the same time there is a value of individual making the decision freely by himself. Appreciation of the value of human dignity requires that those people whose traditions are at hand are directly involved and also have the opportunity to decide what aspects of the traditions should be changed and what elements should be maintained in the name of development. The importance of human freedom has its impact on what can be done in the name of tradition.\textsuperscript{118} Additionally, multiple power relations are always present in those situations. The power of the donor money is twisted with local political, religious and traditional power struggles.

Sen states that he is a nonreligious person and therefore doesn’t look at development from spiritual or theological perspective. Religion is not even looked at in detail as a source of values. Sen is just settled for commenting that “I appreciate the force of the claim that people themselves must have responsibility for the development and change of the world in which they live.” Sen says he is not in a position to evaluate from theological perspective if God wants man to clean up his own mess in the world or not.\textsuperscript{119} This study brings the aspects of

\textsuperscript{117} Fischer 2014, 153–154. \\
\textsuperscript{118} Sen 1999, 30–31. \\
\textsuperscript{119} Sen 1999, 282.
religion and theology into the picture and links them with the capability approach as the source of values.

Rakodi states that “Religion is an important source of values (the principles on which people draw to make moral/ethical decisions) and beliefs (which refer to the cosmological lens through which people understand the word and their place within it)”. According to her, moral values can be understood as orders from God which people need to discover and interpret according to their best knowledge. Some religions regard themselves the owners of the universal truth and therefore also advance spreading the religion and making others adapt to their values. This can happen via witness of their values through religious practices and daily lives or by particularly seeking converts. Conversion by force is not accepted by any of religious traditions, even though it might sometimes be difficult to draw a clear line between voluntary and forced conversion. Additionally, religions have their own specific means to enhance and pass on their values to the followers as well as to extend them to new circles. People’s attitudes and behavior are an outcome of various influencing factors, religious values being only one component among others. Moreover, the links between values, attitudes and behavior are complicated and can only be studied indirectly.\(^{120}\)

### 3.4. Capability approach as a framework for analysis

The visual working model of the capability approach on the following page (Figure 1.) was drafted in the beginning of the research process to demonstrate the key concepts of the capability approach and the ways in which they relate to each other. It attempts to visualize the understanding of development from the perspective of the capability approach by using the key concepts of the approach. To start with the agency, the arrow in the figure demonstrates the process freedom within the agency to reach out towards the valued functionings. Squares in line are valued functionings. Process and opportunity freedom together with the agency illustrate capability. According to the capability approach, development is the expansion of freedom of an individual to be and do what he values or has reason to value.

\(^{120}\) Rakodi 2012.
Figure 1. Working model of capability approach

Development aspect is drawn to the figure by simultaneously adding a square as increased opportunity freedom i.e. feasible valued functionings and strengthened process freedom for the agency. Additional red arrow is placed to direct from the agency to the valued functionings. These elements together
demonstrate `development´ in the graphics. Development has taken place when the capability of a person is strengthened.

Additional element of achieved functionings is presented by blue colored squares that are seen outside of the capability drawing above of all valued functionings. Functionings here are not preset categories as in the framework developed by Nussbaum referred to earlier.

Material resources are not drawn into the visualized model, since they don’t play a key role in the analysis framework. In every situation there is a certain amount of material resources available to be used, but what is interesting to observe is what kind of choices people do and can do in their use of them. Material resources and income are contributing factors to the opportunity as well as to the process freedom. Some material resources are necessary for achieving valued functionings and materialization of human development. Therefore, during the interviews the role of money, other material resources and income generation activities were discussed in relation to development as well as in relation to faith and religion in order to find out what the effects and linkages between the three are.

Among all valued functionings, what are those which a person tries to reach and what are those that he finally achieves? And what is their relation to good life and wellbeing? Sen doesn’t clearly articulate the position of good life and wellbeing or how they are linked to the other elements in the capability approach. Therefore, the figure representing good life and wellbeing is left without clear links to any other aspect of the visualized capability approach model.

The purpose of the visualized working model of the capability approach is to support the reflection on the ways the key dimensions of the capability approach are shaped by the faith-based world view of the development workers. The dimensions to focus on are 1. functionings, 2. agency and 3. development. In the analysis phase the study of the ways faith shapes the above mentioned dimensions of the capability approach was of particular interest. The dimensions function as

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121 Even though in general, wealthier people might be more content and happier, there is no clear correlation between happiness and income. Paradoxically also Fischer cites that happiness does not increase linearly with income in international comparisons. Fischer 2014, 8.

122 Usually good life is defined in psychology and philosophy as living meaningful life valued by oneself. Through his ethnographic research Fischer demonstrates the importance of aspiration and agency in good life and happiness. A person needs to have a feeling of control of his own life and fate. Fischer 2014, 202.
entry points to reflect on the ways in which faith influences person’s perception of development.

The working model formulated made the development perception of the capability approach visible. The model illustrates in what ways the concepts and dimensions of the capability approach are linked to each other. Their interconnectedness also applies when analyzing the effects of faith to each of the dimensions. Focusing on the perceptions of Fida staff members, this study analyzes the ways in which faith and religious world view shape the understanding of development.
4. Constructing religious concept of development

In this chapter Fida International is introduced as a faith-based development organization. Since Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania are the case countries of this study a brief history of Fida’s presence and activities in East-Africa is also given. Then the research methods are described in order to provide the reader with the information required to assess the research process and results as a whole. After an overview of the data, a detailed description of the way in which the interviews were analyzed is given in order to discuss the research task. The aim of the study is to analyze how the development workers of a faith-based organization define development and how their faith influences their thinking. While completing this task, the ways in which religious and secular concepts of development can relate to and dialogue with each other are brought into view.

4.1. Fida International

Fida is a Finnish Pentecostal organization founded in 1927, known at that time as the Finnish Free Mission. In 1974 a development department was established within the organization, and by 2001 the name Fida International was introduced covering missionary as well as development cooperation activities. Today Fida is the mission and development cooperation organization of the Finnish Pentecostal churches and has its roots in so-called classical Pentecostalism. Today Fida works in 60 countries with around 220 employees and hundreds of volunteers. The work is based on Christian values and a holistic view of the man. The name Fida comes from Latin word ‘fida’ and means ‘faithful’ and ‘trustworthy’. Fida’s mission is holistic and Fida believes that Christians and churches in general are called to serve and face the needs around them. Therefore, Fida stresses that various kinds of needs people may have, mental, spiritual as well as physical and social, have to be addressed.

The first Finnish missionary with Pentecostal background arrived in Kenya already in 1912, but he returned back to Finland in 1919. The more long-term Finnish Pentecostal missionary work started in Kenya in 1949 with two Finnish missionary couples, and the work grew steadily to the extent that in 1971 a

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123 Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys ry (SuVUL).
124 Lähetyskseen Kehitysapu (LKA).
125 Hakola 2004, 7.
Finnish school was established for the children of missionaries. Kenya has been regarded as the most successful mission field for Finnish Pentecostalism, since the number of followers is largest there. The work in Kenya can be divided into three phases. Pioneering phase lasted till 1962 and was followed by the phase of the establishment of Full Gospel Churches of Kenya (FGCK) denomination till 1979. In the last phase the development work started already earlier for example with children was strengthened. In recent years the emphasis in Kenya has been on development work, on support and coordination of Fida’s regional program for Eastern Africa as well as on capacity building of the local partners. Fida has its regional office in Nairobi and there are six Finnish development workers in the country.

In 1934 the Finnish Free Mission sent their first missionaries to Tanzania. It was noted then already, that the scope of missionary work is wide. In addition to planting churches, missionaries established hospitals, orphanages, schools, colleges, clinics and even a radio station. The number of missionaries in Tanzania grew remarkably only later, in the 1980s. During those years the relative number of missionaries in Tanzania was actually the highest of all geographical areas. Diaconal work started to stand out and the focus of the work has been in the social sector. Today there are four Fida development workers in the country.

Finnish missions based in Kenya started to pay visits to Uganda in the beginning of 1970s. Later they moved permanently to Uganda. A Bible school was opened there in cooperation with other Nordic Pentecostal missionaries. Finnish Pentecostal ecclesiology emphasized the autonomy of local churches. Newly planted churches therefore brought with them the need for theological education. The need was responded to by establishing the Bible schools. Presently, the number of Finnish missionary and development workers connected to Fida in Uganda is eight.

As a mission organization Fida aims at spreading the word of Jesus Christ as well as teaching the Bible where it is not yet known in order to establish new churches which can then become financially, administratively and theologically independent. Even today Fida’s role is to encourage and equip the new churches

129 Field notes.
130 Anderson 2004, 114.
131 Ruohomäki 2013, 88, 248.
132 Ruohomäki 2013, 248.
133 Anderson 2004, 112.
so that they can start their own missions and missionary work. Church partners’ theological education and training are supported. Today the Eastern African Pentecostal denominations have several millions of members. Fida continues its work there by encouraging Pentecostal denominations to work for the benefit of their community and to become active in speaking up for those who are the most vulnerable, such as HIV-positive people, children, disabled people, women and girls.

In addition to missionary work, the desire of Fida is to “help our neighbors to break free from extreme poverty and empower them to influence the circumstances of their own lives.” This work is done by cooperating with local denominations, churches and other non-governmental organizations. The aim of Fida’s development cooperation is to reduce poverty and improve the living conditions of the most vulnerable. The development cooperation work of Fida follows the principles of Christian diaconal work: “loving your neighbor, serving each other and giving voice to the poorest of the poor”. The volume of the development cooperation work is remarkable, over 60 projects in approximately 30 countries. Development cooperation projects are planned and implemented at grass-roots level together with local partners. Often the partners are local churches and through implementing development cooperation projects jointly, they are supported in being just, caring, and responsible actors in the society. The project work concentrates on the fields of preventive healthcare, food security, education and vocational training. Additionally, Fida runs child sponsorship programs and is active in humanitarian aid: “Fida’s humanitarian aid provides acute help during crises, supports communities in recovering from disasters, and strengthens catastrophe preparedness in countries where such risks are high. Fida offers aid in sudden natural disasters by providing food aid, clean water, shelters and health services. The organization also provides help in the so-called forgotten crises. Refugees are supported in Congo (DRC) and Uganda. Fida also equips countries at risk in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR).”

The development cooperation work of Fida has been supported by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs since 1974 and Fida has had a partnership agreement with the Ministry from 2003 onwards. Fida is also a partner organization in ECHO, the European Commission’s Humanitarian Aid Office and EU-CORD which consists of 21 Christian aid organizations. Fida’s humanitarian work is also supported by Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Private donations,
self-collected funds and profits from Second Hand Shops are the other sources Fida has to fund its activities. In 2013 there were 241 Pentecostal churches in Finland with a membership totaling some 50,000. Globally Pentecostal denominations are the fastest growing section of Protestant Christianity.

4.2. Research method and material
This study was conducted as part of a research project titled *Religion and Globalization: Evangelical Christianity and Development in Africa*. Operationalizing the effects of faith in the capability approach as well as translating these aspects into interview questions were supported by the ethnographic research experience of Päivi Hasu. This study contributes to the operationalizing of the capability approach by integrating religion and faith into it as a source of the values on which the assessments of human development are based. At the same time, this study illuminates the viewpoints on development of individual staff members of this faith-based organization.

Thematic interviews were used as a method of generating data for the analysis of how religious persons, in this case, the Finnish field staff of Fida International in East-Africa, understand good life, wellbeing and development and how faith and religion are interlinked to their values and perceptions. The religious perception of development was formulated by analyzing and reflecting on Fida’s Finnish staff members’ interviews within the concepts of the capability approach. Through the analyses an understanding was constructed about development as a religious concept.

A thematic interview usually focuses on the basic characters and nature of the phenomenon in question and tries to find a hypothesis rather than to test or verify preset assumptions. The way a particular phenomenon, or theme, is present and concrete in the world of the respondent depends on him, his thoughts, experiences and his life situation. Therefore, the themes chosen by the interviewer also need to be broad enough flexible enough to give room for the diversity and richness of the phenomenon to be revealed during the interview. Thematic interview has proved to be a method that allows interviewees to react freely and

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134 The research of Hasu in Tanzania has focused to understand how faith-based institutions construct their world view, and motivate and institute their activities in relation to development and human capabilities. Additionally, her research has focused on how do individuals and their communities perceive good life and human capabilities, and are able to act towards development and wellbeing in the light of their religious world view. Hasu Research summary, 6.

135 Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1993, 41.
Choosing a method like thematic interview does justice to the diversity of live and reality. The aim is to catch the nuances of the phenomenon and summarize them so that the new dimensions of the descriptions correspond to and transmit the thoughts of the respondents.\textsuperscript{136}

In practice a thematic interview in this study meant that an outline of questions was prepared, but the purpose of preparing the outline was to approach the different aspects of the key concepts as illustrated in the visual working model. This was done in order to identify the entry points that could be used in eliciting the respondents’ views and reflections. Preparing the outline of questions also functioned as a mental practice for the interviews. In the interview situations the outline was used as a backup for the memory to make sure that the respondent is covering all the themes in his free elaboration. The outline of questions is presented in attachment 1. Since the timeframe of the interviews was anticipated to be hectic from Fida’s perspective, there was a concern about meeting the staff members who would just want to be quick and answer questions briefly. Therefore a more graphic mind map type outline was prepared to have at hand in the interview situations. The mind map is presented in attachment 2. The mind map highlighted the main themes that need to be covered, but didn’t list the questions formulated beforehand in order not to fall into a question and answer pattern.

The valued and desired dimensions of good life and wellbeing, those beings and doings that the person values were captured from the persons’ narratives as well as sometimes asked directly with questions such as: What does good life mean to you or what belongs to good life from your perspective? These types of questions covered the concept of functionings. Agency aspect was approached by questions like: What kind of challenges and difficulties do people face in achieving good life? Does their faith affect these challenges? What kind of opportunities do people have to achieve good life and development? Does faith empower? How? Can faith facilitate good life and development? The aim was to map the positive and negative freedoms that empower or constrain people and analyze the role of faith and religion in the processes.

The concept of development was present in respondents’ narratives, but there were also direct questions about it such as the following: How do you understand

\textsuperscript{136} Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1993, 8.
\textsuperscript{137} Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1993, 128.
development? What is development and what is required for it? In order to focus on the role of faith in understanding of development, the interviewees were asked questions such as: “Is development a human process of change or does it involve God? What is the time perspective of development process? Is it a secular process or does it also cover the time after death aspect?”

When the research methods and material collection involves people, special emphasis is always needed to ensure respectful and human treatment\(^\text{138}\). In this study a permission from Fida and the participants was requested, the participants’ consent, confidentiality, anonymity and care in recording, saving and storing the interview material were also considered.

Since the interview situations are unique, repeating an interview would be artificial. In assessing the validity and reliability of the research the whole research process has to be taken into account. There is a need to assess how well the key aspects of the phenomenon have been captured, how the theoretical framework and the concepts are being used, and whether the themes chosen for the interview are relevant. Further concerns included the interview situations, whether the questions were correctly understood, whether the interviewees were persons suitable to be interviewed given their knowledge in the field, and what was the extent of the influence of the interviewer in the situations. In addition to the interview situations, there is a need to look into how the process of analysis was carried out. Do the themes formed resonate with the theoretical framework and how well do the formulated categories correspond with the thoughts of the respondents? In order for the reader to assess the credibility of the research set up, data collection and analysis, as well as the final results of the study, a detailed description of each stage is provided.

Staff members of Fida in Uganda and Kenya were interviewed about their reflections on the way in which they see faith associated with good life and development. The interviews were conducted between 7.2-6.3.2016 and 26 persons in total were interviewed, 16 Finns and 10 people representing Fida’s local staff or beneficiaries. This study is based on the material gained from 16 interviews conducted with Fida’s Finnish employees. Two staff members declined to be interviewed. Additionally, one former Finnish staff member who was still living in the area was interviewed. Fifteen of the interviews are in Finnish and

\(^\text{138}\) Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 1997, 26–27.
one is a mixture of Finnish and English. On two occasions the husband and wife of married couples were interviewed at the same time. In these cases, the interviews are counted as one interview.

Of the Finnish interviewees six out of sixteen were based in Uganda, three in Tanzania, and seven at Fida’s regional office in Nairobi. In the group there were two people who were fully employed in missionary work and four had job descriptions that related to both, development or humanitarian work and to missionary activities. Generally, both groups shared a somewhat similar holistic approach to their work. Ten of the Finnish staff members were working purely in development sector. The background of Finns varied a lot. There were those who had spent their childhood in Africa with their missionary parents as well as those without that kind of a background. The ages of respondents also varied a lot.

Interviews lasted from around 45 minutes up to 1 hour and 40 minutes. They were conducted either at the homes or work places of the interviewees. Additionally, three of the interviews took place at the guesthouse where the researcher was staying and three took place during Fida’s workshop outside their office premises. Even though the timing of the field period was challenging from the point of view of Fida’s staff members, once the actual interview was taking place most of them focused fully on the subject and the discussion. This also applied to those cases where the interview took place at Fida’s office or during their seminar. It seemed that the respondents found the topic and questions interesting and elaborated on them enthusiastically.

The actual interview situations were relaxed and unformal. Many of the respondents commented afterwards that they had felt easy and enjoyed the interview. The researcher had met twelve out of the twenty-six interviewees beforehand and knew eight of them from 2013, when she lived six months at the Pentecostal compound in Kampala. This familiarity helped to create trusting and safe conditions for confidential discussion and therefore improved the quality of the study. Another factor that might have influenced some of the interviewees’ comments is that shortly before the field trip the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had made enquiries about the way in which faith-based organizations receiving government funding separate the missionary and development work in the field.

All the interviews were recorded. After each interview, notes, observations about the situation, and afterthoughts were written down in the field diary. After conducting the interviews, the recordings were transcripted. Transcriptions were
done by using the F4 programme and the final transcription was then saved as a word document to be used in the analysis phase. The amount of text from one interview is approximately 15 pages with double line spacing.

4.3. The process of analysis
At the beginning of the analysis, the transcribed interview texts were analyzed once, identifying all passages related to faith and to the understanding of concept of development. This was done in order to identify the passages linked to the points of interest to get an overall idea of the amount of relevant material. The transcripts were then gone through one by one and the topics emerging in relation to faith and functionings, faith and agency, and effects of faith on development were compiled. In practice the individual interviews were analyzed as follows:

- Firstly, special attention was paid to the description of good life by respondents as well as the elements contributing to it. Elements of good life are valued beings and doings, or, using the terms of the capability approach, functionings. In practice functionings are all those types of states and statuses of being as well as different types of doings that a person himself appreciates. Which of these functionings originated from the respondent’s faith was the first question to focus on.

- The second point of interest was to find out what kind of role faith is stated to have in the process of achieving those functionings that people value i.e. how faith influences their agency. Agency can be defined, like Sen does, as “what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important.”139 The purpose of studying agency was to understand how faith affects the personal processes of reaching good life and attaining development. Agency is linked with the concept of empowerment, which is widely used in the development language. Looking at empowerment provided a good entry point for studying interviewees’ understanding of peoples’ possibilities or roles in development.

- Thirdly, the focus was in analyzing the way in which faith shapes the capability approach and its understanding of development. In order to reflect the original research task to understand better how development workers with religious world view define development and how faith

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139 Sen 1985, 203.
influences their thinking the pervious components of the analysis were summarized and brought together.

The notes from each interview functioned as the preliminary starting points for the analysis. Other interesting or surprising points and passages in the interviews were also noted down for possible further elaboration in the final analysis and concluding discussion. Aspects and issues that the interviewees brought up in relation to the points of interest of the study were then grouped together to form relevant major categories answering the analysis questions. The major categories as elements generated by the faith were examined in relation to the concepts of the capability approach. The aim was to assess whether the elements brought up by faith can be integrated into the model, whether they fit in or rather represent a different perception of development.

Even though the interviews would have made it possible to compare the perceptions of interviewees with different backgrounds, this was not done. Instead, all possible ways in which faith has influence that were referred to were identified. This was done in order to make it possible to map out the various roles and ways in which faith can influence or does influence the understanding of development as defined in the capability approach.

The interviews had a double focus. Firstly, the participants’ personal views and secondly, the observations and understanding he had about his partners’ and beneficiaries’ views and life. This double focus introduced an additional factor to the overall research set up and analysis phase. In the analysis phase this was dealt with by not separating the personal opinions and interviewees’ observations and understanding about partners’ and beneficiaries’ views and life. This was done with the hope of capturing the richest possible view of effects of faith.
5. Development as a religious concept

The results of the analysis are presented in the three following subchapters according to the focus of analysis: functionings, agency and the concept of development. In presenting the results quotations are used whenever relevant in order to give the voice directly to the interviewees. The English translations of the quotations as well as the summarizing of the Finnish original responses were done by the researcher. Original Finnish responses are found as footnotes. The number in brackets after quotation refers to the number used to organize and store the transcripts of the interviews by the researcher.

5.1. Effects of faith on functionings

In the capability approach, functionings are beings and doings that a person values and has a reason to value. The following are examples of functionings that came up in the interviews: sustainable fulfillment of the basic needs such as water, food, shelter, safety and security; education for the children and family; peace as the peace of mind and as peace without violence; serving and helping others; contentment; good relationship with God; good relationship with other people; hope, fearlesseness, self-growth and development; joy, beauty, extravagance, power and material things. These beings and doings are either linked to the personal views of interviewee, his understanding and observations of what partners and beneficiaries value, or what Christian believers and non-believers value according to the view point of the interviewee.

After a deeper analysis of the interviews the functionings that were clearly based on the faith of the respondents were identified. Finally, six categories were constructed that captured those valued functionings that clearly originated from the faith of a person.

The first category of functioning is named **Fulfilling God’s call.** God’s calling came up in many interviews when respondents were reflecting on their path to their present jobs and lives. In the beginning of the interviews they were usually asked how they ended up in Africa. What motivates them in their work and does their faith influence or contribute to the work? How? These questions usually brought up the issue of God’s call.

“…if we talk about God’s call ... it first started from that ... already at a quite a young age I became conscious, that something to do with missionary work ... that is the thing... myself I didn’t have a clear idea, but little by little it started to
take shape …to have something to do with the support of the poor and the vulnerable, to work with them and help …” (16)

Answering the call of God brought a positive feeling. The respondents were elaborating on the feeling as follows:

“feeling content with what I do and be” (6),

“I believe I am doing what I am or what I believe in” (8)

or “meaningfulness, mental wellbeing and contentment” (2)

The second category is named Living out one’s faith. This category includes the responses which refer to loving God by loving one’s neighbor. An example from one interview follows:

“The concrete way to demonstrate that we love God and have something to do with him … if we see a need to which we can somehow respond, we must do so. It doesn’t mean that we can help the whole world, but we can help or change someone’s whole world.” (2)

The third category of functionings was Spiritual growth and struggle. A certain tension can be seen between the idea of good life and wellbeing versus the idea of struggle, as the following comment demonstrates:

“it is a paradox, sometimes it is said that devoted Christians have a good life, but it can be the opposite. After you are born-again the difficulties start” (3)
This category relates to the concept of agency in the capability approach and will be elaborated on more in the next subchapter. Example from other respondent’s narrative about the good life is as follows:

“time for mental and spiritual growth by reading Bible, praying … I am fallible, I can’t manage to do everything right, but when you try your best, can you even demand more?” (4)146.

The rest of the three functionings were about valued beings. The first valued being that originated in faith was Deliverance147 and trusting God.

“Christianity brings assurance about the eternal life, but maybe a poor person is not able to think all the way to the eternity and lives in everyday struggle ... through that …Christianity brings the trust in God, that he will hear prayers and help.” (1)

“Peace given by God about salvation” (3).148

Freedom from guilt through God’s forgiveness and mercy is a valued being that was particularly elaborated by those respondents who had not lived their childhood in religious surroundings.

“The relation to God is important, it is the key factor that you can experience the freedom that comes from your relationship with God …that you have been forgiven and you can tell the others that they too can be forgiven and that there is someone greater who cares and helps us … this really opens your eyes … that there is meaning in life … it gives new perspectives” (11)149

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146 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: henkisen ja hengellisen elämän kasvua … on ollu aikaa lukea Raamattua, rukoilla … Mä oon erehtyväinen, en osaa kaikkea tehdä oikein, mut sit kun parhaansa yrittää niin voiko sitä enempää vaatiakkaan? (4).

147 In Finnish: pelastusvarmuus.

148 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: … länsimainen kristitty…niin sillä on se ulkoinen puoli … on turvattu ja se kristillisyyys tuo hänelle turvaa siitä iankaikkisesta elämästä, mut sitten tää köyhä ihminen ei kenties jaksaa ajatella ihan sinne iankaikkiseen elämään asti, vaan se elää siitä…että miten mä tästä pääväästä selviän ja siitä kautta se kristinusko vaikuttaa siihen, että tulee luottamus siihen …et Jumala… et kun hän rukoilee niin Jumala voi auttaa (1) … just se pelastusvarmuus, se rauha … (3).

149 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: omassa kokemuksesssa ja omassa elämässä se suhde Jumalaan on merkittävä tekijä ja se niin kun on yks mun mielestä avain tekijä siihen, että sä pystyt kokea sen vapauden joka sulle tulee jumalasuhteessa, et sa oot saanu ite anteeks ja sä voit kertoa toisille, että nekin voi saada anteeksi ja on joku suurempi joka väittää meistä ja auttaa meitä ja kyllä se on semmonen, ainakin mun henkilökohtasella kohalla on ollu semmonen silmiä avaava niin kun tekijä, että on olemassa jotakin meitä suurempaa ja on olemassa joku tarkotus elämälle … kun sä saa sen henkisen ja jumalasuhteen kautta sen tarkotuksen elämään, niin se voi antaa ihan uusia näkövikkeleitä, että miksi täällä eletään. (11).
“he can experience that his sins are forgiven … there is a real difference in the openness of the eyes… they are free to think about the future” (6)\textsuperscript{150}

The last category of valued beings was **Balance and harmony**. This category includes harmony with God, with oneself, with other people, and with environment. Balance between physical, mental and spiritual domains in life as well as statements about internal peace are also grouped into this category. Many of the respondents emphasized the importance of a holistic approach while reflecting on the concept of development. This also indicates that balance and harmony are valued beings. Pointing out that some kind of balance and harmony is appreciated in many different worldviews could be seen as a valid critical point here. So, does this category really emerge in Christian faith? The following interviewee illuminates the Biblical roots of the idea of harmony as follows:

“… health, it is more than physical health, it is harmony with God, oneself, other people and environment … harmony, this health, it goes to the Biblical language .. there is the word SHALOM, which refers to the state in paradise, where there were perfect physical health and perfect connection with God and environment and there were no conflicts… this kind of holistic wellbeing, where basic needs of the people are fulfilled, physiological and external, but also this kind of freedom to live and act … happiness …this kind of holistic… not necessary that you have a lot in material terms or you are rich, but that you have enough what you need … and more of this kind of internal, that has a person peace, joy and ability to love and this kind of things.”(16)\textsuperscript{151}

All in all, six categories of functionings originating in faith emerged from the narratives of respondents. Three of them were valuable doings and three valuable beings. Once they are viewed in parallel, it can be noted that there are linkages and overlap between them. There were some challenges in defining the

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\textsuperscript{150} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: … hän saa kokea ihan synnit anteeks, että hän kokee, että hän on tehnyt väärin ja sill on aika huikee ero siinä katseen avoimuudessa ja ne on niinkun vapaita, ne on vapaita ajattelemaan tulevaisuutta … (6).

\textsuperscript{151} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: että terveys, että se on enempi kun vain fyysinen terveys, et se on harmonia Jumalan, itsensä, toisten ihmisten ja ympäristön kanssa elikää ja se harmonia, se terveys sana, se ehkä tässä menee raamatulliseen kielenkäyttöön. Siel on semmonen sana kun shalom, joka oli ikäänkuin tila paratisissa, jossa niinkun kaikki oli … tavallaan täydellinen fyysinen terveys ja täydellinen yhteys Jumalan ja ympäristön kans, ei ollut mitään tällästä ristiriitaa. Et jotenkin semmonen kokonaisvaltan hyvä, elämä kokonaisvaltan hyvinvointi, jossa perustareet on ihmiseläiset kunnossa, fysiologiset ja tämmöset ulokset, mutta myös sitten tämmönä vapaus elää ja toimia ja onnellisuus ja tämmönä hyvin kokonaisvaltanen, että ei välttämättä niinkun, että on materiaalisesti paljon kaikkea tai et on rikas, vaan et on kaikke sitä, mitä tarvii niin riittävästi ja varmaa sit enempi on tällästä sisästä, että onko ihmisellä rauha, ilo ja kyky rakastaa ja tämmösiiä asioita. (16).
borders, but this was the clearest division of categories possible based on the analysis of the material at hand. The categories of ‘fulfilling God’s call’ and ‘living out one’s faith’ are very closely connected and they could have been merged into one category. The decision was to have two separate categories, since the tone and the context in which they came up were a bit different. Achieving two of these valued functionings is not dependent on person’s actions. They are given to the person through their faith only. A born-again Christian can be free from guilt and can trust God as a starting point, even though along the Christian life path there can be times of doubt. Fulfilling God’s call, living out one’s faith, spiritual growth, and achieving the balance and harmony are valued functionings, that require activity from the person wishing to achieve them.

The first question to answer was to determine which valued functionings originate in faith of the respondents. In the following figure those functionings categories are presented in parallel. According to the interviews these functionings form a key part of wellbeing and good life for a Christian. Wellbeing and good life were described as having contentment, joy, peace and hope.

Wellbeing
Good life
Contentment, joy, peace, hope

Fulfilling God’s call
Living out one’s faith by loving God via loving ones neighbours
Spiritual growth and struggle
Deliverance and trust in God
Freedom from guilt through God’s forgiveness and mercy
Balance and harmony

Figure 2. Six categories of functionings that originate in faith
5.2. Effects of faith on agency

The empowerment process came up in many of the discussions. As it is widely used concept in development cooperation sector\textsuperscript{152}, it provided a good entry point to elaborate one of Sen’s key concepts: agency. It was also felt that through elaborating on the empowerment process, it was natural for the interviewees to identify how faith influences agency. Jo Rowlands argues that empowerment is experienced and demonstrated on the personal, relational and collective levels\textsuperscript{153} and it is a context specific process. According to Rowlands empowerment as a concept lacks a concrete meaning and that hinders the use of it as an analytical tool. However, the concept was useful in prompting the respondents to reflect on agency.

Empowerment was defined by the respondents as a holistic process which starts with oneself. It was described as an internal awakening, a change in attitude, getting free from restrictive mental frames, widening the perspective and the self-image. Sometimes, while describing development, respondents focused on describing development on the level of an individual person. In these cases, their reflections on development have been analyzed from the perspective of agency and empowerment.

One interviewee referred to a transformation when asked if he thinks faith can empower a person.

“I think so, yes empower and I would say also, go a little bit further, I would say transform people.” (15)\textsuperscript{154}

From his point of view empowerment and transformation are connected. While asking whether it is a continuum, he explained as follows:

“Maybe or maybe they go hand in hand. Well, transformation is, I would say is … holistic change of a person. So it is a change in values, change in attitudes, and a change in the mind set from where they have been to some other place where they want to be. So, I think the core, who the person is, has changed in some

\textsuperscript{152} Jo Rowlands has looked empowerment critically and is arguing that in order to understand empowerment processes, there is a need to look at different forms of the root concept of empowerment: power. According to her the forms of power that have to be recognized are: power over, power to, power with and power from within. Rowlands 1997, 13.

\textsuperscript{153} Rowlands 1997, 8, 15.

\textsuperscript{154} Interview number 15 was conducted partly in Finnish and partly in English. Therefore, there is no Finnish transcript of the whole interview. When there is no reference to Finnish originals, the quotations used are original.
way, that they are no longer the same as they were before” (15)155

And the discussion continued with the question:

“And what do you think, how can transformation take place, how can it happen?”

The following response explains the process of transformation from his point of view.

“You know these are very difficult questions and of course… as a Christian I believe that God is evident and is moving in the world today as much as ever before. I would say that God is one of the big factors in bringing transformation into peoples’ lives. I think so, and when God touches persons’ lives, it can really change who they are. And of course, there are other ways to do it. There are people that are very disciplined, they read self-help books …how we can do it … in just through will power. They are able to change themselves in western world as well…to overcome addiction, quit smoking, not be alcoholics but to become sober… these kinds of things. I think they do happen, but I think they are rare. Quite often there is some significant experience that people have and I think… quite often God is there. Or maybe they have some other spiritual awakening or some sort of change… but of course as a Christian… I have been able to see how God has been able to chance some one’s life. Just as they have realized what God has done for them and… God is there and has been able to help them transform their lives from what they were and these big hindrances and burdens in their lives that they wanna get rid of, but they just haven’t been able to do it one their own.” (15)156

The question of who initiates empowerment process or what is needed for it to take place functioned well in guiding the interviewees to reflect on a deeper level on the process and the role of oneself, God, other people and the general circumstances. Some examples of the empowerment process and the effects of faith on it are as follows:

“Empowerment needs efforts from oneself, support or companion from other person and God is also involved, all three elements are needed. God is fully aware what is going on. There

155 Interview number 15 was conducted partly in Finnish and partly in English. Therefore, there is no Finnish transcript of the whole interview. When there is no reference to Finnish originals, the quotations used are original.
156 Interview number 15 was conducted partly in Finnish and partly in English. Therefore, there is no Finnish transcript of the whole interview. When there is no reference to Finnish originals, the quotations used are original.
are people who turn to God and pray and God is worried, but God is not going to interfere himself, he sends a man.” (2)\textsuperscript{157}

“Faith empowers, it brings the kind of consciousness that I am never alone, God is with me and the congregation … it is amazing that God can, through his spirit, put someone to pray for me when I am struggling. So in this sense, the Holy Spirit is enormously rich (3).”\textsuperscript{158}

“… if you can’t talk to anyone you can talk to God, through praying you get energy to try hard you can ask for help … God is almighty and can do miracles… God brings safety that in difficult situations we can always turn to him” (14).\textsuperscript{159}

“Development starts with what person thinks and feels about himself… if they think they are nobody or they don’t have any opportunities to influence others… so the attitude affects your thinking of who you are and your destiny” (8).\textsuperscript{160}

Regarding empowerment or development in general, it became clear that even though empowerment was seen as an internal process of a person, the role of others was recognized as being important in supporting the process or providing and creating the space and the circumstances for empowerment to take place. The following issues were also mentioned in the interviews as examples of the way in which faith empowers a person: faith gives value to oneself and strengthens your self-esteem so you start caring for yourself; by giving hope and new perspectives faith encourages and motivates you to believe in the future possibilities; faith gives you trust in God by taking away your fear and loneliness and with faith you are part of a bigger picture or plan. So to summarize, faith was considered to bring about many additional resources and means such as God, the Holy Spirit,

\textsuperscript{157} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: all three, mun mielestä siin on kaikki kolme kysymyksessä, että esim. löytyy että todella köyhistä olosuhteista nousee ihminen… sitten on toisia tilanteita jossa joku on jelpaamassa, toiset kulke rinnalla että se pääsee sitte .. on tilanteita missä Jumala on ihan täysin tietoinen missä mennään… on ihmisistä, jotka kääntyy Jumalan puoleen ja rukoilee ja Jumala on huolissaan….. Jumala ei itse puutu asioihin, se aina lähettää ihmiset, jotka puuttuu asioihin. (2).

\textsuperscript{158} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: …se todella voimaannuttaa ja tuo semmosen tietoisuuden jotenkin siitä että mä en oo yksin, et mä en oo koskaan yksin. Et Jumala on mun kanssa ja sit toinen asia…. mul on tää seurakunta, perhe ja tää mikä on ihmeellistä…niin Jumalahan voi panna henkensä kautta jonkun toisen ihmisen, vaikka eri puolella maapallo, rukoileen mun puolesta sillon kun mul on niitä taisteluja ja vaikeuksia… et täässä mielessä se Jumalan Pyhähä Henki on valtava rikas (3).

\textsuperscript{159} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: …se todella voimaannuttaa ja tuo semmosen tietoisuuden jotenkin siitä että mä en oo yksin, et mä en oo koskaan yksin. Et Jumala on mun kanssa ja sit toinen asia…. mul on tää seurakunta, perhe ja tää mikä on ihmeellistä…niin Jumalahan voi panna henkensä kautta jonkun toisen ihmisen, vaikka eri puolella maapallo, rukoileen mun puolesta sillon kun mul on niitä taisteluja ja vaikeuksia… et täässä mielessä se Jumalan Pyhähä Henki on valtava rikas (3).

\textsuperscript{160} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: …se todella voimaannuttaa ja tuo semmosen tietoisuuden jotenkin siitä että mä en oo yksin, et mä en oo koskaan yksin. Et Jumala on mun kanssa ja sit toinen asia…. mul on tää seurakunta, perhe ja tää mikä on ihmeellistä…niin Jumalahan voi panna henkensä kautta jonkun toisen ihmisen, vaikka eri puolella maapallo, rukoileen mun puolesta sillon kun mul on niitä taisteluja ja vaikeuksia… et täässä mielessä se Jumalan Pyhähä Henki on valtava rikas (3).
praying, the Bible, and consecration to the process of empowerment of a person or to the process of expanding freedom, if Sen’s terms are used.

One significant difference between Sen’s thinking and religious thinking, as it was understood through the interviews, was the question of control and power. As one respondent explained:

“…when you are born again, the main point there is that since people want to be in control in their lives and you give up the control to God, so you trust or believe that he will guide you… the Holy Spirit and us… or through God… or with him or so that it is a bigger wholeness. He sees the future and the past and knows us better than we do. So this giving up the control to God opens person possibilities, since it is not only one person, but one person plus God … giving up the control is the central thing.” (8)

Or with the words of another respondent:

“God doesn’t force, he is discreet, the Holy Spirit is so discreet (5)

All in all, it was not so clear who has the main role in the empowerment process.

“Of course a human being can organize himself his issues, but if you have … it helps more if you have the blessing from high up to that undertaking or how to say it… that when you have faith… your priorities change…” (5).

From the perspective of power and control, the thinking and views presented in capability approach versus religious thinking can be even seen as opposite. In the capability approach the objective of development is defined as expansion of capabilities and supporting people’s agency. Power and direct

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161 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: jos joku tulee uskoon ja pääjuttu siinä on, että kun ihminen haluaa olla kontrollissa omasta elämästä ja sä luovutat kontrollin tai kontrolliin Jumalalle niin sä luotat tai uskot et hän ohjaa…niin kun sanotaan, että Pyhä Henki ja me tai Jumalan kautta tai hänen kanssa… tai niin että se on isompi kokonaisuus, hän näkee tulevaisuuden sekä menneisyden ja tuntee meidät paremmiin kuin me itsemme, niin se kontrollin luovuttaminen Jumalalle avaa ihmiselle mahdollisuksia, sillä se ei oo vaan yks ihminen, vaan se on ihminen plus Jumala. Siis tavallaan miten hän vaikuttaa hänessä ja hänen kauttaan ja koko elämässä, niin kyl se voimaantuminen tulee mun mielest sen kautta, tieti kuitenkin, että itte ei pysty kaikkeen ja se on Jumalan armo, että ei tiedä onko terve, eletäänkö huomenna ja kaikke muuta (8).

162 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: mutta se jo… että jos ihminen on kielstä… eikä ota Jeesusta vastaan on suurin synti ja niin kun Raamattu puhuu siitä… ei Jumalan pakota… Jumalan hienotunteinen, Jumalan Pyhä Henki on niin hienotunteinen (5).

163 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: …kyllä ihminen pystyy aika paljon järjestelemään itsenkin omia asioita, mutta jos sulla .. se auttaa paljon enemmän, jos sulla on korkeimman siunaus siihen asiaan, tai miten sanotaan, että usko…kun sulla on usko, niin sun prioriteetihän muuttuu …(5).

164 Alkire 2008, 3.
control of an agent are regarded as intrinsic basic values. According to the understanding gained from the interviews, a person with faith hands the ultimate control and power over to God. And by doing so, gains other qualities, for example trust and hope, which can support his agency and process freedom.

“Faith also gives hope if you have lost it. Since you know that the control is not only in your hands …what you can do, but through faith I believe that God hears prayers and answers them, he opens doors that are beyond our own opportunities and capabilities, and sometimes God does miracles.” (8)165

“It is a totally different dimension, if the human being trusts the word of God, nothing is impossible to the one, who believes” (5). 166

Spiritual growth and struggle was one of the categories of functionings originating from faith. It is linked with agency. Spiritual growth and struggle were described in the interviews as a process of internal war.

”you understand that it is wrong, so from this starts the internal spiritual warfare and people need to make repentance in their lives from wrong thoughts… so this is the image of the believer, that I feel that now that I am believing, I have to fight with myself. It is not the kind of struggle, horrified whether I will survive this day, but I will survive it with the help of God and through the word of the Bible. From there I am able to see what is right, what is the right solution … this is the right path and I can win it only with the help of God, asking for help from him, there is his mercy …” (3)167

165 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: uskohan myöös antaa toivoa, jos on toivon menettänyt, sillä kontrolli elämästä tietäen, et se ei oo vaan mun kääsä mitä minä voin, vaan uskon kautta mä uskon, että Jumala kuulee rukouksia, vastaa niihin, avaa ovia, mahdollisuuksia mitkä on niin kun yli tai ohi meidän omien kykyjen ja sit joskus ihan Jumala tekee ihmeitä. (8).

166 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: se on ihan erilainen ulottuvuus, jos Jumalan sanaa ihminen luottaa, niin sillon nothing is impossible to man who believes. (5).

167 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: sä tajuut, et se on väärin, niin tässä alkaa se ns. hengellinen sodankäynti oman itsensä kanssa ja siitä ihmiset joutuu sitten pitkin matkaa tekee parannusta elämässään vääristä ajatuksista … eli tään on se uskovaisen kuva, et sit mä koenkin, että haloo nyt mä oon uskossa, nyt mun on taisteltava tän itseni kanssa. No se ei oo semmosta taisteluu, et kauheeta miten mä selviin tän päivän, vaan mä selviin Jumalan avulla ja sen Raamatun sanan kautta ja sieltä mä oosan nähä sen mikä on oikein, mikä on se ratkasu … täs on se oikea tie ja mä voitan sen vaan Jumalan kanssa pyytämällä hänä apuun elämääni, että on se armo …(3).
“…the situation is this, that the spiritual life is a bit like being at war all the time because you always have the war against the evil and you have to take the right decisions … (5)\textsuperscript{168}

As already said, the spiritual growth and struggle as a category of functionings originating from faith is closely related with the concept of agency and the process freedom in the capability approach. It can be said that faith brings an additional element or another perspective to the understanding of agency, process freedom and empowerment.

The results of the second analysis question about the way in which faith influences agency are illustrated by the following figure. It presents a summary of the effects that faith has on agency as they came up in the interviews. There is the idea of giving the control of one’s life to God. This is illustrated by the two-headed arrow between God and agency. The bigger arrow includes the valued category of functioning named spiritual growth and struggle. It also replaces the one-headed arrow departing from the agency and indicating process freedom in the visualized model of the capability approach presented in chapter 3.4. While agent is giving up the control to God, the person also becomes more powerful or empowered by his faith and is not alone in his struggle. Main supporting elements in the struggle, the Holy Spirit and the Bible, are included in the figure.

\textsuperscript{168} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: … tilannehan on se, että tämä hengellinen elämä tai uskon elämä, sehän on vähän niin kun olis koko ajan sodassa, koska sul on aina sota pahaa vastaan ja sun on tehtävä oikeita ratkaisuja … (5).
A few negative aspects originating from faith were mentioned in relation to empowerment or to the process freedom of agency. These emerge directly from power relations and control. The so-called wrong type of faith might lead to fatalism; a person gives in and doesn’t feel he has any role or responsibility of his own for the state of affairs. They submit to God’s will totally. This was not seen as beneficial to development or empowerment or even to the correct way of believing.

” if a person has this wrong impression, then religion is definitely a barrier to development. There is a saying that God helps those who help themselves; God has his share, but a human being has his share too.” (2)169

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169 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Jos ihmisellä on väärä käsitys… niin uskonto on ehdottomasti esteenä kehitykselle. On sellainen sanonta, että Jumalalla on se oma osuus, mut ihmisellä on myös (2).
Another negative aspect that came up was the power and the respect of the priests and their words. Their statements are not questioned and this affects the personal judgement of a person. This fact can also be used to advance empowerment and development. Depending on the interpretation, the powerful word of God can be used to empower or to destroy.

“okey this is good and bad, because it is the same as in religion … that if God has ordered you to place a bomb on the lap …and because it is God, it can’t be questioned. In Christianity we have had much worse terrorists than there are now, but I hope we could get the same enthusiasm to do good things, as has been for the bad.” (2)\textsuperscript{170}

Narayan argues that material assets which a person can utilize in reaching for his goal also contribute to empowerment; it is not only a psychological\textsuperscript{171} or spiritual process. The role of material resources is not central in the capability approach. Sen emphasizes that poverty is not about a low level of income which has been the standardized criterion to identify poverty, but rather about inadequate capabilities. For Sen the use of resources to strengthen the capability to do things which person values is in the focus.\textsuperscript{172} There is always a certain amount material resources available. They are there as means. The main point of interest is the way in which they can be used by the agent and the purpose they are used for (by the agent). Material resources and income are related to the individual freedom and the capability as means. This relation functions also the other way around. The more capabilities a person has, the more possibilities that person has to achieve material resources, if that is what he wants. Income can have a crucial role in expanding personal freedom and capabilities, but the relation is not constant or automatic. Therefore, the role of personal dissimilarities, diversified environments with different types of social linkages, and relational perspectives such as distribution within family, all deserve attention if the aim is to expand the capabilities of individual person.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{170} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: okei tää on hyvä ja huono, koska samaa kun uskonnossa voidaan sanoo, että Jumala on käskyny sun laittaa pommin nyt syliin ja koska se on Jumala, ei sitä voi kyseenalaistaa. Kristinuskossa meillä on ollut paljon pahempia terroristoja kun mitä nyt on, mutta toivon mukaan pystyttää saamaan hyvään asiaan…saamaan samanlainen antautuminen ja mukana oleminen, kun joskus on ollut pahoihin asioihin uskonnon nimissä. (2).
\textsuperscript{171} Narayan 2005.
\textsuperscript{172} Sen 1999, 72, 87.
\textsuperscript{173} Sen 1999, 90, 109.
Since overall poverty is still a big challenge in the areas and among the people connected with Fida’s work, lack of material resources and income security was often mentioned and discussed during the interviews. One point of interest in the interviews was to find out whether faith has some role in income generating activities. Christian values were seen to help being successful in income generation. Interestingly, even though the core Christian values were referred to a lot, it was not all that easy for some of the respondents to define what they actually are. Elements that were regarded as Christian in the context of income generation and economic matters were honesty, courage, trust, inventiveness, hard work, and commitment. Working hard was seen as one way of serving God and fellow human beings. Non-Christian elements were also elaborated on in connection to material resources, namely witchcraft, curse, human sacrifice, corruption, dishonesty, jealously and quick money making.

5.3. Effects of faith on the concept of development

According to Sen “Development can be seen as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”\(^{174}\). In the capability approach development is thus seen as the expansion of opportunities and freedom of an agency. The concept of development was experienced as challenging by the interviewees. As one of them puts it:

“Development is a very broad concept and it is a very broad thing…and it means very many different things to different people. And I think it means different things at different times to people as well. But I think it comes back to little bit what I was speaking about this transformation as well, that people can achieve better quality of life. What does it mean for them, is it more income, more food on the table, is it more time to spend with the family, is it to have good Christian values at home? Whatever it is, I think that development is, very generally put, progressing in the right direction…. very loosely… it is improving where we are today to something a little bit better than where we are.” (15)\(^{175}\)

It was clearly articulated that the definition of development depends on the person and his values. As was mentioned earlier, development was also described from

\(^{174}\) Sen 1999, 3.

\(^{175}\) Interview number 15 was conducted partly in Finnish and partly in English. Therefore, there is no Finnish transcript of the whole interview. When there is no reference to Finnish originals, the quotations used are original.
the perspective of individual human being as his empowerment and growth process.

Questions and discussions about wellbeing and good life were linked to the aim of development. The relationship between the good life, wellbeing, and development was reflected on by the respondents. The following is one of the views about those linkages.

“In principle, a good life is the same for everybody: that our family is well … we all are basically fine and have in principle all we need and then … if we think of very good life … if I don’t feel hunger all the time, if the work doesn’t take all the energy … that I get food and everything for children … then I start thinking something philosophical, like that there has to be a meaning in life. Maybe development is … that I have those basic needs and everything needed and then I have time to think, if I am happy or not.” (7)

The liberty of a person from every day survival struggle to focus on more sophisticated aspects of life was elaborated on by many interviewees as one indicator of development. Many times the aspect of global justice and equality among people were included in the definition of the concept of development.

“The liberty of a person from every day survival struggle to focus on more sophisticated aspects of life was elaborated on by many interviewees as one indicator of development. Many times the aspect of global justice and equality among people were included in the definition of the concept of development.

“… it is like having a possibility to choose, freedom of choices, so that all people could test their boundaries …we should be able to grow as persons, so that we could be involved in the society, so that we could build it to be more global or that equality would increase ... better future…” (11)
“… helping others, that’s one big thing in development, that you give from what you have … development is always also learning from others, mutually” (13).\(^{178}\)

“Development is that we give people the same possibility to wellbeing, which is a balance between spiritual, physical and psychological wellbeing … that is holistic development” (9).\(^{179}\)

The holistic approach or understanding of development was self-evident for the respondents. It came across in basic definitions of development such as following:

“I would qualify it as somehow improving the quality of life where they are, is it emotionally, physically, spiritually that they are better off than they were before and of course, this is very loose definition, but I guess this is how I would define development” (15).\(^{180}\)

On the other hand, one respondent divided development into two separate aspects according to the ultimate aim of the process:

“I would think that… if we talk about development taking place in projects the aim is a good life. When it comes to the person himself and his development in spiritual life then the aim is eternal life” (1).\(^{181}\)

Later on the same interviewee also said that,

“If I think of development and I have this holistic view… I don’t separate the development taking place in area of projects

\(^{178}\) Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: no se mist alotettiin, toisten auttaminen… sehän on se yks kehitykses iso, et sä annat omastas ja mikä riski ehkä Euroopas on, et jotenkin koetaan, et meidän pitää rakentaa nyt muuri ja suojella jotain mitä meil on, koska sillonhan me torjutaan toiselta se kehitys ja todennäköesti myös itseään, koska kehityshän on aina myös toisilt oppimist (13).

\(^{179}\) Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Kehitys on sitä, että me annetaan ihmiselle se sama mahollisuus siihen hyvinvointiin, joka taas on sitä ruumiin, sielun ja hengen hyvinvointia … ei niin, että huumenuoren hyvinvointi ja kehitys on vaan sitä, et se jättää huumeiden käytön, se on osa kehitystä, mutta se ei oo vielä kokonaisvaltaista kehitystä ja sen takia se, mitä mä yritän omassa hyväläisessä ymmärtää kehityksellä, niin se on myös se raami missä mä yritän kehitystöitä tehdä muiden lähimmäisten kanssa … (9).

\(^{180}\) Interview number 15 was conducted partly in Finnish and partly in English. Therefore, there is no Finnish transcript of the whole interview. The quotas used are original, if there is no references to the Finnish originals.

and the development happening in the spiritual life… rather I see the development in the human life to be holistic. The standard of living is such that it doesn’t cause any major difficulties, and the life includes peace and home and love and family and all these things. When it comes to this spiritual part, it includes also personal trust in God and consciousness that God exits and in the spiritual area development emerges from different premises… and there it provides the basis of development…and from the teachings of the Bible the spiritual development and growth. If we give to these so called external side, the Bible gives to this side… and from there comes honesty and other Christian values I talked about… they can be found there. I see that development is clear in both sides. Maybe on the project side there are different resources from which it starts and here is the Bible where to draw from, but again hand in hand… development can take place in both sides” (1).

It can be concluded that a certain dualism that can be observed in the response indicates the other dimension and time frame that faith brings to life.

There is this life and eternity, life after death.

Views of the time frame of development blended with the question of meaningfulness of life, which was linked to hope.

“Of course in the Biblical world view and the Biblical mind set… if we read the Bible … of course the Bible promises of the afterlife and going to heaven and I think … well personally, I would say… definitely this is part of it. I think this brings a lot of hope to people … I think this promise of internal life and going to heaven is something that brings people hope in this life. Definitely, that there is something more than this … there is more than this what we are experiencing now. We are part of a bigger picture and I think this is very attractive concept to many people, not only in Africa, but even in the western world… if people … or to some people… of course others are very much against this kind of thinking… but I think most people come to a point in their life, where they start asking is this it, is this all… "

182 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Jos mä ajattelen kehitystä niin ensinnäkin, kun mun ajattelumailma on tällä näin holistinen, niin mä ajattelen sitä kehitystä… niin mä en silsä… ehkä mä en erota ehkä sitä ns. projektiyöön olevaa kehitystä ja siitä …sittem hengelliseen elämään olevaa kehitystä, vaan kylmä näkisin sen kehityksen siinä ihmiselämässä, että… se on jälleen… se on holistinen eli se elämisen taso, se on sellaisella tasolla, jotta siellä ei tule mitään sellasia ylipääsemättömiä vaikeuksia. Ja siihen elämään sisältyy rehellisyys ja demokrasia ja rakkaus ja perhe ja kaikki tällaiset … ja sit kun tullaan tähän hengelliseen puoleen, niin sihän sisältyy myös henkilökohtainen luottamus Jumalaan ja se tietoisuus, että Jumala on olemassa ja sit siellä hengellisellä puolella se kehitys… se tapahtuu siten ehkä erilaisesta lähtökohdista, että siellä Raamattu antaa sen kehityksen pohjan ja siten Raamatun opetuksesta… niin hengellisesti tapahtuu se kehitys ja kasvu. Jos me annetaan ns. ulkoisille… tällä projektipuolella… niin tällä puolella Raamattu antaa siten sen ja sieltä tulee just se rehellisyys ja kaikki tällaiset kristilliset arvot, mistä mä puhuin… niin ne löytyy siellä siten. Näkisin, että se kehitys on molemmilla, se on ihan selvää. Ehkä projektipuolella on erilaiset resurssit mistä se lähtee ja tällä on siten tavallaan se Raamattu, mistä otetaan se… mutta jälleen kerran.. käsi kädessä… et sitä kehitystä voi tapahtua molemillia puoli ella. (1).
there is? And I think this leads to depression. I know in many western countries… very high suicide rates… because I think people are just wondering… can this be it… is there all there is to life? And of course, the Bible says that this is not it. This is part of much bigger… and God has much bigger plan for everyone and we can be part of that plan. So I think being part of much bigger story … part of much bigger whole … can give people lot of hope in any country, in any life circumstances.”

(15)^

“The starting point is that this life is quite short and there is something else, eternity, and it gives strength to this moment … if all development aims are not reached in this life … there will be the continuation. The corner stone is hope for the locals.”

(12)^

Hope was also seen as something sustainable that faith can bring to development. No-one can take hope away from you.

One of the wide and informative responses to the question about the scope of development was the following:

“well, that development we work for here and search… it specifically relates to this life. What it is…eternity and after death… which is probably important thing… but we might not exactly know and understand what it is. Of course, the thought is…that from the perspective of faith and the Bible… but I believe, it is more about this time. Maybe the kind of concept that covers… from the Bible… is The Kingdom of God, which will entirely come true one day in eternity… from the perspective the Bible… but the duty of Christians would be to make the Kingdom of God reality already now. In the Lord’s prayer: Your Kingdom come, your will be done… that what is the will of God… it belongs to his will that everybody would have the good life and in principle… if we collect everything there is in the Bible about God’s will… about what kind of life a man would have … he wants that every man would know him, everyone would …Jesus said that man should have exuberant life, that there wouldn’t be any suffering, oppression, poverty… instead that people would care for each other and so on …so that in a way… that everything we do would advance the kind of ˜already now, not yet´–thinking, that already something

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^ Interview number 15 was conducted partly in Finnish and partly in English. Therefore, there is no Finnish transcript of the whole interview. The quotas used are original, if there is no references to the Finnish originals.

^ Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: tottakai se on se lähtökohta, että tää elämä on aika lyhyt hetken ja sit on jotain muuta. Ja se iäisyys antaa sit myös voimia tähän hetkeen, niin et jos ei niitä kaikkia kehitystavoitteita niin kun saavuta tässä ajassa, niin jatkoa seuraa (12).
In the response the focus and time frame given to the development process is clearly within this life and this world. Man’s efforts to improve the living conditions of others is one way of living out one’s faith in this life in order to reach a just world and equality among people. The aim of development is idealistic and more like an unreachable vision. Therefore, development processes of this world also link to the other time dimension brought to the discussion by faith.

As already observed in the previous quotations the main actor in development is the human being, but in the holistic approach it can be said that God does have a role through the human being as the initiator, inspirer, motivator, or facilitator of development. As the definition of the concept of development was thought to be challenging, it was even more challenging to think broadly of the means to development. The main element mentioned in the interviews was clearly education; if you are better educated you have more opportunities and choices in your life. On the other hand, it was also mentioned that an educated person might limit himself and not work in the field that is not in line with his qualifications. In that sense education can limit opportunities. It was also said by one respondent that

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185 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: no kyl se kehitys varmaan mitä me tällä… minkä puolesta tällä tötä tehdään ja etsitään… niin erityisesti liittyy kuitenkin tähän elämään. Se et mitä se sit se iankaikkisuus… ja kuoleman jälkeen, joka on niin kun… on varmaan tärkee asia, niin me ei lopujuen lopuks …varmaan ihan tiedetä ja ymmärrätä mitä se sitten on. Tietekin se ajatus on, että uskon ja Raamatun näkökulmasta… niin se on… niin kun tosi merkitävä juttu… sen suhteen, että miten se nyt sanotaan…että vaikka voittais kaiken tässä maailmassa, mutta menettäis sen… niin sitten kaikella hyvällä tällä ei oo sitten merkitystä jos ei … mut kyllä uskon, että enempi on kyse tästä ajasta… ehkä semmonen käsite mikä yleisesti kattaa niin,kun Raamatusta .. niin Jumalan valtakunta, joka täydellisesti toteutuu eräänä päivänä iankaikkisuudessa… niin kun Raamatun näkökulmasta…mutta tavallaan kristittyjen tehtävä olis tehdä Jumalan valtakuntaa toteks jo nyt. Se Isä meidän rukouksessa … tulkoon sinun valtakuntasi, tapahtuksen sinun tahtosi… et mikä Jumalan tahto on, johon kuuluu se, että jokaisella on se hyvä elämä ja periaatteessa… jos nyt Raamatusta kerätään kaikki… et mitä Jumala haluaa… et mimmosta ihmisin elämä olis… hän haluaa, että jokainen ihminen tuntis Jumalan, jokaisella olis … Jeesus sanoi, että hänellä olis yltäkylläinen elämä, että ei olis kärsimystä ja ei olis sortoa ja köyhyyttä, vaan et ihmiset pitäis toisistaan huolta ja niin edelleen… et ja tavallaan, et kaikki mitä me tehdään, se edistäis sitä, että tota, et siin on semmonen `jo nyt, ei vielä` - ajattelu, että jo nyt on jotain hyvää, mutta ei vielä niin kun se täydellinen, jota kohti ikään kuin pyritään kuitenkin. (16).
"studying only doesn’t help… it would be great, if these people also became born-again… it creates a totally different basis of live for them." (3)\textsuperscript{186}

Faith was also mentioned as a factor that gives one more trust, perspectives, peace and freedom. There are also examples of the way in which faith can work against development. One interviewee expressed it through the phrase:

“If you give man a fish he eats for one day, if you teach him how to fish he eats for the rest of his life, if you give him religion he will die, because he will just pray for the fish.” (2)\textsuperscript{187}

Another one referred to theological aspects of Evangelical Christianity.

“It is said in evangelical Christianity that Jesus can come back even tomorrow… so what would be then the point to try much, since God changes everything.” (13)\textsuperscript{188}

An interesting comment linked to the role of a development worker or the key challenge for them, the unequal power relation, was as follows:

“helping others is problematic, because you oppress the other by telling that I give this to you because you need it… usually the one who helps takes the dominating position towards the other’s life … I have thought, that once I take the element of God… that here is the word of God… where it is said that what I want you to do to the others … that you first love God and love others… so it in a way repairs the oppression… because I love God by doing what he wants.” (7)\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{186} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: ei se pelkkä opiskelu auta… että kyllä se on mahtavaa, että jos nää ihmiset myöskin tulee uskoon… et kyl se luu niille ihan erilaisen pohjan elää (3).

\textsuperscript{187} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: sanonta on, että anna miehelle kala, niin se syö päivän, opeta häntä kalastamaan, niin se syö for the rest of his life, anna uskonto, niin se kuolee näkään, kun se rukoilee sitä kalaa. Niin siin osittain on tällä on jutun, että uskonto voi olla esteenä. (2).

\textsuperscript{188} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Usein toi kysymys niin kun menee toisin päin… et jos sul on sellanen vahva nähkemys siitä… et joskus sitten… jossain asiat on todella hyvin ja ainakin tälläkään herättäkääniä on sovituutaa… et Jesus saattaa tulla huomenna… niin miks ihmeesi sit niin hirveestä söährää ja tuhataran aikaa tähän, koska sitten kohta asian on paljon paremmin. Niin se voi olla antikehityksellinen, koska ei tehdä sitä, mikä kuitenkin… niin tietynlaisen Raamatun mukaan on osan, et meidän pitää elää täänäkin niin se… et huominen tulee ja me tehdään se… mikä voidaan… et asias ois paremmin… ehkä ainakin, et jossain tyyppisessä tulkinnassa on aika vahva sellanen… et koska Jumala muttaa kaiken ja huominen… sit joskus… et nyt etkä ihan, mutta ei koska kohta kaikki on paremmin… niin miks niin pronnistella sen eteen, et asi tai olis paremmin. (13).

\textsuperscript{189} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: koska auttaminen on ongelmallista. Alistat sää toista, kerrot sää sulle, et mää annan tän koska sää tarvit sitä ja yleensä se, joka auttaa toista, yleensä ottaa vähän niin kun valta-aseeman sen elämässä vaikka se olis osallistavaakin. Ja se on vähän problemaattista, niin mää oon ajatella se… että se sitten on osa Jumala elementissä ja että on Jumalan sana, jossa sanotaan, että täi on…mitä mää haluun… et sit teet muille…et sä rakastat ensin Jumalaa ja sä rakastat muita… niin se tavallaan korjaan sen valta-asetelmaan, koska mää rakastan Jumalaa sillä…et sä teen mitä mää haluun… muille. Se must auttaa
Introducing God into the discussion on this challenge can thus ease the personal discomfort of the development worker. The person has received the grace of God and passes the gift on by loving God by loving one’s neighbor. Hallamaa analyzes multilateral reciprocity with the concept of gift and its basic elements: giving, receiving and reciprocity. By observing the elements and by analyzing their interrelations, the role of the elements in the concept of gift can be understood. In this case, God is giving his love, his grace to the people, but as Hallamaa describes, a gift can only be regarded as a gift once the receiver recognizes the love of God as a gift and receives it. In addition to giving and receiving, the moral responsibility of giving in return is included in the concept of gift. Therefore the gift of God calls for a person to answer God’s call by giving love to others in various ways, helping, supporting etc. Thus the receiver of the gift can show reciprocity to God by passing the gift on to other people.

The third question of analysis was: what additional elements does faith bring to the understanding of development as it is defined in the capability approach and can the elements introduced by faith be integrated or added to the model, do they fit in or do they rather represent a different perception of development?

To answer the question it can be said that faith brings God as a divine force to the concept of development. In addition to the social relations among individual people, there is the relationship between God and human beings. This was analyzed above with the concept of gift. Below is the visualized working model of the capability approach presented earlier, which has now been enriched with the results of the analysis presented above. This visualized model presents the effects that faith has on the development thinking of the capability approach. The time perspective is made visible by dividing the time into two. There is this time and eternity, the time after death. Adding God to the picture, the outcome changes entirely. The relationship between God and a human being becomes central. Color yellow symbolizes this relationship, which includes the valued function of spiritual growth and struggle. Agent has given the ultimate control of his life to

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190 According to Marchel Mauss, who has studied the concept of gift from anthropological perspective.
191 Hallamaa fortcoming.
192 Hallamaa fortcoming.
God, but with grace of God, the agent receives also the power of the Holy Spirit and the word of God in the Bible as new resources to widen the process freedom of the agent in this world. Faith strengthens the agency of an agent in these ways.

According to this study the religious understanding of development is holistic. Spiritually the ultimate aim of development is to live eternal life near God in his Kingdom, where peace and harmony exists, a state referred to as Shalom\(^{193}\). This is represented in the figure by the big yellow star figure. In this life Christians have the duty to love their fellow human beings and follow God’s call to share with others and support others so that all people can live in dignity. Therefore, the aim of development in this life is to reach equality and a just world. The ellipse presenting this temporal aim of development is drawn partly to the area representing eternity, since this aim seems idealistic and unreachable in this world. Since the valued functionings vary also in the capability approach, only the central functioning originating in faith, spiritual growth and struggle, also closely linked to agency, is shown here. Christian values affect functionings and influence the opportunity freedom just like any other set of values, i.e. their influence is seen in the contents of the valued functionings. Based on the interviews six categories of functionings that originated from faith were formulated and they were presented in figure 2. in the chapter 5.1.

\(^{193}\) See quote from interview 16.
Figure 4: Effects of faith on the concept of development
In summary it can be said that from the perspective of the interviews the development concept of the capability approach as such is not wide enough to capture the essential elements and nature of the religious understanding of development. These elements can be summarized as a holistic understanding of development. The relationship between God and the human being is at the center and therefore there is also a broader time frame for development. Once these aspects are taken into consideration another dimension or level needs to be added to the visualized model of development and this addition changes the model considerably as can be seen in the figure.
6. Development as a holistic process

In this chapter the results of the analysis are reviewed with the literature, focusing on the religious perspective on development. The observations are also reflected on in relation to the capability approach. Additionally, few examples from the interviews on how religion and faith influence practical development work are provided. The chapter is concluded by the summary of development as a secular and a religious concept.

6.1. Development in the religious debate

According to Deneulin, “for Christians, `development´ is the process through which people reach their fulfillment in God and live the purpose for which they were created: to reflect the image of God.”194 This Christian perspective on development was also easily identified in the interviews. Answering to God’s call and loving God by loving one’s neighbor were commonly used phrases by the respondents to express the same idea. Additionally, the respondents included the element of global justice to the definition and aim of development.

Deneulin argues that from the Christian perspective human dignity is the basis to assess development. The aim of all economic, social and political processes needs to be human dignity and well-being.195 The capability approach also emphasizes human dignity, since development is defined as the freedom to live the kind of life a person values or has a reason to value. Therefore, the evaluative criterion is the same even though the reasons behind it differ.

Human rights are closely linked to the human dignity. Human rights have gained an irremovable position in the development field and debate particularly in the form of the rights based approach to development in the recent years. Deneulin also stresses that “Promoting human rights is a central feature of respecting human dignity, and Christians have a duty to protect the rights and speak out when they are violated”196. In the interviews human rights as such were only mentioned once. It seems that from the view point of the interviewees, responsibility and the language of responsibilities rather than that of rights, were more natural in discussing the challenges related to human dignity and justice.

The human development perspective, which the capability approach also represents, is open to the transcendental and spiritual dimension of life. But rather

194 Deneulin 2014, 57.
195 Deneulin 2014, 57.
196 Deneulin 2014, 58.
than offering an additional dimension to the concept of development, faith is introducing a different anthropology which challenges the secular belief in constant human progress. According to the Christian view, the spiritual and material domains cannot be separated. The eternal life, in which the human being is with God, is the final end and fulfillment of the human progress. This is an integral vision of human development, where development cannot be regarded as a manmade process.\textsuperscript{197} Eternal life with God in God’s Kingdom where there is shalom, peace and harmony among all was seen as the ultimate aim of development in the interviews. The aim of a manmade development process in this life was stated to be equality and a just world. The main executor of development in this time perspective is the human being, but in conjunction with and permitted by God. To reach the aim of development within this time frame, to have shalom already now, was felt to be too idealistic, it doesn’t take place in this world. Therefore, the aim of the manmade development process within this time emerges with the ultimate aim of development in eternity with God.

Christians are called to communion of solidarity and responsibility, where the good of each person depends on the good of their communion, which again depends on the good of each person.\textsuperscript{198} In the human development approach, the good of each human person is determined by a process of public reasoning and democratic deliberation.\textsuperscript{199} Does the result of the public reasoning and democratic deliberation also depend on the good of each person? Sen writes that “first, there is the broadly ethical question ‘How should one live?’ To emphasize this connection is not the same as asserting that people will always act in ways they will themselves morally defend, but only to recognize that ethical deliberations cannot be totally inconsequential to actual human behavior.”\textsuperscript{200} Fischer emphasizes that, “how we want the world to work is just as important as how it actually does work in understanding what drivers us towards a particular future and what informs visions of the good life”.\textsuperscript{201}

In many religions and worldviews, the principle of the Golden Rule is recognizable. It is regarded as a general moral principle and also as a vision of how the world and people should function in the ideal future. In the Bible it is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{197} Deneulin 2014, 58, 60, 63.
\item \textsuperscript{198} Deneulin 2014, 59.
\item \textsuperscript{199} Sen 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{200} Sen 1997, 3–4.
\item \textsuperscript{201} Fischer 2014, 16.
\end{itemize}
formulated as follows: So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you.\textsuperscript{202} This command of loving one’s neighbor is connected to the functioning categories formulated on the basis of the interviews. Living out one’s faith by loving God via loving one’s neighbor was a valued functioning that was commonly mentioned.

Hallamaa analyzes the Golden rule, the principle of reciprocity, from two moral perspectives. From the perspective of the contents, the focus is on the question of what is the good that should be done to the neighbor. The good that should be done can be defined in relation to wishes, needs or overall wellbeing from the perspective of the actor or the object. No matter what the perspective is, there are challenges in defining the good that should be done. Who is the one defining the good is a central question. Doing good is linked to the concept of good as perceived by an actor and it is connected with the way he thinks of the object; his good and the conditions that are needed for its fulfillment. The conceptual connection between the actor’s action and desired content helps to understand why many times there is a paternalistic tone to doing good.\textsuperscript{203} Many interviewees recognized this aspect in development cooperation and were also self-critical towards their own actions and attitude.

“…but what then causes the thing that easily we think that particularly we are the ones that … who have the great ideas of development …” (14)\textsuperscript{204}

“Well, many times we may only bring that our so called model of good life and is it good model here? I don’t know. It can be … sometimes it certainly is, but I don’t know, if it is always the best possible one.” (1)\textsuperscript{205}

The other moral perspective from which Hallamaa analyzes the principle of reciprocity is the perspective of form. From this perspective, agency plays a central role. The agency of the object of the action is taken into consideration equally with the agency of an actor. The interest is drawn to the relationship

\textsuperscript{202} Matthew 7:12.
\textsuperscript{203} Hallamaa, unpublished manuscript.
\textsuperscript{204} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: mut mikä senkin sit saa aikaan, et helposti me ajatellaan, et me ollaan nimenomaan … kenel on ne mahtavat ideat kehityksenstä … (14).
\textsuperscript{205} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Niin monta kertaa me saatetaan vaan tuoda sitä …pelkästään sitä meidän ns. muka hyvä elämän mallia ja onks se sitten hyvä tänne? En mää tiedä… voi olla… joskus on varmasti, mutta niin mutta en tiedä onko aina se paras mahdollinen. (1).
between the two. The relationship binds the actor, the nature of his agency and other people as agents together. Analyzing the Golden rule from the perspective of form, the actor and the object of the action are both primarily agents with their own agencies. From this perspective the principle of reciprocity demands the actor to recognize one’s neighbor’s agency. In the interviews there were references to changes in one’s perceptions caused by the local partners. This can be seen as an indication of this kind of perspective. Reciprocal approach emphasizing mutual learning and genuine partnership has been discussed also in the development cooperation field. Additionally, the Golden rule has been proposed as an alternative moral framework for development.

Plan and Weiss identify several discussions that can bring development studies and Christian theology together, and to which theologians could contribute and provide their particular perspectives. To give a wider context to the interpretations made from the analysis of this study, the findings are linked with the discussions brought forward by Plan and Weiss. The first one is the existence of enormous poverty and injustice in the world. In Christianity it is explained by sin. As one of the interviewees stated, sin is natural to human being and the root cause of the state of affairs of the world today.

“… if you take wrong decisions, with wrong basis, it has its consequences and if you don’t stick to the will of God … which is the most important thing … that you obey God … it is the reason why the world is like it is … because naturally man is the kind that it does wrong decisions …” (5)

However, as Plan and Weiss remark, “extreme injustice and suffering challenge all Christian theological proposals to be such that one would feel no shame in articulating them in the presence of those who suffer”. Is original sin a good enough explanation? How can a loving God allow suffering? Devil was brought up in the interviews as an answer to that question. Is devil equivalent to original

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206 Hallamaa, unpublished manuscript.
207 See for example Eyben 2006.
208 See Tyndale, Jechoutek 2006.
209 See also Deneulin 2013, 52.
210 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: … jos sä teet väärää ratkaisuja, väärin perusteellisesti, sil on omat seuraukset ja se et, jos sä pysyt Jumalan tahdossa … niin kun sehän on se kaikkein tärkeintä, et tottelee Jumalaa … sehän on koko syy, et miks tää maailma on se mitä on … koska ihminen on luontaisesti sellanen, että sillä on taipumusta tehdä väärin ja väärä ratkaisuja …. (5).
211 Plan and Weiss 2015, 63.
sin and thus the cause of suffering and injustice? The role of devil was elaborated in interviews as follows.

“If people think that there is no demonic activity… that is totally potash. There is the evil and good force and unfortunately, there where the evil is worshiped more, it is more powerful. Here are areas… where you feel that it is really dark and something has happened … that there is greater spiritual power … I don’t believe that devil can be as God … that he can be everywhere at the same time, but he sends support when people are calling… sends demons or something… but I believe that devil also has those kind of demons, who only whisper that do this … if you have for example some habits, that are not good … so it can come there and say… do so and so, but it doesn’t tease you more…but then there are the kinds… who are real princes… the ones devil has… and he sends …when there is a need to do something worse. That’s why I have always said … don’t play with the devil … man doesn’t have any forces to resist devil. It’s only with the power of God that we can fight against devil. (5)” 212

“…. always where there is God’s power, there is also the power of devil present … the struggle between good and evil … it is there probably till the grave in every person’s life (4).”213

In the development studies charity and justice as well as love and rights have been regarded as incompatible. According to Plant and Weiss, Christianity provides an alternative approach. Charity can be seen as an act of love, and true act of love in return is an act of recognition which demonstrates the intrinsic worth of the other. Love realizes justice. This point of view could provide new, fresh perspective to development thinking.214 Adding to that Bosch argues that actually love demands more than justice215. The faith-based categories of the

212 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Et jos ihmiset luulee, et ei oo mitään demonic activity… niin se on ihan potaskaa. On paha ja hyvä voima ja valitettavasti siel missä palvotaan enemmän sitä pahaa voimaa… se on voimakkaampi. Ja tääll on alueita…kokee oikein, että on alueita… missä on todella pimeää… ja sän tunnet sen, että täällä on jotain tapahtunut, että täällä on paljon suuremmat henkivallat …mä en usko, että piru voi olla… kun Jumala, että hän voi olla joka paikassa yhtä aikaa, mutta hän heti lähettää apua… sitten kun ihmiset huutaa…lähettää demoneja tai muuta, mutta mä uskon siihen, että pirullakin on niitä semmosia demoneja, jotka vaan… niin kun kuiskaa, että tee tämä… jos sul on jotain taipumuksesta esim. jotain habbitteljä, jotka ei oo hyviä… niin se voi tulla siihen ja sanoo… et tee näin ja näin, mut se ei kiusa saa enempää… mutta sitten on niitä, jotka on oikeen ruhtinaita… jotka pirulla on…jotka hän lähettää sillon kun pitää tehdä jotain vielä pahempaa jälke. Ja sitä varten mä oon aina sanonut, että ei kannata pirun kanssa leikitellä, et se… ihmisena… meillä ei ole minkäänlaista voimaa vastustaa perkeletta… siis ellei Jumalan voimalla ainoastaan pystyy taistelemaan vastaan. (5).

213 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: …ainahan se on niissä on Jumalan voima esiintyy, niin siellä on myös tämä pahan voima esillä, että hyvän ja pahan taistelu, sehän on varmasti sinne hautaan saakka jokaisen ihmisen elämää. (4).

214 Plan & Weiss 2015, 63.
valuable functionings including “Fulfilling God’s call” and “Living out one’s faith by loving God via loving your neighbor”, as well as the reference made to the concept of gift, are linked to the question of love versus rights or charity versus justice. Both of the functionings and the analogy to the concept of gift demonstrate the complexity of love with wider understanding than is generally present in the concept of charity.

The way of defining human flourishing is another area where theologians can stimulate conversation in the field of development studies. Liberation theology has strongly emphasized that human flourishing needs to be linked not only to the material aspects of life, but also to the liberty of an agent and the spiritual side of the person. Plan and Weiss argue that Christian theology could bring its particular viewpoints for example to Sen’s work on how to define human flourishing. Based on the interviews of this study, it can be said that from the religious perspective human flourishing takes place in a relationship with God. Therefore, the religious understanding of human flourishing and development has multiple layers and dimensions than the secular understanding. Sen’s understanding of development as expansion of freedoms doesn’t as such accommodate and take into account human being’s relation to God which is central from the religious perspective. For many Christian thinkers salvation in Christ is not only concerned with other-worldly matters, but also has to do with the human flourishing on earth in this life. Sen does recognize the importance of religion to the identity of a person, but sees religion as a hindrance to person’s adoption of rational line of action and as a facilitator for his submission to his fate. From that perspective religion and faith appear only as a replicating mechanism for the poor, and not as sources of energy to change the circumstances. But as Hoffstaedter and Clarke summarize “Religion has an inherent dynamism that informs both people’s perception around the concept of development and also their response to the circumstances of poverty or deprivation.”

The last area of interesting exchange of ideas that Plan and Weiss bring up relates to progress and hope. Usually development theories are based on belief in human progress. According to Christianity, God sent Jesus to save humans from sin. The difference between the two viewpoints is how capacity of human being,

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216 Plan & Weiss 2015, 63.
218 Haynes 2007, 55.
219 Hoffstaedter & Clarke 2012, 194.
his agency, is viewed in relation to his own salvation. God’s salvation creates hope for the future which means peace, justice, freedom, health and prosperity for all. Even though this bright future is reachable only through God, it is not an excuse for a Christian to be passive. “What, then, is the relation between Christian hope and the belief in progress that is so central to theories and practices of global development?” Plant and Weiss ask. Christians are bound to “live out the faith” and “fulfill the call of God” i.e. to be actively involved in bringing salvation to all. Here human progress and hope come together. This aspect also came constantly through in the interviews.

As shown above, religion can contribute to development thinking by providing new perspectives. At individual and organizational level development work can be a way of living out the faith and the religious values. Occhipinti argues that for some individuals “development is about righting injustices and for others it is a pathway to, or form of, creating conditions for religious conversion”221. Deneulin and Bano reason that for many religious and faith-based organizations involvement in development is mainly connected to acting according to religious values in today’s world.222.

6.2. Religion in the practical development work
Food security by improving agricultural practices has been constantly on the agenda of development workers, religious and non-religious alike. Climate change has made the theme even more important today. Conservation agriculture tries to respond to the challenges faced by small-scale farmers. The religious form of conservation agriculture is known as Farming God’s way. How it differs in practice from the secular form of conservation agriculture was explained in one of the interviews as follows.

“The difference is in that … Farming God’s way brings Christian principles to the picture and through them tries to improve the basic conservation agriculture. There are these kind of things that … do things to the high standard … that there are verses in the Bible that be perfects as I am perfect, says God … that where ever we go… we try to do things as well as we can to honor God.”223

220 Plan & Weiss 2015, 64.
221 Occhipinti 2015, 336.
222 Deneulin & Bano 2009, 74.
223 Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: siinä … se ero on siinä, et kun tää kateviljely … on käytetty monessa paikassa ja tämmöissä sekulaarijärjestöissä ja on paljon kirjallisutta siitä, mut se Farming Gods way tuo tämmöisiä kristillisiiä periaatteita siihen
In addition to the Christian principles and references to the Bible, the idea of the human being as the image of God is central to Farming God’s way. Farming is referred to as the oldest profession and God as the first farmer. These elements can initiate the empowerment process of a farmers, who are generally regarded as powerless people with very low status in the society. As explained by an interviewee:

“When you ask from many people here …what is… where do the farmers fit in the social ladder? They are totally in the bottom, they are the most worthless people in the society, the lowest of the low and they do everything that they can to escape from the profession to do something else… whatever could that be…but then if you get the people to think that this is very important thing they are doing … if you can bring them hope … that by using these simple techniques as in conservation agriculture, they can improve their harvest, to double, triple even to get four times more harvest… it gives hope… it gives dignity and hope to the life…that they can sustain their families with the profession they have.” (15)

The thrilling thought of God as the first farmer might not have come into the minds of the farmers before their first training in Farming God’s way and therefore the thinking process can bring hope and lead to transformation.

” Important profession… it is the key in this issue. Not only to teach people this farming technology… how to produce more food. It goes so much deeper…when you try to uplift the whole person as part of the process and with the support of the biblical values. It is the background in it…but the technique is the same or almost the same.” (15)

The varying emphases in thinking demonstrate how faith and the religious worldview affect the understanding of development and how this understanding is
demonstrated in the practical work. As shown in this case, religious thinking is not just about introducing some additional spiritual component or principles to consider. The approach to development is holistic and the scope of the improvements it aims at is broader than the purely technical improvements to livelihoods. Furthermore, the starting point is the human being’s role as the image of God.

Naomi Haynes has conducted an ethnographical study on the Pentecostal theology in Zambia and has defined theology as something people do. She focused on the analogies of the narratives in the Bible and the present life situations of believers. Analogies can be seen as processes of valuation. In the valuation process the Pentecostals seek “to establish the terms of the good and define the social forms through which that good should be realized.”

Ruth Marshal has named the treatment of bringing the biblical narratives and their principal protagonists into the present everyday life of believers “the history of present”

According to Haynes, “Pentecostals connect to the Bible on the basis of common experience” and therefore “those portions of the text that relate human experience in narrative form would be those in which believers would take the most interest.”

The interviewees of this study were using analogies when they were reflecting their understanding of empowerment, development and good life. Related to practical development cooperation work, the Bible based advocacy provides a good example where the respondent used the narrative biblical texts as an analogy to the present situation. Prophet Amos was the figure and the analogical reference was made to him, his behavior and situation.

“I did five years… advocacy work… speaking on behalf… and there I tried to sell the idea to church … by saying that is it prophesy work. And if you think… for example the prophets of Old Testament… one what I many times use is Amos. Amos is good example for us… since he was originating in Judea and he went to another country… to Israel when they were divided. He was a missionary… he was a farmer and cattle keeper and then God said, that `go and preach my word to my people and Israel´. And what was his message? He preached against sexual violence, he preached against genocide, against pressing of the poor, he preached against those wrong religious practices what

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226 Haynes, 2.
227 Marshall 2009, 89.
228 Haynes, 7.
they had and many other things… which are all equally relevant even today.” (2)\textsuperscript{229}

Ultimately the values are defined in politics\textsuperscript{230} and this also happens in the church politics. As Haynes puts it, defining the terms of the good is a joint process with various competing views. The biblical world functions as a common reference space for Pentecostals in defining the content of good. According to Haynes, from the Bible Pentecostals can find model of “good socioreligious world, one in which God is ultimately and unequivocally on the side of the righteous, who are rewarded for their faithfulness, while the wicked meanwhile are punished for their wrongs”\textsuperscript{231}. The following analogy of the biblical times with the present situation functions as powerful example of what is right. The respondent had a compelling urge to activate the church in advocacy and with the analogies with the biblical world and examples drawn from there, he managed to justify advocacy role of the church.

“This from advocacy … one place in the Bible which I use … when I try to sell the idea of doing advocacy to the church and congregation … why we need to do advocacy … is in Proverbs in chapter 31: ‘open your mouth behalf of the quite ones, get justice to the discriminated, open your mouth and judge fairly, advocate the cause of the poor’…. This is very good way to advance this advocacy issue.” (2)\textsuperscript{232}

This case also demonstrates that the terms on which the values are expressed are constantly under discussion within the society and its different actors and institutions. Thus the process of valuation is continuous and political.\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{229} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: Mä tein viisi vuotta myös advocacy työtä… puolesta puhumista…ja siinä mä myin tämän idean kirkolle sillä … kun mä sanoin, että se on profetaalinen tehtävä. Ja jos sä sää olet esimerkiks Vanhan Testamentin näitä profettoja… niin yks esimerkki mitä mä usein otan… on toi Aamos… että Jumala…Aamos on hyvä esimerkki meille, koska hän oli Juudasta kotoisin ja hän meni toiseen maahan, Israelin silloin kun ne oli jakautunut. Se oli lähetystööntekijä, se oli maanviljelijä ja karjanhoitaja ja sitten Jumala sano, että mene ja julista minun sanan minun kansalle ja Israelille. Ja mikä hänen sanoma oli? Se julisti seksuaaliväkivaltaa vastaan, se julisti kansanmurhaa vastaan, se julisti köyhien alistamista sitä vastaan.. pressing the poor… hän julisti näitä vääriä uskonnollisia käytäntöjä… mitä heillä on ja monia muita juttuja…mitkä on kaikki ihan täysin relevantteja tänänkin päivänä. Graeber 2013, 228.

\textsuperscript{230} Haynes, 16.

\textsuperscript{231} Translations and summaries by the author. Original Finnish responses: advocacystä yks Raamatun kohta mitä mä käytän, kun mä yritän myydä tätä ideaa seurakunnille ja kirkolle … et miks meen pitää tehdä advocacy hommaa … niin sananlaskujen kirjassa on tämmönä kohta 31 luku: niin avaa sinä suuri hiljasten puolesta, hanki oikeutta syrjityille, avaa suusi ja anna oikea tuomio, aja kurjan ja köyhän asiaa … niin se on erittäin hyvä tapa ajaa tätä advocacy juttua. (2). Haynes xxx, 17.
As shown, religion can be applied to development in many ways, through religious organizations, religious values, and religious worldviews. Since religions usually have their own vision of creating a better world which is broader than the one informed by the purely economic perspective, the moral codes and religious values could function as a solid foundation for sustainable and appropriate development strategies. Tinbergen suspects that the religious values are too idealistic to guide the practical development. From Tyndale’s point of view, religions have something that is qualitatively different that they can offer to secular development actors. According to her, this qualitative element can be seen in the empowerment processes which in addition to giving people self-respect and feeling of worth also brings hope and vision for the future. So she argues that faith and religions should carry out their vision in practice and by doing so, demonstrate the alternative models of development.

6.3. Development as religious and secular concept

Barnett and Gross Stein see religion, sacred, and secularism as foundational concepts of humanitarianism. Each of these concepts is unclear, but vividly debated. The concepts are not just analytical categories, but also categories of practice, concepts whose meaning changes depending on the context and time. Additionally they are related to each other and dependent on each other. Therefore development as a religious and secular concept is constantly in mutual relationship with one another relationship and furthermore, in the words of Deneulin and Bano “… one may observe that the actions of members of religious traditions, based on their fundamental beliefs, have much in common with the basic principles of modern day development thinking and practice: social justice and securing basic conditions for people to live in dignity and flourishing human lives. Indeed, often the way religious traditions conceive development, or what constitutes desirable social change for them, is in tune with the way non-religious traditions, such as secular humanism, conceive the same end.”

Deacon and Tomalin make a similar observation about the relationship between the secular and the religious understanding of development. “If we take
development to mean a process of `social transformation´, then this has close
resemblances with the underlying project of many religions, which have at their
core a desire not only to transform the individual but in doing so to create a
community that is capable of delivering better social and political standards for
people in accordance with religious teachings. It is in practice difficult to separate
charitable acts from their embeddedness in broader visions of social change and
development."240 Due to the shared history and the common context secular and
religious concepts of development resemble one another and redefine themselves
constantly in a mutual relationship.

What are the differences between the religious, particularly Christian and
Pentecostal perspective of development, and development as a secular concept of
the capability approach then? In addition to certain set of beliefs, Christianity is a
way of life. According to Deneulin “Proclaiming Jesus as the Son of God through
prayer and worship is inseparable from actions that aim at revealing the face of
God in economic, social and political structures.”241 From the point of view of a
Christian all people are created as images of God and his call for everyone is to
demonstrate the love of God in the world. “When social, political and economic
processes distort the capacity of humans to live in the image of God, Christians
believe that restoring right relationship between people and the environment is
part of affirming their belief in God the creator.”242 Deneulin argues that being
Christian demands one to make judgements on the existing arrangements in the
society, and on how well the existing economic, social and political arrangements
reflect God’s glory.243

A distinctive difference between secular and religious perspective of
development is found in the holistic thinking. Even though the capability
approach can be regarded as an integrated approach to development, it only looks
into the economic, social and political factors. Since in the Pentecostal worldview
physical, psychological and spiritual domains cannot be separated from a person
and his life, these domains cannot be separated in the context of development
either. For Pentecostals development is a holistic process in which the final aim is
God’s Kingdom where there are no tensions among people, within the creation, or
in the relationship between the human being and God. Deneulin outlines a similar

240 Deacon & Tomalin 2015, 70.
241 Deneulin 2013, 53.
242 Deneulin 2013, 53.
243 Deneulin 2013, 55.
view by describing that a Christian finds the ultimate fulfillment in God with whom a human becomes more human\textsuperscript{244} by fulfilling the original purpose of human being as the image of God. Social and economic well-being and development are needed, but they alone are not enough. Development of the whole person including the spiritual scope is essential.

Regarding God’s grace as a gift to human being, solidarity and equality among all people become the aim of development in this life. The capability approach analyzes development from the perspective of an individual person and the aim of development is to broaden his freedom to live and act according to his values. From the religious perspective development is understood more widely. At the individual level, besides of fulfilling the material needs, reaching towards God and relationship with him is central, but the religious understanding also views development on the societal level. From that perspective equality and just world are regarded as the aims of development. This societal focus is also linked to God. Due to the reciprocity of God’s love, the human being is obliged to show and act with solidarity towards others; human beings are called to live in communion with others.

The respondents were constantly explaining the importance of living out their faith, loving God by loving their neighbors. Furthermore, responding to God’s call was referred to as the reason for development work and solidarity. These justifications are linked to the existence of God. Even though God is regarded as almighty, the Christian is left with his personal free choice. Responsibility comes with freedom and freedom is not always used according to the principle of solidarity, e.g. a selfish person might not share what he has with the ones in need. As noted by Deneulin, the interlinkages of injustice, material poverty and sin come visible. “The moral poverty of some has consequences for the material poverty of others.”\textsuperscript{245}

In the capability approach the concept of freedom and the opportunity to choose oneself is central. Development is defined as expansion of freedoms. Sen analyzes the opportunity and process freedom of an individual to achieve and live the life that the individual has a reason to value.\textsuperscript{246} Freedom was often mentioned in the interviews, but the concept seemed to be used more in the sense of having

\begin{footnotes}
\item[244] Deneulin 2014, xx.
\item[245] Deneulin 2014, 61.
\item[246] Sen 1999, 3.
\end{footnotes}
freedom from guilt, fear and hopelessness. Freedom to do or have or be something was an aspect that came only after there were already the freedom from element existing. According to the interviews a religious person gives up the control over his life to God and by doing so achieves freedom. From the religious perspective freedom can also be manifested by renunciation. Pentecostalism emphasizes moral purity and ethical behavior. According to Freeman “Pentecostals are in general more honest, trustworthy and hardworking that other people”247. Pentecostal believers make an effort to abstain from alcohol, tobacco and extramarital relations. The faith inspires a behavioral pattern with moral code248 which might represent limitations to the personal freedom from the point of view of the secular actor. For Pentecostal believer, abstinence from those issues that might direct him away from the six valued functionings249 that originated in his faith is the real freedom opposing the apparent freedom of non-believers to do whatever they choose.

Renunciation and abstinence from something are different than active acts which affect the reality by changing the circumstances.250 Will the expansion of freedom be manifestation of development also from religious perspective? It can be said to be so, since the understanding of freedom is different. A person who is free from fear and guilt is able to reach towards God by fulfilling God’s call, by living out one’s faith, and by spiritual growth. By renunciation believer focuses to the functionings that he values and by so doing advances development.

In addition to different perspectives on freedom the religious and secular views of development also differ in their views on the role of an individual person, his capabilities and agency. In the capability approach, depending on a person’s opportunity and process freedom, his capability to achieve the functionings he values is looked into. According to religious thinking believer gives the ultimate control and power over to God. The agency of a person is surrendered to God and by doing so a person gains freedom, contentment, peace, harmony and joy. The interview respondents described well-being and good life in these terms. Thus the religious worldview demonstrates itself through particular

247 Freeman 2012, 14.
248 Freeman 2015, 123.
249 The six valued functionings originated in the faith of Pentecostal respondents of this study were: fulfilling God’s call, living out one’s faith, deliverance and trusting God, spiritual growth, freedom from guilt through God’s forgiveness and mercy and achieving the balance and harmony.
250 Based on the comments of Hallamaa via email 1.8.2016.
attitude and a way of thinking according to which the subjectivity of a person depends on God. Respondents had stories of transformation where a passive fatalist was transformed into a strong actor by the idea of being valuable as an individual created by God and thus accepting the possibility of getting help and support from benevolent divine power. Faith gave new perspective to life and the believers discovered their inner strength, hope and purpose. The process can be seen as development or creation of a sense of agency, the idea of personal power. Thus by surrendering to the will of God a person transforms to an active actor in this world by responding to God’s call for example by supporting fellow human beings to live in dignity. In the theology of Pentecostalism God is directly involved in worldly matters and through the Holy Spirit also directly present in the lives of people\textsuperscript{251}. In the same way God is actively present in the religious concept of development formulated in this study via analysis of the interviews of Finnish Pentecostal development workers of Fida International in East Africa.

\textsuperscript{251} Freeman 2012, 19.
7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to understand better how faith-based development workers define development and how their faith and religious worldview influence their thinking. Attention was paid to examining how the religious and secular concepts of development relate to and are in dialogue with each other. The task was approached by focusing to the Finnish staff members of the Pentecostal development and missionary organization, Fida International, in East Africa and by comparing their views of development to the definition of the concept in the capability approach. In this study the capability approach represents the secular perception of development.

The background chapter outlined the emergence of the development as a concept and the field of work. There are different views of the emergence of development thinking and its roots as well as the definition of the concept itself. In any case the linkage between early missionaries, colonialization and development phenomenon is apparent. The same chapter also opened the debates of the relationship between religion and development, which has been almost non-existent until recent decades. In development theories in the academic world as well as in the practice of development cooperation the role of religion has been neglected due to the strong belief in modernization, according to which the role of religion will fade away in the developed world. As can be noted this hasn’t happened. Understanding the role of religion in development and politics is even more important today than before. There is the need to learn how religion shapes the thinking and understanding of its followers.

Religion and faith influence the responses to the key questions that shape the development cooperation practice. These questions are the same as the key themes of the interviews of this study i.e. what is good life and well-being, what is needed for them to exist, what is regarded as development, where does it aim at, what are the challenges in it, and so forth. Religion contributes to the development debate from its own perspective by offering fresh thoughts and insights to the secular development debate and research.

The core part of chapter three dealt with the capability approach and its key concepts: functionings, agency and development. In the capability approach development is understood as expansion of freedoms. Thus, the focus is drawn to the objective of the whole development process, the well-being of a person and his possibility to live the kind of life that is valuable for him. Functionings are
defined as those activities and states that compose well-being and good life of a person. The valued functionings cover equally the basic necessities of life as well as more complex activities and stages that a person values or has a reason to value. Agency is defined in the capability approach as active agent of change. Individuals as agents have different types of opportunities due to the constraints in their context and environment. Agency is influenced by social, cultural and political arrangements, but an individual agent can also influence the context he is in. Thus when analyzing development individual freedom, together with the forces that influence the extent and reach of that individual freedom, is central. According to the capability approach the expansion of freedom is the end as well as the main means of development. At the end of the chapter the visualized working model of the concept of development of the capability approach was introduced since the concepts of the model were used later on in the analysis phase of the study.

Chapter four focused on the research material and methods. It began with an introduction to Fida International as a faith-based organization. The research material consisted of 16 interviews of Finnish staff members of the organization. The religious concept and understanding of development was constructed from the analysis of interviews using the key concepts of the capability approach.

In chapter five the results of the analysis were presented. The first question of analysis was: which valuable functionings originate from the respondents’ faith? The second question was: how does faith influence agency of a person? Finally, there was the question of analyzing how faith influences the perception of development. Whether the religious understanding of development can be integrated to the model of the capability approach or whether these two understandings are too far apart was also assessed.

Based on the analysis the elements that faith brings to the capability approach and its understanding of development are intertwined around the holistic understanding of development. According to this understanding, the spiritual dimension of development cannot be left aside and therefore the relationship between God and the human being becomes central in the religious understanding of development. The human being finds his ultimate purpose and the aim of development within God and in salvation. Therefore, faith also broadens the given time perspective of development from this life into the eternity. The valued functionings that originated from faith were: fulfilling God’s call, living out one’s
faith, deliverance and trusting God, spiritual growth, freedom from guilt through God’s forgiveness and mercy, and lastly, achieving the balance and harmony. God has called the human being to love him by loving his neighbors and due to the reciprocity of God’s love, the human being should show and act with solidarity towards others. The human being is called to live in a communion with others and thus development at the individual level also has the societal dimension present. Regarding God’s grace as a gift to human being, solidarity and equality among all people becomes the aim of development within the time frame of this life. To reach the aim of development within this time frame, to have shalom, solidarity and equality among all already in the present time was seen as too idealistic for this world. Therefore, the aim of the manmade development process within this time frame emerges with the ultimate aim of development in the eternity.

The capability approach describes and analyzes development from the perspective of an individual person, and the aim of development is to widen his freedoms to live and act according to his values. The process and the opportunity freedom of an agency is central. In the religious understanding, the person with the faith in God has given the ultimate control of his life to God, but with the grace of God, a person receives the power of the Holy Spirit and the word of God in the Bible as new resources to broaden the process freedom of agency in this world. From the religious point of view development is understood from different perspectives. At the individual level, besides of fulfilling the material necessities, reaching towards God and the relationship with him is the central aspect of development. The religious perspective of development differs considerably from the understanding of the capability approach. By integrating the elements brought up with faith to the visualized working model formulated in the study, the whole model needed to be modified by placing God into it.

In chapter six the religious concept of development formulated in the analysis was examined through the perceptions in the literature focusing on the religious understanding of development. It was noted that the findings of this study are in line with the aspects brought to fore in the literature. In the same chapter the religious and secular concept of development were studied in parallel. Due to the shared history and same context in which the secular and religious concepts of development originate they were found to have a number of similarities. The concepts are born from each other and they exist in dynamic relationship with one another. Both of the concepts simultaneously shape the
thinking of development actors and researches, development trends and debates, and development work practices according to their own value base.

The task of the study was better to understand how development workers with religious worldview define development and how faith influences their thinking. From the religious perspective development is understood holistically meaning that the spiritual side of human life is inseparable from the economic, social and political domains and therefore the final aim of development is eternal life in God’s Kingdom in Heaven. The secular view of development represented by the capability approach does not cover the spiritual aspects of life. In the capability approach development is understood as expansion of freedoms, but according to the religious view the real freedom comes from faith in God. Regarding the aim of development within the timeframe of this life the perception of religious worldview about development is very similar to the viewpoint of secular understanding in which the aim is to expand freedoms of an individual to live the kind of life he values, to live with dignity. According to the religious understanding, due to God’s grace human beings are called to love one another and actively make shalom of God’s Kingdom true already in this life by advancing the equality and just world for all with the help of God and because of God.
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Appendices

Appendix 1. Outline for the interviews.

Outline of the focused interviews of FIDA staff in English:

1. Basic data and background of the informant:
   Name
   How many years worked with Fida, in Africa
   Present job title

2. The work
   Where do you work?
   What do you do?
   What is challenging in your work?
   What is rewarding?
   What motivates you?
   Does your faith influence, contribute to the work? How?

3. Partners and beneficiaries views of development
   Who are the partners and beneficiaries of your work?
   What is good life for them?
   How do they understand development, what is it for them?

   What kind of challenges and difficulties do they have in achieving good life?
   Does their faith affect these challenges? How?
   Does faith itself bring challenges in achieving good life/development? What kind?

   What kind of opportunities do they have in achieving good life and development?
   Does their faith affect these opportunities? Does faith empower? How?
   Can faith facilitate good life and development? How?
   What do people relay on in order to succeed?
   What do people relay on when they fail?
   Do people go to traditional medicine man? Why?

4. Your understanding of development
   Describe good life. / What aspects belong to good life?
   Why those issues are important to you?
   What is development? / How do you describe development?
   What is needed for it?
   What kind of role money and material resources play in achieving development?
   What other aspects influence development? How?
   Is development a human process of change or does it involve divine power to effect human change?

   What you still want to add? What is important to understand?
Appendix 2. Graphic outline for interviews.

- **Name**
- **Year with FIDA interviews**
- **What motivates**

---

**Background and work**

This study

Purpose of the

The use of interviews

---

**What is it**

What one tries to achieve

How

What is needed

How to get there

---

**Development**

The role of money, material things

Other issues

Man or God made

---

**FAITH its role and influence**

What one tries to achieve, values

How

Challenges in the process

- personal abilities

- soc. relations

- transcendental aspects

Freedom and opportunities

Community, society

Material resources

Resources/empowerment

- personal abilities

- soc. relations

- transcendental aspects

**What do you want to add?**

FAITH - what it means, how it informs:

views,
motivations,
actions

---

**GOOD LIFE**

for oneself

for beneficiaries

Personal influence

Relation to development

---

What is it

Opportunities

influence of faith

Challenges

influence of faith

What do you want to add?