

CROSS-CULTURAL MUTUALITY:
EXPLORING PHILANTHROPIC, FAITH-BASED PARTNERSHIPS
BETWEEN CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

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In the global age, grass-roots religious organizations seek to better collaborate across national and cultural borders. Through the theoretical lens of mutuality, this dissertation explores the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships inherent in faith-based, philanthropic partnerships between the United States and Cuba.

Mutuality is a framework for understanding human relationships; it describes when people regard one another as whole persons and a relationship as something of inherent value. This study explores the value of relationships, the processes by which they form, how they relate to institutional structures, and the role of a common faith in bridging other cultural differences.

Religious communities are considered the primary civil society institutions with national reach in Cuba. The research site for this study is a Protestant civil society organization on the outskirts of Havana, Cuba called Campo Amor. Campo Amor operates both nonprofit and for-profit activities and receives substantial American donations through a foundation in Spain.

Over the past 20 years, Campo Amor has multiplied from two to more than 120 house churches. Before COVID-19 it welcomed more than 500 American partners each year. Using a co-created, phenomenological qualitative design, this study will provide knowledge into the role of relationships in philanthropic, faith-based partnerships,

particularly between regions of geopolitical hostilities. It advances understanding of the role of religion and relationships in philanthropy across a variety of cultural differences.

Among other findings, interviewees described mutuality as 1. the commitment to sharing; 2. Intersubjective relationships which enter into and care about the thoughts and feelings of another; and 3. the habitual approach that emphasized living one's way into patterns of thought, versus thinking one's way into patterns of life.

David P. King, Ph.D., Chair

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Major Contributions	2
Research Significance.....	4
Analytical Approach.....	3
Theoretical Framework.....	3
Organizational Contexts	10
Macro-Level Contexts	12
Micro-Level Contexts.....	13
Macro-Micro Intersections	14
Mutuality	15
Mutuality Meanings.....	15
Mutuality Manifestations.....	17
Methods	18
Selection Criteria	21
Coding and Analysis Procedures.....	22
Positionality	23
Dissertation Overview	24
COVID-19 Considerations	26
Conclusion	27
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	29
Exploring Mutuality as Intersubjectivity: Related Terms	31
Empathy.....	31
Love.....	31
Relational Sociology.....	31
Exploring Mutuality as a Commitment to Sharing: Related Terms	32
Social Solidarity	32
Exploring Mutuality as Habitual Practices: Related Terms	33
Interdisciplinary Literatures	33
Business Literatures - The Boundary Spanner	34
Philanthropic Literatures - Reciprocity	35
Theological Literatures – Trinitarian Love for One Another	36
Distinctions of Mutuality.....	39
Distinctions Between Mutuality and Empathy.....	39
Distinctions between Mutuality and Reciprocity	41
Distinctions between Mutuality and Social Solidarity	41
Micro Mutuality.....	42
Mutuality between Individuals	42
The Dark Side of Mutuality.....	43
Model Mutuality	43
Example: Practice of Individual Christians in Everyday Life.....	44
Meso Mutuality.....	46
Mutuality In and Between Organizations.....	46
Mutuality within Organizations.....	47
Mutual Aid Groups: Historic Examples of In-group Mutuality	49

Mutuality between Organizations.....	50
Macro Mutuality	55
Mutuality In and Between Cultures.....	55
Example: Mutuality and World Christianity	57
Conclusion	59
CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF CUBAN CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY.....	60
The Double Character of Cuban Protestants and Philanthropy.....	60
Modern-Day Cuba	63
Modern-Day Cuban Civil Society	64
Religion and Cuban Civil Society	66
U.S./Cuba Relations	67
Religious Philanthropy in the Platt Amendment Era.....	67
Roots of Cuban Nationalism.....	69
Selective Synthesis in Cuban Protestant Communities	69
North American Evangelical Logics Applied in Cuba.....	70
Evangelical Philanthropy in the 20th Century.....	72
Distinct Environments for Philanthropy.....	74
Tensions between Ideologies and Methods of U.S.–Cuba Religious Philanthropy.....	76
Protestant Philanthropy in the Revolution Era	78
An End to Euphoria	79
Churches in the Center of Social Dilemmas.....	81
Catholic Opposition to the Revolution	82
Faith as a Secret Matter	84
Integrating Catholic Social Stances into Protestantism.....	85
Affirming a Cuban Christian Identity.....	86
The Special Period and Other Openings.....	88
Re-establishing Political Relations	90
Conclusion	90
CHAPTER FOUR: MUTUALITY AMONG CUBANS—FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	94
Tensions of Identity and Morality in Cuban Christianity.....	96
What Is Mutuality?	102
Mutuality as a Commitment to Sharing.....	104
Mutuality as Intersubjective Relationships.....	111
A Relational Way of Life	111
Habits of Sincere Listening	112
No Right to an Enemy	114
Intersubjectivity	116
Mutuality as an Adaptive Preference.....	119
Mutuality as a Habitual Approach.....	122
Vocations that Further Mutuality	122
Spiritual Practices	123
Conclusion	124

CHAPTER FIVE: MUTUALITY BETWEEN CUBANS AND NORTH AMERICANS, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.....	126
Meanings of Partnership across North American Groups	127
The Beginnings of Cross-Cultural Mutuality	129
Finding Commonalities and Understanding Differences	133
Micro-Affirmations – Greetings as Messages of Inclusion and Recognition	138
Holy Kisses – Greetings as Religious Rites Symbolizing Social Boundaries.....	140
Non-Material Gifts	141
Examples of Collaboration	143
The Cultural Intelligence Necessary for Mutuality: ‘Accurate Empathy’	144
Government and Interpersonal Relations	148
Perspectives from North American Partners	151
Experiences and Meanings of Short-term Mission Trips at Campo Amor	151
Perceptions of Cultural Differences	154
Government and Interpersonal Relations	158
Becoming Friends.....	158
Giving and Accepting Gifts.....	160
Meanings of Mutuality	162
Conclusion	164
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION.....	166
Limitations.....	168
Major Findings	172
Critical Drawbacks	175
Future Research and Goals.....	176
Practical Applications.....	178
Further Reflections on Bias	180
The COVID-19 Disruption.....	181
APPENDIX A.....	182
Sample Items from the TRES II Survey Protocol	182
REFERENCES	184
CURRICULUM VITAE	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Definitions of Related Interdisciplinary Terms	30
Table 2. Examples from Interdisciplinary Literatures.....	34
Table 3. Comparison of Sovereign and Charismatic Leadership Styles	35
Table 4. Theoretical Features of Mutuality	39

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Eduardo Otero spends time with local youth in Alamar	6
Figure 2. Food and lodging at Campo Amor’s luxury AirBnB downtown Havana. The proceeds of this apartment go to pay pastors’ salaries in the house churches	7
Figure 3. Interdisciplinary Study of Mutuality	5
Figure 4. A billboard at the exit from the Havana airport reads, “Blockade: The Longest Genocide in the History of the World.”	13
Figure 5. Friends from Campo Amor and faith leaders from around Cuba who were students at a training on friendship through the teachings of Jose Marti.	17
Figure 6. Multi-national partners of the Matanzas Seminary in Cuba sharing a meal. Groups included Cubans at a seminar, Argentinians visiting the school as alumnae and donors, Koreans and Korean-Americans who met there to complete a service project	28
Figure 7. Dr. Daniel Montoya edits our co-created survey	62
Figure 8. Dr. Montoya takes me on a tour of his garden (close-up).....	62
Figure 9. The campus of Matanzas Evangelical Seminary	62
Figure 10. Artists reflect on the complexity of Cuba’s modern state, the tensions of economics and ideology after the partial reopening of Cuba to the United States.....	64
Figure 11. The downtown scene is a study in contrasts, with buildings abandoned since the 1970s and elaborate modern public art installations	65
Figure 12. A view from the Malecón, the seawall constructed to protect Havana from the fierce ocean waves.....	65
Figure 13. Borrowed buses with political statements from partner churches in Cuba. Campo Amor avoids explicit political statements in their own approach to community development	91
Figure 14. Coffee is prepared for the religious service at Campo Amor’s main building.....	99
Figure 15. The staff at Campo Amor buys food to serve the groups	100
Figure 16. The blue house, one of Campo Amor’s guest homes in the Alamar neighborhood.....	100
Figure 17. Modern art: Yoan Capote, Muro de Mar (Seawall), 2017	120
Figure 18. Modern art: Yoan Capote, Fishhooks, 2017	120

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“Who shall say what prospect life offers to another? Could a greater miracle take place than for us to look through each other’s eyes for an instant?” – *Henry David Thoreau*

El amor es el lazo de los hombres, el modo de enseñar y el centro del mundo. (Love is the bond between men, the way to teach, and the center of the world.) – *Jose Martí*

Eduardo Otero, pastor, leads a Christian civil society organization called Campo Amor on the outskirts of Havana. His organization, formally constituted in Spain, receives donations and payments there to avoid the embargo. Over the past 20 years, Campo Amor has multiplied from two to more than 120 house churches and added community activities such as health clinics and baseball clubs. Before executive orders tightening travel restrictions and the Coronavirus, the organization welcomed more than 500 American visitors each year. Thus far during the virus, there have been four.

This is a dissertation about relational approaches to global philanthropy, within a specific context of Protestant Christians. This dissertation attends to cross-cultural relations between Cubans and North Americans through a qualitative case study of the interpersonal relationships within a faith-based organization: Campo Amor, Cuba. This is a phenomenological analysis of a theoretical construct: mutuality (*mutualidad*). The dissertation provides a thick description and conceptualization of mutuality that is based on three primary inputs: an interdisciplinary literature review, a historical and religious framework, and an analysis of data collected from interviews and participant observations at the field site. The central point of this study is to advance understanding about mutuality between people and between organizations. To pursue this understanding, I pose the following questions: What are the meanings and experiences of mutuality for

Cuban Christians in Campo Amor who are interacting with North American Christians?

What is mutuality as a theoretical construct, and how is it similar to and different from existing theoretical constructs?

Why is mutuality important to study? Ultimately, all organizational leaders need to care about mutuality in order to care about and concertedly tend to the health of the organization and the wellbeing of relationships within the organization. While it is beyond the scope of the initial steps of this dissertation, the ultimate goal is to aid organizational leaders in learning how to better develop and foster mutuality, in general and cross-culturally. First, the project here is to phenomenologically explore and explicate what mutuality is, how it is lived and understood. Second, the inductive approach is to abstract from the descriptive fieldwork to theorize the relationship of mutuality to existing scholarly constructs, and ultimately to propose an interdisciplinary integration of theories across a range of disciplines that attend to relational qualities.

Major Contributions

The study produced three major implications for philanthropic practice. First, this paper argues that relationships are a central public good, both for their inherent and instrumental value. Those who have been involved in nonprofits have most likely heard the phrase, “It’s all about relationships.” Usually, this phrase is used to explain how something happens because of a friendship, connection or relationship of trust that made possible an opportunity that was otherwise not available. Beyond this instrumental logic, I argue that relationships are first a good within themselves. Later we return to the evidence for this idea.

Secondly, this project demonstrates that relationships at times span massive differences, with multi-directional flows of influence, especially in the global age. These differences, both within a culture and across them, present perils and promise for the world's moral architecture. For this reason, I chose Cuba as a research context, primarily because of their ongoing political enmity, and ideological differences from the United States. If relationships characterized by mutuality were possible between these two countries, perhaps they were possible anywhere.

Thirdly, this project utilizes the concept of mutuality, theorizing it as a meta-value for philanthropic endeavors, with insights into relationships at the micro, mezzo and macro level. In a mutual relationship, individuals or groups are both affecting and being affected; they are both open to initiate, influence and change in patterns of engagement. This development of empathy first equips individuals to allow for the different nature of others; then it grows to value those qualities and encourage them (Jordan, 1986). Interviewees described mutuality mainly in three main ways: 1. the commitment to sharing; 2. intersubjective relationships which enter into and care about the thoughts and feelings of another; and 3. the habitual approach that emphasized living one's way into patterns of thought, versus thinking one's way into patterns of life.

I have engaged the topics of global, Christian philanthropy both as a practitioner and a scholar throughout my career, first leading organizations to develop cross-cultural relationships throughout the Spanish-speaking world, then researching the phenomenon through projects such as the Global Philanthropic Indices and Global Research on Religion Initiative (*Global Religion Research Initiative*, n.d.; GPI, 2020). Global philanthropic research is an area of growth, for example, with the global indices

collecting data on more than 80 countries which continue to unfold new dimensions that call for new understanding. These include the nuances of informal and formal giving practices, government structures that enable and hinder philanthropy, and cultural norms that privilege philanthropic ideologies such as solidarity and social investment.

Research Significance

One reason for the ontological significance of mutuality is the realities of globalization. Pre-pandemic, global engagement was at an all-time high. For example, the economic exchange growing from \$2 to \$18 trillion over the past 20 years; 4.5 billion people connected to the internet; and 94 million individuals traveling outbound from the United States in 2018 (*TI Outreach: Outbound Overview Outbound*, n.d.; *World Economic Outlook*, n.d.). Research on global religion tells a similar story of historic levels of engagement. Scholars estimated that \$809 billion worldwide was given to Christian causes in 2020, with 425,000 foreign missionaries and 5,500 foreign mission sending agencies, many of which coordinate international Christian volunteerism (Zurlo et al., 2020). What is being overlooked are the interpersonal relationships that create mutuality in cross-cultural partnerships, and the cultural intelligence necessary to foster them. At the same time, the study of World Christianity is blossoming from scholars from around the world, with qualitative studies in particular providing a counter-balance to Western understandings of faith and giving. More and more, people are engaging with others across huge cultural differences with little preparation and at times catastrophic results, never more so than when they damage the wellbeing of others in the name of their religion. As these exchange flows of money, people, ideas and cultures advance at

an increasing pace and frequency, so should our moral and relational understandings that guide them.

In philanthropic and religious studies, scholars often discuss mutuality, but literature is scarce about what is meant by the concept. Generally speaking, mutuality is used as an allusion to the importance of relationships. It is a concept deeply resonant in individual relationships, particularly in social psychology, and is also becoming popular in organizational studies (Jordan, 2018; Yeoman, 2016). But what does it mean for the 2.3 billion individual adherents and the thousands of organizations engaged in global, Christian philanthropy? Contributing to this understanding through exploring mutuality at one organization, Campo Amor, is the focus of my study.

As a bilingual scholar with connections in the country, I chose Cuba as a research site because it enabled me to engage in inductive work. It also focused on a country that has been understudied because of geopolitical tensions. Taken together, I designed a research study that followed the philanthropic studies trend toward giving in a global context, took a World Christianity approach by centering non-US voices, and focused on particular religious and philanthropic practices in the context of a local situation.

This local situation chronicles the perspectives of Eduardo and the people involved with Campo Amor, a faith-based organization on the outskirts of Havana, Cuba. The study involves both the Cubans and their North American co-religionists who I call partners. The main concept is that of mutuality, a framework for interpersonal relationships, and the meanings and experiences of mutuality in humanitarian partnerships that span cultural differences. Though the Cuban and faith-based context is unique, this study was aimed as a first step in making inferences about how mutuality can

be a part of any philanthropic endeavor. The methods for the project include qualitative phenomenological interviews, which attempt to understand deeply that which is considered ordinary, and participant observations. Over four distinct trips to Cuba which each lasted between one and two weeks, I distilled these interviews and observations into this qualitative research report, written in an ethnographic style. See Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Eduardo Otero spends time with local youth in Alamar*



Source: Southeast Christian Outlook

Eduardo called the church in Cuba a survivor church. He told me of the days when he lost his job because of his faith, and went to work for his father-in-law in the coconut groves. His payment was to eat as many coconuts each day as he could find. Not much later, he started his own lucrative plumbing business, in a time when all private businesses were illegal in Cuba. He gave that up to begin a church, again scraping together enough to provide for himself, and now his young family. This time, however, Eduardo had made a choice to leave his work, starting a new church on the outskirts of Havana in the 1980s. See Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Food and lodging at Campo Amor's luxury AirBnB downtown Havana. The proceeds of this apartment go to pay pastors' salaries in the house churches*



During my research in Cuba, I often rode in the Campo Amor van with Eduardo. I watched him orchestrate a network of people and activity, all aimed at supporting the organization he ran. One day we would wait in line for gas for an hour, filling up every two-liter we could find along with the gas tank. On another he would be on a call to Spain with his friends trying to convince them to invest in downtown Havana apartments to fund an Air BnB. The rent money would support the house pastors' salaries. Once I brought several tubes of Aspercreme that he had asked for and we stopped at a few homes to distribute it. Most of the time, though, we were transporting groups of Cubans,

or groups of North Americans and Cubans to and fro – going to some project or training or baseball game or church service all day and into the evening. At first to me, the kissing hello and goodbye rituals between the pastor and his Cuban congregants seemed to last as long as the drives.

Eduardo did not say much to me during my first few times there. When he did start talking, he told me stories of his family and Cuban friends, and stories of his interactions with the North American church. He said his father died proud because he had avoided joining the Cuban army, and because his son had made a North American friend, even visiting the country before his father's death. By the time I met Eduardo, he had visited the U.S. enough to know he wanted to stay home (in Cuba) more often after experiences raising funds through denominational structures. He was working hard for his organization to be completely independent of formal U.S. denominational funding, but welcomed the support of partners who visited. He avoided traditional fundraising, but was happy to arrange yacht trips for his friends who came down. He was visited by Cuban officials as a representative of a civil society organization, and also attended the U.S. embassy's July 4th party in Havana. In all my time in Cuba, I never heard him preach, and rarely was he up in front of the congregation. I often found him in the kitchen at the Campo Amor guest house, laughing and listening to the conversations there. The amount of activity pulled him into nearly constant conversations, in-person and on the phone -- talking, listening, laughing or organizing. During my time there, I watched him engage across socio-economic, racial and cultural strata – at times hosting top-level denominational leaders and at other completing what appeared to me as leisurely errands with neighbors, gathering or passing out items to be shared. At times Eduardo

demonstrated an intense personal demeanor, like when he was editing early versions of my research or organizing a health clinic. At other times he was winsome, like when he was spending time with children or asking me about the lyrics to a Taylor Swift song we were listening to on the road. In part, I chose the concept of mutuality because of the type of leadership that Eduardo embodied.

Analytical Approach

First, this project is grounded in the phenomenological tradition. Phenomenology is the science of phenomena, which is understood to be distinct from the nature of being (ontology) in its focus on understanding lived experiences (not expertly evaluating their relevance or worthiness). Thus, the goal of the first phase of this project is to understand the meaning that a phenomenon has for people and to use thick description to explain that meaning to others who have not necessarily experienced the same phenomena. The goal is not to evaluate the merits or worthiness of its meaning, but rather to inductively generate a description of the phenomenon of mutuality. Second, the logic of analysis employed in the second phase of this dissertation is abductive analysis, described by Timmermans and Tavory (2012) as an act of discovery that centers on the consequences and works backward in hindsight toward the reasons. This form of analysis depends on a theoretically sensitized observer who recognizes and processes the significance.

Theoretical Framework

As a researcher at the intersection of World Christianity and philanthropy, inductive pilot interviews first clued me in to the idea of mutuality. Mutuality, the main conceptual framework for this study, is an approach to relationships that regards others as whole people, and has an ongoing interest in their meaning systems and inner states of

being (Jordan, 1986). Social psychology theorists of mutuality posit that growth towards relationships, not away from them, is a hallmark of maturity and development. I was intrigued by the concept and wanted to know how it applied to cross-cultural philanthropy. Throughout my career, I had observed nonprofits across the world use relational concepts in their planning and evaluation. However, attention to relational concepts was rarely comprehensive or evidence-based. Rather, it emerged unsystematically, even unconsciously, from culturally implicit norms. A primary goal of this project is to make these implicit norms explicit, in order to aid organizations in adapting relational values in more conscious, thoughtful, and systematic ways.

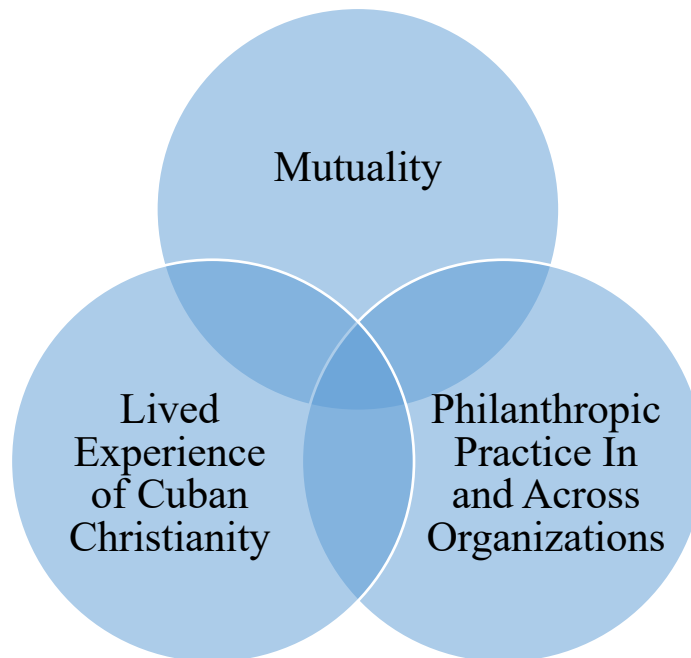
As mentioned in the introduction, the central point of this study is to advance understanding about mutuality between people and between organizations. **The primary research questions ask the following questions: What is mutuality? What are the meanings and experiences of mutuality for Cuban Christians? What are the meanings and experiences of mutuality between Cuban and North American Christians?** In so doing, the project aims to aid greater adoption and application of mutuality in philanthropic and nonprofit organizations, by making the formerly implicit an explicit object of investigation and providing best practice guidance.

It is important to note that this study is not grounded in one particular academic discipline. Rather, it is an interdisciplinary study that explores concepts across disciplines. As an interdisciplinary scholar, my job is to span boundaries. I advance knowledge through new findings and also by comparing and connecting findings across fields and cultures. This spanning creates alignment and collaboration between disciplines, what may be called theoretical arbitrage -- the translating, sharing and trading

of wisdom across previously disparate intellectual spaces. Emerging scholars, like myself, in the twenty-first century inherit an academic context full of vast quantities of existing knowledge, researching in an age of info-glut (Luker, 2009). In response, many scholars have embraced interdisciplinarity. Interdisciplinarity done well does not avoid traditional disciplines, but rather makes their approaches to knowledge creation explicit and searches for the interactions between them. It advances knowledge not only through new findings, but also new comparisons across existing findings.

Mutuality is a framework for understanding human relationships rooted in social psychology and organizational studies; it describes when people regard one another as whole persons and a relationship as something of inherent value (Aron, 2013; Jordan, 2004; Kieffer, 2013). In this study, I use the concept of mutuality to explore how it is lived out in practice-oriented fields such as lived religion, philanthropic practice and World Christianity. See Figure 3.

Figure 3. *Interdisciplinary Study of Mutuality*



Interdisciplinary Study of Mutuality. This study explores the experiences and meanings of mutuality in philanthropic practice and lived experience of Cuban Christians.

Figure 3 illustrates the content of this dissertation. The main concept, mutuality, is used to understand both the philanthropic practice and the lived experience of Cuban Christianity. Through the lens of mutuality, this study explores how philanthropic practice relates to the Cuban interpretation of Christianity – both within the Campo Amor organization and also across organizations with their North American partners. In the left-hand circle, the lived experience of Cuban Christianity is characterized by survival. During the Cuban Revolution and until the 1990s, Cubans have persevered in their faith in a society where those beliefs were opposed by the government and culture. In these ways, they did not experience mutuality with many of their fellow Cubans, and they were likewise cut off from many forms of philanthropic practice. The overlap between the top and left circle illustrates that Cuban Christians do attain a form of mutuality both in and across cultures, even as philanthropic giving on and to the island country is constrained.

Next, explaining the top circle, though mutuality and philanthropic practice is prevalent in these faith communities, I assume there are myriad Cuban communities where Christianity and philanthropic practice are not present but mutuality is. Cuba is a collectivist society, with a reputation as a friendly culture (Fraiman, 2003). One does not have to be Christian or generous to experience mutuality. In the overlap between the top and right circles, systems of philanthropy and mutuality do exist on the island that are not religiously based. For example, schools and universities have developed sophisticated systems of exchange and support despite the embargo. Other philanthropic practices are both not part of the Christian experience and do not demonstrate mutuality, as illustrated

by the circle on the right. These would include international aid or philanthropic gifts sent in the traditional giver to beneficiary unidirectional approach, which includes support from religious humanitarian groups such as Jews and Muslims. Another example is the variety of Cuban organizations, which though affiliated with the government entities, operate primarily through voluntary contributions of both time and finances. As a final example in this category, many homes and businesses in Cuba are used for public and semi-public convenings to discuss and organize action around a range of issues.

Where the experiences of Cuban Christians and philanthropic practices overlap but mutuality is not present depicts situations where Cubans do not habitually engage in empathic, growth-fostering relationships among themselves, even while voluntarily participating in Christian efforts together, or where philanthropic giving from abroad, such as from North American partners, does not engage in such relationships. Finally, instances where mutuality, the lived experience of Cuban Christianity and philanthropic practices overlap describe communities that continue to engage in empathic, growth-fostering relationships, which are informed and motivated by their Christian faith, and voluntarily act to seek the good of one another. These overlaps can take place between the individuals of one organization, or across organizations through partnerships.

As a student of philanthropy, my primary lens is to understand more about how people seek good for one another, especially within religious motivations and across cultural differences. Philanthropy is often defined as voluntary action intended for the public good (Payton, 1988; Sulek, 2010). Yet, major critiques of this notion exist. They ask: whose good; for which public (Barman, 2017; Jung & Harrow, 2019; Wiepking & Handy, 2015)? Meanwhile, Marcel Mauss and others have theorized that no gift is

completely unconstrained, and that gift giving cultures are imbued with complex sets of moral norms of reciprocity (2002). I want to know how interpersonal relationships condition and situate public goods, most notably by fostering mutual benefits through relational dynamics.

After a year of studying pertinent literature and an initial pilot study in Cuba, interviewing and observing, I sensed that something was different about the philanthropic relationships at my field site, Campo Amor, than the myriad other international nonprofits and partnerships I had visited over the years as a nonprofit practitioner. The organization synthesized different organizational forms more than any I had seen, at times representing a formal, congregational structure. In other ways, though, the organization rejected bureaucratic structures, instead preferring to remain loosely organized and sometimes even structureless, running elements of the organization clandestinely. The organization also welcomed partners who themselves represented various organizational forms and missions, some faith-based and others not.

Next, I began to distill my ideas about the overarching themes. What was the thread that ran through all of the conversations? Why was this case so different? Why did a local participant in Campo Amor, for example, say to me, “Jamie, I am glad to be your friend, but not because you bring me things.” Why did so many of the North American partners I interviewed refer to these people “like family”? I looked over my notes again and again – the interviews, the Cuban religious and political literature, the North American philanthropic and religious literature, and realized that Campo Amor’s main difference was that it was built mainly on interpersonal relationships, instead of formal organizational structures. I noticed a repeated word: “Mutuality” – “Mutualidad.” It had

appeared a few times in both the interviews and the literature notes. Used throughout history, this inductive reasoning is an approach to research that begins with noting specific observations and distilling those into patterns and themes (Walliman, 2017).

The more I read, the more I was intrigued by the concept of mutuality – and the more I saw that it was a popular term in philanthropic discourse, but mainly undefined or understood in depth (as described in subsequent chapters). In fact, the term is used in a variety of disciplines – everything from anthropology to law to political science, but what I was looking for was a conceptual framework that not only pointed to the importance of relationships, but explained their essence at a basic, even phenomenological, level. What were healthy, growth-fostering interpersonal relationships made up of? What were they like? These questions were raised but not adequately answered within existing scholarship. In short, mutuality is an often-mentioned but little understood concept.

I found a helpful framework within social psychology scholarship, particularly within the works of Judith Jordan of Harvard University and colleagues in the Wellesley Center (2018). As stated throughout this chapter, mutuality is a relational framework in which people regard one another as whole persons, with a deep regard and interest for the ongoing subjective state of the other. Closely related, mutuality is also a meta-value for organizations – seen as something that ethicist Ruth Yeoman of Northumbria University says can order other ideas because of its capacity to organize other values, such as empathy and inclusivity, into systems (2019). By combining these frameworks, I developed my own conceptual framework. In doing so, I realized that I was studying philanthropy through the lens of mutuality, but I still needed to deal with an important aspect of context in my study: organizations.

Organizational Contexts

Two main literatures were pertinent for awakening my awareness to the importance of mutuality, beyond organizational context alone. The first was the study of World Christianity. Though often seen as monolithic, the study of the Christian religion is in itself a broad and multi-faceted collection of varied literature. World Christianity is a branch of religious studies that emerged in the post-colonial era to push back and offer critical response to Western-based Christian thought – telling stories that are not told, talking about relationships oftentimes upside down from how they are normally framed, and centering indigenous actors. World Christianity refers to the social phenomenon of the Christian religion in global context, with an emphasis on those aspects which are considered non-Western (Sanneh, 2003).

Yale missiologist Lamin Sanneh demarcated this concept from global Christianity, which mimics previous religious establishments and cultures. He said, “World Christianity is the movement of Christianity as it takes form and shape in societies that previously were not Christian, societies that had no bureaucratic tradition with which to domesticate the gospel” (2003, p. 22). If studies of global Christianity follow the intellectual lead of global studies generally, however, the field would not aim at replicating established models. Like Sanneh, scholars of global studies recognize that to classify learning as “global” carries epistemological bias on social, geographical and historical planes (Andreotti, 2011; Hovland, 2010; Kahn & Agnew, 2017).

Analysis of this privilege and bias is inherently important in global studies. Additionally, many aspects of any global study may not actually be global (Deardorff, 2006). Rather and most importantly, this type of study points to a pedagogy that trains

students “to understand the universal through the particular and the particular through the universal” (Kahn & Agnew, 2017, p. 53). In global studies, the aim is to integrate and disentangle different, at times conflicting ideologies, perspectives and approaches, and situate them across a variety of micro, mezzo and macro contexts focused on analyzing what is both similar and different (Andreotti, 2011; Kahn & Agnew, 2017).

From my perspective both literature on Global and World Christianity acknowledges the profound differences of Christian expression in cultures. These multiple streams of thought represented in the literature demonstrate that a Western lens oversimplifies the study of the faith. Like other aspects of globalization, Christianity’s flows are not ‘from the West to the rest’ but rather, from “everywhere to everyone” (Escobar, 2003, p. 1). For example, Cuban Protestant Christians have selectively synthesized different religious traditions. They include: 1) evangelicalism, a contested term, but well known for its regard for the Bible, belief that lives ought to be changed through conversion, stress on activism and personal effort, and centering of their faith on the work of Jesus Christ on the cross (Bebbington, 2003; Hutchinson & Wolffe, 2012); 2) liberation theology, a Catholic ideology that emphasizes God’s preference for the poor, and social justice (Barger, 2018); and 3) uniquely Cuban theology. Through decades of receiving missions, imperialism, then extreme isolation, the island’s Christian believers now see faith through socialism and construct hope amidst material scarcity.

As a bilingual scholar with access to these international communities, I wanted to create a study that many others had called for in future research, but few had been able to carry out – an inductive study that centered both the concepts and objects of study, outside of the White Western world, one that was co-created with those who were being

examined. This coupling of philanthropic study with World Christianity is part of the growing edge of philanthropic studies itself – understanding the norms of generosity in other cultures, as well as issues of power and privilege, especially when groups partner and give across borders. Generosity refers to the “virtue of giving good things to others freely and abundantly.” Though a contested term itself, in many cultures it is considered a moral virtue that can be learned, encompassing both attitude and action (*What Is Generosity? // Science of Generosity // University of Notre Dame*, 2021). Though cross-border giving and partnerships are ancient phenomena, there is a growing realization and attention to global approaches to philanthropy and multiple understandings of generosity, as evidenced in reports such as the Global Philanthropy Environment Index (GPI, 2020). I was a researcher on this immense project, synthesizing the philanthropic landscapes of Latin American and Africa, and through the study developed a growing awareness of the impacts of Christianity in the world’s philanthropic practices.

Macro-Level Contexts

The \$809 billion given to Christian causes worldwide, mentioned earlier, represent this global participation in philanthropy, as gifts and volunteers no longer flow primarily in one direction. Rather the flows of faith and giving are multi-directional. Corresponding to larger demographic changes, vocational missions and associated philanthropic systems no longer represent colonial powers exclusively. Wright (2010) states that the majority of Christian philanthropy and pro-social action addressing physical and spiritual needs is carried out by churches and faith-based groups with little power and few resources. Other studies have pointed out that though the West still provides the most money and wields the most institutional power in Christianity, they are

no longer the lead actors in influence over thought and action worldwide (Bakker, 2013; King, 2019; Offutt, 2015; Reynolds, 2012; Wuthnow, 1989). Given these dynamics, I placed my focus more on Cubans themselves in this study, while still including their North American partners. The back and forth relational flows I study are illustrative of the broad phenomena happening within religious globalization.

Micro-Level Contexts

Though my study embeds itself within these broad literatures, its primary focus, again, is the study of interpersonal relationships – mutuality. It is a micro slice of this macro-world. Consequently, as a final frame for the study, I wanted to attend not just to the numbers but to the lived experiences of the people in one small, unique community, in an exceptional country in the modern world – Protestant Christians in Havana, Cuba. This frame was important. Cuba in many ways represents an extreme case. The geopolitical background for the study is one of official enmity between two countries and a history of exploitation. See Figure 4. Yet, Christians across these borders continue to partner.

Figure 4. *A billboard at the exit from the Havana airport reads, “Blockade: The Longest Genocide in the History of the World.”*



Source: University of Pittsburgh

The term philanthropic partnerships was chosen in order to describe “structured, enduring association of individuals, groups, and organizations that engage in common activity and combine resources to achieve common goals” (Kniffin et al., 2020, p. 9). Partnerships are distinguished from other inter-organizational relationships because of special attributes: closeness, equity, and integrity (Bringle et al., 2012). Though laden with its own set of biases, the term philanthropic was chosen as a more overarching term than humanitarian, development or faith-based to describe partnerships.

Macro-Micro Intersections

With these complexities, if mutuality could be found between people and groups in Cuba, it could be found anywhere. Cuban Christians lived in a type of double reality – a context for philanthropy where Cuban government officials denounce Western civil society in extremist terms, while simultaneously faith-based organizations and congregations there have synthesized selectively the North American evangelical culture into their practices (Armony, 2003). How do the Cuban Christians navigate these two wildly different ideologies? The Cuban practice of Christian faith, like others, grows out of their lived experience. While only some explicitly frame their faith practice with Socialism, I found that most have a more inherent sense of communion – not only do they share things with one another (out of abundance or sacrifice) but they conceptualize their life as a shared one – they hold their identity, relationships and material goods more in common.

Thus, I wanted to center my inquiry on the practices of interpersonal relationships of the Cubans amongst themselves: how global mutuality is practiced in interpersonal experiences. Through a review of relevant literature, I learned that it is a small slice of the

world (e.g., USA), in which people think that they can separate their personal relationships from their material needs – most people in the world think more holistically about that sort of interdependence (Lederleitner, 2010). Asserting that resource dependency explains the relational dynamics is not viewed in this study as a sufficiently robust theoretical explanation. In other countries, resource dependency is a compliment, a symbol of strength, a testimony to the intimacy of the relationship, rather than a sign of weakness (Lederleitner, 2010; Maranz, 2001).

Mutuality

Mutuality Meanings

Next, I wanted to understand the meanings and experiences of mutuality, primarily from the Cuban perspective, of the cross-cultural relationships of those who partner with Campo Amor. Do these partners experience mutuality? If so, what are the meanings they ascribe to experiences of mutuality? Few Cubans used this word with me, although some did, while many others used reciprocity, solidarity and the biblical Greek *diakonia*, or service. Situating and parsing those meanings helped to disentangle the concept even further. Finally, I wanted to contrast these meanings and experiences with those of the North American partners. What were the ways that American partner views converged and contrasted with Cuban partners? Did American partners experience mutuality? What role did existing norms of evangelical missions and paternalism have in mutuality?

Therefore, through this mutuality framework, I am conceptualizing international engagement within interpersonal, relational dynamics. More generally, existing scholarship also frames international engagement in interpersonal terms. For example, the

study of global civil society explores a range of diverse meanings regarding belonging in the world, conditioned heavily by which culture one is from originally (Appiah, 2017). Geographer Doreen Massey analyzed what she called a global sense of responsibility, pointing out that places themselves hold multiple identities, they represent ongoing processes, and are never completely enclosed. The ensuing identities associated with place inform people's senses of responsibilities (Dovey, 2009). Similarly, international humanitarianism focuses on how social constructions of helping in turn shape cross-cultural relationships (Bornstein, 2012). Studies of international missions emphasize friendship (Robert, 2015), while studies of religious globalization note the worldwide shift from communities to associations (Casanova, 2007). In still more streams of literature, scholars cite religion as a primary cause in explaining cross-national philanthropy (Esping-Andersen, 2013; Wiepking & Handy, 2015). With these international relations contexts to understanding mutuality meanings, I and others ask: What role could mutuality play in the future "moral architecture" of human relationships in the global age (Volf, 2016). This study contributes initial answers to this question, towards advancing scholarship on international philanthropy – by engaging micro-level frameworks of interpersonal relationships to understand macro-level international philanthropic partnerships. See Figure 5.

Figure 5. *Friends from Campo Amor and faith leaders from around Cuba who were students at a training on friendship through the teachings of Jose Marti.*



Mutuality Manifestations

As a final grounding for the study, there is a prevalence of social science literature that identifies a strong role of interpersonal relationships and their inherent and instrumental value at the interpersonal, organizational and cultural levels. For example, the Harvard Study of Adult Development examined three waves of nearly 2,000 participants, with some participants studied for as many as 80 years, and found that close relationships protected people from discontentment, delayed decline in mental and physical health, and better predicted long and happy lives than social class, IQ, or genes (*Harvard Second Generation Study*, n.d.; Jensen, 2015). Similarly, “The Social Capital Project” gathered data on social capital for 2,992 of 3,142 counties in the United States and found that both bonding (relationships among culturally alike individuals) and bridging (relationships across culturally different individuals) social capital are essential to creating thriving communities (Putnam, 2017).

In a study of more than 1,000 teams at Google, researchers found that psychological safety, when team members feel safe to be vulnerable and take risks around each other, as the most important dynamic that led to team effectiveness (Edmondson, 2018). Benjamin, among others, has pointed out that focusing on

relationships in organizational studies, particularly focusing on those considered beneficiaries, does not equate to sentimentality. Technical results still matter, nonprofit work is not idealized, and results can be scrutinized, especially considering the risk beneficiaries bear related to nonprofit performance (2008). Thus, mutuality can also be an important aspect of broader wellbeing processes, perhaps helping to explain why people who participate in efforts to support collective goods also personally benefit.

Methods

Taken together, from the vantage point of Christian philanthropy worldwide, this study uses the conceptual lens of mutuality to understand relationships amongst Cuban Christians, and between Cubans and their North American partners. It is an exploratory inductive qualitative study – the first phase of what I hope will be a long career of mixed methods cross-cultural research at the intersection of philanthropy and World Christianity.

As a contribution to the moral sciences, the project interacts with normative theories, as Phillip Selznick states, “that evaluate as well as explain” (Selznick, 1994, p. xiii). He elaborates that such findings “emphasize human interdependence and the need for solidarity; they recall us to the specifics of culture and history...and bring home the compelling realities of personal and group autonomy; the heavy costs paid when autonomy is lost and the emergence of broader perspectives within which a balance can be struck between the claims of piety and those of civility” (1994, p. xi).

A pilot study trip of two weeks was conducted before the formal data collection began. This pilot study was in the summer of 2017 and consisted of observations in house churches and community programs, speaking with both Cubans and N.A. partners who

were visiting, conducting initial interviews, participation in a training of lay leaders at Matanzas Seminary and study in the Matanzas Seminary library.

During the pilot study I was simultaneously studying global faith-based approaches to philanthropy, reading theological texts at night after having observed, interviewed and participated in the Cuban faith communities during the day. This triangulation was helpful in the formation of my key concept – mutuality, which was often mentioned but rarely expounded in the literature, and was described using different terms with the interviewees.

For the general data collection, the sample of interviewees were members of Campo Amor, an umbrella organization of people who formed house churches and humanitarian programs. This was a purposeful sample of individuals who were committed members of Campo Amor. Within that criteria I sought maximum variation of age, gender, race, and time involved with the organization. The sample also includes interviews from North American (NA) partners who were visiting as partners to the organization. It was important to me to hear from NA partners while they were on the field. I wanted to have fresh perspectives from them while they were in a different culture and were inundated with the activities of the organization.

On any given day, there were dozens of people coming and going, carrying out the activities of Campo Amor. During my hosted visits, they fed and transported up to 50 visitors at a time, ran a baseball tournament, a Saturday children's club, house church meetings throughout the city, and various other activities. At the main site itself, people from the community came for clean water, as the center had a commercial-size purifier installed and shared with the community, medical supplies, and requests for money,

medicine, food and clean water. One morning I just sat and watched the normal activity. Twenty-three people stopped by that morning, most asking for some sort of help. One man, Alfredo, is known by the staff. He couldn't speak in intelligible words. They gave him 20 pesos (less than \$1), and a mayonnaise jar filled with some type of food.

The children of many staff members came to the center after school as their families, mainly moms, worked late into the night caring for North American visitors. At first the members of Campo Amor were hesitant to be interviewed -- I spent hours recruiting interviewees by describing the study while members were meanwhile preparing for a project, driving to the airport to pick up guests, or working on construction projects, for example.

The first two trips were slow going. But by the third trip, and at the insistence of the lead pastor Eduardo, people became eager to be interviewed. In retrospect, this reluctance makes sense, as I was there each time for between one and two weeks. The only remaining challenge was to find a quiet spot on-site with so much constant activity. For the Cubans, interviews were conducted in Spanish, unless the interviewee insisted on speaking English, in order to practice. Matching interview protocol was carried out in English for the North American partners.

In formal terms, this primary qualitative data includes a purposeful criterion sample of phenomenological semi-structured interviews (n=35), and public observations within the Campo Amor organization. Phenomenology uses "thick description and close analysis of lived experience" in order to understand the meanings of participants' perceptions of a given phenomenon (Sokolowski, 2000; Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007, p. 1373). It follows the intellectual lineage of Clifford Geertz and others' pioneering

work to understanding culture through inductive logic and thick description (1973).

Doing so exposes assumptions about, provides deep explanations for, and illuminates that which was already considered familiar. Groenewald recommends extensive interviews with up to 10 informants for a phenomenological study; I interviewed 28 Cubans and seven Americans who participated in the phenomenon (2004). An interview protocol developed from the Relational-Culture Theory (Appendix A) guided the interview process (Comstock et al., 2008; Jordan, 2001; Weiss, 1995).

Selection Criteria

Criteria for the selection of the interviewees includes:

1. Cubans: Member of Campo Amor, North Americans: Member of organization that partners with Campo Amor
2. Has access to email or Facebook messenger.
3. Maintains at least one friendship with a Cuban/U.S. counterpart, with whom they are in monthly email or Facebook contact, and see at least once every two years.
4. Recommended by the leader of Campo Amor.
5. Maximum variation according to age, gender and ethnicity (Aiming for participants born 1954 or older; born 1954 to 1991; born after 1991; male and female; Anglo and Afro-Cubans)

The texts, interviews, and public observations focus on exploring the nature of the relationships amongst Cubans and between Cubans and partners from the United States.

Next, they consider how those relationships contributed to the public good of their communities. Interview transcripts and field notes were entered into NVivo data analysis software for coding. Data analysis for the qualitative phase of this study will consist of thematic analysis aimed at thick description.

A thick description ... does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick

description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard. (Denzin, 1989, p. 83)

Coding and Analysis Procedures

Coding for thematic analysis utilized a hybrid of deductive and inductive methods. Deductive codes were based on interview questions as well as categories about the perceived relationships amongst and between the groups central to the study's research questions (Crabtree & Miller, 1992). Inductive codes were driven by the data, after careful reading and re-reading, to recognize patterns which emerged as themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Rice & Ezzy, 1999). Coding involves seeing, recording and organizing the particular moments that constitute a phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998). An insightful code will capture the rich qualitative data inherent in a phenomenon. Encoding the information organizes the data to identify and develop themes from them. Boyatzis states that a theme is "a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 161).

The step-by-step coding process was: 1. Develop codebook, 2. Test codes according to a small sample, 3. Categorize data according to questions and codebook, 4. Re-examine data within existing codes to see if inductive subcodes emerge, 5. Examine data from raw state to see which inductive codes emerge, 6. Connect the codes and identify themes. Codes are clustered based on theme and also demographics, 7. Corroborate and legitimate coded themes, 8. Interpret themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 91). The write-up of the findings is patterned after qualitative and ethnographic researchers whose work inspired me – Sudhir Venkatesh (2013), Erica

Bornstein (2012), Robert Brennehan (2011), Mario Small (2009) and Patricia Snell Herzog (2017) to name a few.

Positionality

In an inductive, qualitative cross-cultural study such as this one, it is important to note my positionality as a researcher. In many ways, my presence at Campo Amor represented the very tension I was seeking to understand. I ventured on the trip loaded with biases -- a citizen of the United States, who shared the religion of Campo Amor, who had come as a visitor for a short period of time, and would travel home with a message to share with my communities that represented the work of Campo Amor, its people, and their culture. My identity did not preclude me from creating a fair and balanced analysis, but it did make reflection an imperative. This was a challenge, to develop habits of reflection and critical thinking about my own patterns of thought. Cross-cultural researchers must become experts at considering how they may be wrong. They must examine their presuppositions, and make their lineage of thinking explicit in order to include their own biases and assumptions as part of the analysis. It was imperative to evaluate my own thinking throughout the process, and how that compared to my interviewees' emic perspectives.

In the context of Cuba, perhaps more than normal visitors to Campo Amor, I presented a risk to the organization. The theme of my project focused one of the toughest macro-realities of their life, the ongoing conflict between the United States and Cuba. For me, it was a data-gathering trip and research project. For them, it was a permanent reality. There were a few immediate implications. First, discretion about interacting with informants was a primary concern. For this reason, the interview protocol was co-created

with members of Campo Amor. During the interviews, their consent was given verbally, and I emphasized not only that they did not need to respond to questions, but also encouraged them to reframe or change the questions in order to inform my way of thinking. People at Campo Amor often wanted to talk informally, and I made it a practice to keep distinctions in my notes about conversations that were taken as background information, and my notes that were taken within the interviews. While the two categories of data informed one another, I did not want them to blur.

Relationally, one big task within the project was to build rapport. At the same time, I did not want to replace my research orientation for an activist one. How could I simultaneously be sincere in my interactions and also collect the necessary data? Mutuality provided a useful framework for thought in this methodology, prompting me to approach each interview with respect, privileging the experience and comfort of the interviewee over my goal of gaining knowledge. On paper, it seemed simple. In practice, I often had to calm myself, refocus on the person in front of me, and temper my, at times, aggressive curiosity. As I write elsewhere, this respect for interviewees is inherently valuable, and also will, I hope, build a sense of trust and safety that will grow my access to the honest thoughts and feelings of this community in the future. In short, the experience gave me a glimpse of what other cross-cultural researchers have commented, that qualitative research will push one to momentarily suppress their rationality or humanity (Wasserman & Clair, 2011).

Dissertation Overview

This is a dissertation about mutuality. As with most research on interpersonal relationships, it is an approximation. Relationships are complex, unique, and changing

every moment, making any static description at best challenging. This study is about the relational activity in one organization, Campo Amor, in one community in and around Havana, Cuba. My observations and interviews took place between 2014 and 2019. I only observed a small amount of the relational exchanges between people at Campo Amor during my trips there. I did not speak with all the Cubans who had experience collaborating or forming friendships with North Americans, nor did I document every house church, sports field or every clinic where these exchanges occurred. Though I spent hundreds of hours - day and night - observing relationships and interviewing at the organization, my view is limited. This organization began decades ago, and some of its relationships began before the Cuban Revolution. My work explores a sliver of this rich story, but I hope that what I did uncover is revealing (Venkatesh, 2006).

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter two is an in-depth literature review on the main concepts of the study – mutuality in both interpersonal and organizational contexts, organizational partnerships, and World Christianity. The third chapter delves deeply into the lived experience of Cuban Christians and their historic interactions with North American partners, specifically evangelicals. This chapter serves not only to tell the story of Cuban Christians but also as a sobering perspective on the notion of cross-cultural religious partnerships, as well as a conceptual frame for understanding Cuban civil society.

Next, the fourth chapter tells of findings and analysis from the study – specifically aimed at understanding experiences and meanings of mutuality between Cubans themselves, as described by Cuban informants and my observations in the country. Interviewees described mutuality mainly in three main ways: 1. the commitment to

sharing; 2. Intersubjective relationships which enter into and care about the thoughts and feelings of another; and 3. the habitual approach that emphasized living one's way into patterns of thought, versus thinking one's way into patterns of life. The fifth chapter also shares findings and analysis. This time it tells of the experiences and meanings related to cross-cultural mutuality, as told by Cubans and also their North American partners. The final chapter draws conclusions about the findings, reports on limitations and outlines future research regarding interpersonal relationships in cross-cultural philanthropy.

COVID-19 Considerations

Writ large, Christian international philanthropy is in a period of profound change because of COVID-19. Crossing borders and interacting face to face has plummeted across the world, and to distance ourselves from others is thought of as an act of kindness, consideration for one's own health and those with whom they are in contact. Regarding travel, only fifty of the world's 195 countries are accepting U.S. travelers, many of those with severe restrictions. Simultaneously, race-based violence has prompted a new chapter in the U.S. struggle for civil rights. Among the manifold consequences of the crises, partnerships between faith-based organizations across cultural differences, both at home and abroad, has been tested. Volunteering with international faith-based organizations has all but stopped, even as they depend on the resources of international visitors and collaborations.

In the midst of the pandemic, I found out that Angela Bonaccorsi, a North American interviewee from South Carolina, was planning to visit Cuba. She normally visited four times a year. The country has been closed to U.S. visitors since May of 2020, but had then opened up for a short window. She was eager to deliver the normal supplies

of medicine and funds that they regularly brought to the people? With limited access to the internet, she wanted to know how her friends were doing amidst the strict Cuban quarantine, and how the house churches were adapting during this time.

Bonaccorsi, a local pastor's wife herself, was concerned for the immediate needs of the community she knows and loves abroad. When Cuba opened in November, Angela and a friend decided to go. They quickly bought tickets, were tested for COVID, and headed to Cuba. While there, they found that people were ordered to stay in their homes through the Cuban summer, often in apartment buildings without air conditioning. Certain foods and supplies were scarce – with medicine, meat, and powdered milk in particular becoming luxury items. Previously, Campo Amor welcomed more than 500 visitors and partners each year to support house churches and community programs. It has suffered during the pandemic, but continues to pay its pastors' salaries and distribute food and medicine in the community. Cuban Christians, a group Otero calls, the survivor church has learned to adapt as a way of life.

Conclusion

What will be the outcome? Will these organizations close or will they, out of necessity, find new models of operating? What are the meanings and experiences of mutuality in a time of isolation? In many ways, much of my study has changed. But I believe that in other, deeper ways, mutuality is more important than ever, as everyone collectively reimagines how to be friends and collaborators in a post-COVID world.

Studies of global, faith-based philanthropy like this one are significant because they will influence scholars who are shaping public thought, professors who are shaping leaders, and leaders who are influencing the frontline work of the Christian faith (Walls,

1991) amidst incredible challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic. This study provides an in-depth understanding of the relational dynamics of one organization immersed in these flows of religious globalization. The time is ripe for a new set of discussions in post-colonial Christian literatures, one that is oriented to relational aspects, accounts for cultural intelligence and respects the equal-image bearing of God in all people. The study of Christian philanthropy must reflect both the tensions and resolutions as it considers cross-cultural interpersonal and organizational relationships, taking careful consideration of each culture's gifts to one another and our world (González, 2012; Wright, 2010). See Figure 6.

Figure 6. Multi-national partners of the Matanzas Seminary in Cuba sharing a meal. Groups included Cubans at a seminar, Argentinians visiting the school as alumnae and donors, Koreans and Korean-Americans who met there to complete a service project



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

What is mutuality? This chapter seeks to explain the term and apply it to philanthropy and World Christianity. The chapter is organized into two sections. The first is an exploration of mutuality that distinguishes it from related concepts, such as reciprocity, love and empathy. It then discusses existing theory concerning mutuality at the individual (micro), organizational (meso) and cultural levels (macro). Connections between streams of literature are made and discussed according to these micro, meso and macro contexts, as well as through the lens of inherent and instrumental value of such relationships. Most of the examples from this chapter illustrate how mutuality applies in faith-based, cross-cultural partnerships in World Christianity, the context for this study. Taken together, this chapter is a statement about how mutual, growth-fostering relationships function in the lives of individuals, organizations and cultures, and what is at stake when such relational aspects are denied ontological significance.

Table 1 summarizes related interdisciplinary terms that inform this dissertation. The findings of this study point to mutuality as intersubjectivity in relationships, a commitment to sharing, and habitual practices. In addition to the definitions of mutuality, there are also other related terms that address similar topics. Some of the definitions that are verbatim quotes from existing scholarship, and others are summarized descriptions of entire bodies of scholarship devoted to this topic. Subsequently, I explain how each of these existing terms informs my own proposed theoretical construct for mutuality. See Table 1.

Table 1. *Definitions of Related Interdisciplinary Terms*

1. Empathy	<p>Capacity: The ability to register another’s emotions and respond</p> <p>Response: A reaction to the experience of others that matches their emotional state, displays sympathy, or reduces their own stress</p> <p>Emotional: The feelings associated with resonating with the experiences of another.</p> <p>Cognitive: The capacity to imagine the internal state of another.</p>	(Konrath et al., 2011; Riess, 2017)
2. Love	<p>Expressed in various relationships – Passionate: distinguished by a strong desire to romantically and physically bond with another,</p> <p>Companionate: known for friendship and affection</p> <p>Compassionate: oriented towards care, help and worrying about another.</p>	(Hatfield & Walster, 1985; Masuda, 2003)
3. Relational Sociology	A theory which argues that society is not an ideological space that contains relationships. Rather, society is the very tissue of relations themselves. So society is relations, it does not have relations. Even an understanding of oneself is primarily one of relating to others.	(Archer, 2010; Burkitt, 2016; Donati, 2013)
4. Reciprocity	A social norm that creates bonds of giving and receiving, taking and giving, going and returning. It is morally bound by norms like 'an eye for an eye' or the Golden rule's 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you,' and it is understood in terms of an “equivalent or corresponding exchange given in return.”	(Gewirth, 1978, p. 133)
5. Sharing Physical Spiritual	As used in this study, sharing is understood as: in a collectivist understanding, the holding of things in common, and in an individualist understanding, the open-handed giving of some of one’s items of value to another. The sharing of physical goods could be money, food, or any items of worth. The sharing of spiritual goods could be wisdom, care, or time spent together in prayer or conversation, for example.	
6. Social Solidarity Generally	A sense of responsibility for the welfare within social circles, such as family or community. Individuals vouch for the community and the community vouches for the individuals. Some have described it as the essence of mankind, the fraternity of all humans.	(Bakker, 2013; Bayertz, 1999; Durkheim & Swain, 2008; Gutierrez, 1988)
Liberation theology	To be on the side of God, one must thoroughly identify with the poor. Practically, this speaks of unrelenting support, “to have one another’s backs” which draws the church into a ministry of reconciliation (2013, p. 30).	
7. Practices	Formal and informal (interactional) rituals which establish social boundaries, affirm normative behaviors, and embed beliefs	(Collins, 2014; Durkheim & Swain, 2008)
8. Habits of Mind	“For we must make no mistake about ourselves; we are as much automaton as mind...Habit provides the strongest proof and those that are most believed.”	(Bourdieu, 1990, p. 48)
9. Lifestyle	Speaks to choices that enable or hinder the fostering of relationships, for example where one lives, one’s circle of friends, and use of material resources.	(Heuertz & Pohl, 2010)

Exploring Mutuality as Intersubjectivity: Related Terms

Empathy

Empathy can be a disposition in which people react to the experiences they observe in others. Those who act empathetically may match directly someone's emotional state, they may be displaying sympathy for the person, or they may be trying to reduce their own stress about the situation. Other scholars describe empathy as a cognitive ability, wherein people can imagine the internal state of another, (Konrath et al., 2011). Whether primarily cognitive or affective or a combination of both, scholars note the remarkable complexity of the ability to first perceive the emotions of others, resonate with them both at a thinking and feeling level, to consider their perspectives, all while simultaneously distinguishing between their responses and one's own (Riess, 2017).

Love

Love describes one of humanities most common emotions. At a basic level, scholars distinguish between passionate, companionate and compassionate love, each expressing various characteristics and distinct in how they are expressed through a variety of relationships, be they partner, friendship, familial, or strangers. Across types, love is marked by differing mixtures of passion, intimacy, and commitment (Hatfield & Walster, 1985; Masuda, 2003; Sequera, 2020).

Relational Sociology

Specific aspects of relationships fit within an overarching sociological framework called relational sociology. Relational sociology theorists posit relations as the substance of any society or community, stating that relationships are the constitutive element of

both society, as well as self-understandings (Collins, 2014; Durkheim & Swain, 2008). According to relational sociologists, the human experience is primarily a relational one. For Donati, society is not an ideological space that contains relationships. Rather, society is the very tissue of relations themselves. So society is relations, it does not have relations (2013). Archer and Burkitt refine this argument by deconstructing agency, stating that even individual agency is built on social relations (Archer 2010; Burkitt 2016). In other spheres of sociology, Giddens theorized that relationships first influence structure, and then structure subsequently constitutes relationships (1979).

Exploring Mutuality as a Commitment to Sharing: Related Terms

Social Solidarity

Related to a commitment to sharing, solidarity is conceived of as a sense of shared responsibility and subsequent fate between and individual and a community. Solidarity can be applied universally, as in the notion of the common brotherhood of mankind, or can have more specific obligations depending on certain communities. In addition, there is a difference between non-voluntary and organic solidarity, a distinction noted by communitarians that protects the autonomy of individuals, a common critique (Bayertz, 1999; Durkheim & Swain, 2008). Liberation theologians drew on this concept to discuss Christians' obligations to one another, that God's idea of justice was a relational one. According to liberation theologians, to be in right relationship with God was to be in right relationship, one of ongoing identification and commitment, with those in the world who were suffering or poor (Bakker, 2013; Gutierrez, 1988).

Exploring Mutuality as Habitual Practices: Related Terms

Finally, related to habitual practices, the concepts of practices, habits and lifestyles speak to the practical aspects of mutuality, how it is actually formed, and can be applied to organizations. Practices and habits have long been studied in religious and organizational behavior, distinguished as both formal and informal or interactional experiences that operate to create the boundaries and norms of an individual or group. Theorists emphasize that this is less of a cognitive choice, and more of an automated way of being that is constantly formed and adapted (Bourdieu, 1990; Collins, 2014; Durkheim and Swain, 2008). Christian ethicists argue that people can ascertain some of the reasons for the state and types of their relationships based on lifestyles choices. These choices create structures which determine how and what type of relationships are formed, particularly choices regarding socio-economic diversity of their communities, consumption, and hospitality (Heuertz & Pohl, 2010).

Interdisciplinary Literatures

The following section illustrates these concepts with examples from diverse literature. The aim of this section is discover not only what mutuality is, but also how the term, or similar terms, may be at use in current scholarship, which may benefit from thoughtful integration and application. Emerging scholars, like myself, in the twenty-first century inherit an academic context full of vast quantities of existing knowledge, researching in an age of info-glut (Luker, 2009). In response, many scholars have embraced interdisciplinarity. Interdisciplinarity done well does not avoid traditional disciplines, but rather makes their approaches to knowledge creation explicit and searches

for the interactions between them. It advances knowledge not only through new findings, but also new comparisons across existing findings in disparate fields. See Table 2.

Table 2. *Examples from Interdisciplinary Literatures*

Literature	Description
A. Business	Boundary spanning leaders are able to create direction alignment and commitment across boundaries – like hierarchy, functions and expertise, internal and external stakeholders, diverse groups, and locations (Yip et al., 2011).
B. Philanthropic	Reciprocity is a social norm that creates bonds of giving and receiving, taking and giving, going and returning. It is morally bound by norms like 'an eye for an eye' or the Golden rule's 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you,' and it is understood in terms of an “equivalent or corresponding exchange given in return” (Gewirth, 1978, p. 133).
C. Theological	Like the Trinity, humans are motivated by love and are responsible to one another – that is, because of their bond of love and purpose, they are <i>able to respond</i> in relationship with one another. This teaching aligns with Jesus’ assertion that the greatest commandments of the faith are to love God with all one’s being and to love one’s neighbor, as “you love yourself” (Matt. 22:37-40). Therefore this “neighbor love” is at the heart of all Christian philanthropic behavior (Manser & Cass, 1976, p. 35). Love of God leads to love and care for others (1 John 4:19).

Business Literatures - The Boundary Spanner

At the individual level, one role may be particularly important for those seeking to foster mutuality. Boundary spanning is considered a central social ability in leadership that bridges and bonds disparate groups, and keeps them working together. A key aspect of being a boundary spanning leader is that of a reticulist, one who finds common goals and facilitates collaboration. Skills in this aspect as networking, cultivating interpersonal relationships, one who appreciates and cultivates interdependencies in problem-solving. A boundary-spanning reticulist has particular relevance as related to political aspects of leading in partnerships. They are “especially sensitive to and skilled in bridging interests, professions and organizations” (Webb, 1991, p. 231). Organizational theorists Degeling called them entrepreneurs of power (1995) and Trist imagines these leaders building collaboration over “social ground rather than between institutionalized figures” in both informal and formal systems (1983, p. 280).

In order to network effectively a boundary spanning reticulist understands the social construction of other individuals and other organizations. In many cases, this involves blurring the professional and personal relationships. This leadership style is distinct from traditional understandings of leaders. Luke (1998) offers a comparison between what he calls a sovereign and charismatic leader, and one that is more collaboratively inclined. See Table 3.

Table 3. *Comparison of Sovereign and Charismatic Leadership Styles*

Sovereign and Charismatic	Collaborative and Catalytic
Hierarchical	Non-hierarchical and inter-organizational
Evokes followership	Evokes collaboration and concerted action
Takes charge; seizes the reins of an organization	Provides the necessary catalyst or spark for organization action
Takes responsibility for moving followers in certain directions	Takes responsibility for convening stakeholders and facilitates agreements for collective action
Heroic; provides the right answers	Facilitative; asks the right questions
Has a stake in a particular solution or strategy	Has a stake in getting to agreed-upon outcomes, but encourages divergent ways to reach them.

In summary, the concept of boundary spanning is taken primarily from business literature with its focus on instrumental productivity. Boundary spanning provides a helpful explanation and examples of what mutuality can do for individuals in an organizational context, particularly when individuals are collaborating across differences – be they generational, gender, racial, cultural, socio-economic or otherwise.

Philanthropic Literatures - Reciprocity

Use of this term has developed over centuries, distinguishing the idea from related theories. Early uses of the English word mutual appeared in the 15th century, used in terms of exchanges between individuals understood as a synonym for reciprocal. Throughout the history of the terms, mutuality and reciprocity have been closely intertwined and incorporated into philosophical frameworks including philanthropy, politics, and economics. Cicero, for example, said, “there is no duty more indispensable

than the returning of a kindness” (Gouldner, 1960, p. 161). Closer to the context in this study, anthropologist Marcel Mauss made seminal contributions to the understanding of reciprocity through his book, *The Gift*, in which he argued that non-market exchanges of supposedly voluntary gifts were in fact, mechanisms of social obligation.

Theological Literatures – Trinitarian Love for One Another

A starting place to understand mutuality in the context of Christian religious tradition is the notion of God’s self-revelation as a communal being. Based on contemplating scripture and observing the world, Christians claim that God is love. Rather than an abstract idea about an ethereal, distant, solitary figure, God is a being in relationship. Christians understand God communally, composed of three distinct persons that are unified through their love and shared purpose. Latin American Evangelical scholars call this the first intercultural community. Ancient theologians called it *perichoresis* – literally translated as ‘dancing through’ used to describe the co-inherence, complete mutuality, committed responsibility and overflowing joy of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit’s being, together (Adesanya, 2016). According to Christian understandings, the world, including everything and everyone in it, was created out of the overflow of this love.

In response, Christian social interactions are to be marked by a similar essence. Life in community with one another is at the root of Christian identity. Jesus famously prayed in the Christian gospel of John – “So that they may be one as we are one, I in them and you in me, that they may become completely one, so that the world may know that you have sent me, and have loved them even as you have loved me (John 17: 21-23).” This “oneness” that Jesus prayed can be understood, in part, in Jordan’s description

of mutual intersubjectivity. This oneness does not depend on things or people being alike. In fact, Christians believe that the concept of unity in diversity is written in every level of the universe, from the cosmic to the global, and even down to the atomic level. Much like protons, neutrons and electron need one another to succeed in their existential purpose, human community benefits from and even depends on difference. When humans find unity in their diversity, they too are fulfilling, in large part, their reason for existence.

Discussions of the theological bases for mutuality are inherently philanthropic. Christians see God as the first and preeminent giver, first in the acts of bringing the world into existence, then in the love given to humanity throughout history. Christian response is to reflect this same generosity. Moreover, the command is inherently mutual, obscuring the giver and receiver of love. Humans are intertwined and interdependent. Nor is everything equal in regards to experience or contributions. It rather comes from holding things in common -- down to the very subjectivity of experience and personality (Heuertz & Pohl, 2010). Christians believe that all humans have worth because they reflect the image of God. If man represents an infinite God, there must be a profound diversity within mankind. Pohl describes it as claiming to have gotten a liberal arts degree, but only studies one or two fields in the curriculum. With this type of training, one would be missing out on insights and wisdom from entire traditions and disciplines. Likewise, it takes all of humanity, together, across history, to get a glimpse of what God is like (Heuertz & Pohl, 2010, p. 76). Theologian Ruth Padilla DeBorst further emphasizes the centrality of mutual relationships in Christian thought, stating that humans are created by community, constituted for community, existing within the community of creation (Deborst, 2017).

At this juncture, it is worth attending to what is included within and what is beyond the scope of the current study. I acknowledge that there is a gendered aspect of mutuality. In this regard, it is important to state that theories of mutuality were born in feminist theory. Yet, the contemporary reality is such that theories of mutuality are robust enough to broaden beyond this initial starting point and to be applicable to the wellbeing of all members of organizations, across genders. For example, the Harvard study of adult development (*Harvard Second Generation Study*, n.d.; Jensen et al., 2015). was by men and about men, undergirding the applicability of mutuality beyond narrow specification on women. Additionally, it is well-acknowledged that the popularity of the term social capital was largely due to its framing within economic terms, and yet now contemporary scholars identify that this is foundationally a relational construct that only metaphorically accumulates and exchanges as monetary resources but which in truth operates in its own unique and complex ways. Thus, I assert that mutuality is a robust theoretical construct that deserves study across genders.

As an umbrella construct, mutuality is meant to provide a meta-description of general relational qualities. Nevertheless, mutuality is undoubtedly conditioned by gender, race, ethnicity, social class and socioeconomic status, culture, country of origin, and other social and cultural characteristics. It is therefore important for future studies to attend to the ways that mutuality is expressed within and across each of these social categories, and a thriving field of mutuality studies will engage in studying each in turn, as well as their intersections. Suffice it for the purposes of this dissertation to provide an initial step in that direction by first explicating the lived experiences of mutuality within

the field site, and then extrapolating the broader theoretical features that define mutuality. See Table 4.

Table 4. *Theoretical Features of Mutuality*

Feature	Description
A. Intersubjective Relationships	Like empathy, mutuality discusses entering into the thoughts, feelings and experiences of others. It commonly includes love, and its strong, associated feelings. Within the relational sociology framework, it would serve as a model for how some relationships could occur.
B. Commitment to Sharing	Mutuality also can include reciprocity with its commitment to the bilateral nature of a relationship. It is less concerned with returning an action with a similar or equally valuable response, however, and more with seeking to understand what a person is experiencing and enter into that. Yet sharing that which is physical and spiritual is an essential part of being in authentic relation with one another, especially in situations of need. Social solidarity can serve as an aspect of mutuality, particularly in how an individual assumes responsibility not just for themselves, but for a group.
C. Patterns of Thought and Practices	A key to understanding mutuality is to consider how it is formed and enacted in human interaction. While mutuality can be approached through reason, it is likely formed and informed through practices, habits and lifestyles. These patterns of life may shape one's line of reasoning about how to live in relation to one's fellow humans.

As stated above, this is an integrationist project that seeks to expand upon each of the prior topics through their merging with other constructs. In order to further outline the scope of the study, concepts such as empathy, love, solidarity, boundary spanning, and habits will be continue to be explored throughout the piece, particularly when mentioned by interviewees. Though social solidarity is a related framework, it will not be carried forward.

Distinctions of Mutuality

Distinctions Between Mutuality and Empathy

For further clarification, the following text describes distinctions of three closely related concepts mentioned above: empathy, reciprocity and social solidarity. Despite the inter-relatedness of the concepts, mutuality is distinct from empathy in several ways, which can be understood through its directionality, range and role. First and foremost, mutuality distinguishes itself from empathy in that it is mutual. That is to say, empathy

can be one-sided, but mutuality inherently depends on the back and forth, or multi-directional flows. One cannot experience ideal mutuality that flows to or from a single person, but one can experience one-sided empathy. Questions of the abuse of empathy and love, where someone is so overcome by associating with the feelings of others that they neglect their own state, is an important implication. However, mutuality is not inherently positive, as mutually damaging relationships are just as possible as mutually beneficial ones.

Secondly, mutuality is associated with a broad range of human thoughts, experiences and emotions, while empathy is often associated with suffering. Though not by definition required, empathy is often used to describe situations where someone feels the pain of another. For example, in study examining neurological empathic responses, female volunteers for a laboratory experiment received a painful electric hand shocks, then later were told that their spouses were receiving the same shock. In both cases, neuroimaging of the volunteers' brains demonstrated an activated pain matrix (Riess, 2017). On the other hand, mutuality is associated with the broad range of human experience, thought and emotion, again providing increased capacity to be used as a framework to understand and approach relationships overall.

Finally, mutuality's role in relationship science is often seen as an ongoing approach, while empathy is often understood as a momentary response and a capacity, and love an emotion (Jordan, 2018). Again through common usage, empathy is often used in the context of an empathic response or the display of empathy, while mutuality is used to characterize the nature of a relationship, often observed longitudinally. This is an

important distinction as it positions empathy as a crucial building block, and mutuality as an overarching framework to foster healthy, pro-social relationships.

Distinctions between Mutuality and Reciprocity

Though closely related, over the next century uses of mutuality were distinguished from reciprocity, advancing to notions of “having in common” or “shared” (Hogg, 2018; Yeoman, 2019). Modern definitions describe mutuality as the sharing of a feeling, action, or relationship between two or more parties, and intimacy. In mutuality, the emphasis is less on responding in equivalent exchange, and more on entering into the subjective experience and mindset of the other or others, and empathetically responding, such as the interchange of joy and suffering for a mother, newborn, and companion during childbirth. In reciprocity, the patient is the center of the experience. In mutuality, the center is shared (Henson, 1997).

Distinctions between Mutuality and Social Solidarity

One major difference between mutuality and social solidarity is the notion of relationship (associated with mutuality) compared to responsibility (associated with solidarity). An individual may be in solidarity with another, committed to their wellbeing and ready to defend and provide for their needs, while not being at all in relationship with them. To be in solidarity does not include intersubjectivity as mutuality does, it doesn't require an interpersonal relationship at all in many cases. Rather, it is a shared identity that includes a sense of responsibility for the welfare of one another (Padilla, 2014). Mutuality, on the other hand, speaks of an ongoing approach to relationship that includes a sense of responsibility for the other, but goes beyond in a desire to come to know and be known, give and receive from the other person or people.

In summary, this section describes mutuality as a theory that views relating to others as intrinsically valuable. Though mutuality can include empathy, reciprocity and solidarity, it is a broader framework, and ongoing pattern of interaction that does not necessarily seek equivalent exchange, but more so to create habits of interacting the enter into the subjective state of others, which includes giving others access to one's own sincere thoughts and feelings. Mutuality is not merely optimistic concept, but rather a framework through which the health of interpersonal relationships can be more deeply understood. The following section explores theoretical literature about mutuality at the micro, meso, and macro levels, with examples from business, philanthropy and World Christianity literature.

Micro Mutuality

Mutuality between Individuals

Valuing the Process of Knowing, Respecting, and Enhancing the Growth of the Other

Amid a variety of uses and meanings across disciplines, mutuality is commonly understood as a relational term between individuals. Used in social psychology, it serves as a framework for understanding relationships. This framework asserts that growing towards relationships, rather than toward independence, is a hallmark of human development and maturation. Mutuality describes a relationship in which relating is seen to have intrinsic value. In a mutual relationship, people regard one another as whole persons (Aron, 2013; Jordan, 2001; Kieffer, 2013). Scholar Judith Jordan states, "Crucial to a mature sense of mutuality is an appreciation of the wholeness of the other person with a special awareness of the other's subjective experience. Thus, the other person is

not there merely to take care of one's needs, to become a vessel for one's projections or transferences, nor to be the object of discharge of instinctual impulses" (1986, p. 2).

The Dark Side of Mutuality

Often the term mutuality carries a positive connotation. Yet the ancient roots of mutuality reveal complexity inherent in the term. Derived from the Latin root "mut" the word was first associated with modify, move, change, shift and substitute and denote interactivity and change. Another ancient root verb 'mutare' further reveals the dark side of this concept. Along with the helping verb "essere" (being) 'mutare' points to definitions such as "mutating, spoiling or forsaking". This change of being is the same root from which the modern word 'mutant' comes – illustrating that not all cases of mutuality are necessarily desirable or judged as ethically good (Yeoman, 2019).

Model Mutuality

In a mutual exchange individuals are both affecting and being affected; they are both open to initiate, influence and change in patterns of engagement. This development of empathy first equips individuals to allow for the different nature of others; then it grows to value those qualities and encourage them. The reciprocal flow of regard and empathy for one another both encourages the development of self, and allows for the transcendence of self. Individuals involved in mutual, growth-fostering relationships experience a relaxation of their sense of separateness; they begin to desire the well-being of others as they desire their own. Yet their distinct sense of identity is simultaneously sharpened (Jordan, 1986). As a person develops the capacity for mutuality, they begin to apply the concept to more of their relationships, differentiating with increased accuracy, how and when to engage empathetically, and increasingly prioritizing the quality of

relationships in shared endeavors. This description aligns with philosopher Martha Nussbaum's ideas concerning developing citizens engaged in global connections as well (2018).

A model of mutual intersubjectivity, in its ideal form, would include the following for each individual involved:

- 1) an interest in and cognitive-emotional awareness of and responsiveness to the subjectivity of the other person through empathy (Surrey, 1985)
- 2) a willingness and ability to reveal one's own inner states to the other person, to make one's needs known, to share one's thoughts and feelings, giving the other access to one's subjective world (self-disclosure, "opening" to the other)
- 3) the capacity to acknowledge one's needs without consciously or unconsciously manipulating the other to gain gratification while overlooking the other's experience.
- 4) valuing the process of knowing, respecting, and enhancing the growth of the other
- 5) establishing an interacting pattern in which both people are open to change in the interaction. . . "The process of relating is seen as having intrinsic value". (Jordan, 1986, p. 2)

Example: Practice of Individual Christians in Everyday Life

In light of the implications related to mutuality, how then should Christians live? Christians over time have contemplated the connection between material belongings, consumption and relationships. Noting the awkward influence of possessions on friendships, Heuertz and Pohl argue that it is difficult to conceal one's patterns of consumption and possessions, which in part explains why many do not have close friendships with those who are materially poor. Instead, they interact with them in highly institutionalized settings or enter their world in brief visits. Many who could be friends with those in different socio-economic strata do not broach the possibility because of an aversion for others to see how they live. Oftentimes, people live distant from those in

need in order to not face the stress of evaluating how we live our lifestyles or spend our money (2010).

Nineteenth century theologian John Wesley candidly exhorts Christians to stay their hand, and not waste resources on extravagant clothing and delicate foods as to not diminish the honor of the gospel (Marquardt, 2000). Ancient Christian tradition teaches that everything God provides beyond necessity is to be shared and enjoyed by many. As the apostle Paul stated in II Corinthians 8:13, “¹³ Our desire is not that others might be relieved while you are hard pressed, but that there might be equality. ¹⁴ At the present time your plenty will supply what they need, so that in turn their plenty will supply what you need. The goal is equality, ¹⁵ as it is written: “The one who gathered much did not have too much, and the one who gathered little did not have too little.”

In a similar vein, personal choices regarding places where people live and habitually frequent influence mutuality. A goal aligned with Christian understandings of mutuality would be to locate ourselves where can respond and be responded to in natural friendship. “Unless our worlds are mutually accessible, all of the initiative is likely to come from one direction only. And unless a person has opportunities to offer friendship and gifts on his or her own turf, the relationship is unlikely to yield its most mature fruit” (Heuertz & Pohl, 2010, p. 80).

Finally, in regards to personal lifestyle choices, much of the growth of relationships happens over shared daily habits and experiences. For example, Jesus often used meal times to begin or grow friendships across such differences. Many times guests were social outcasts, other times they were powerful adversaries. He served in both the guest and host roles. In several parables, Jesus advises people to invite the outcasts to

parties – particularly those who don't seem to be able to offer something in return for the invitation. Despite our democratic ideals, to live in mutuality with those unlike us in modern North American Christian culture may be deeply uncomfortable. Authors ask Christians to consider, Who do I spend my normal life with? Who is included and who is left out? What do my daily habits say about who I am and what I value? as a first step for individuals in search of creating relationships of mutuality across racial, cultural and socioeconomic divides (Bakker, 2013; Barger, 2018; DeBorst, 2010; Gutiérrez, 2003; Heuertz & Pohl, 2010; Myers, 2017).

Meso Mutuality

Mutuality In and Between Organizations

Fraught with Potential Danger and Good

The implications of mutuality point to the immense importance of understanding relationships, as they wield great power for the good or ill of people, and the organizations they represent. Hartling and Sparks emphasized relational-cultural theorists and activists who strive to understand and create diverse “communities of allies” (Hartling & Sparks, 2002, p. 11) who are ever-increasingly attuned to threats to disconnection at the individual and corporate levels, in order to challenge them (D. L. Comstock et al., 2008). These communities give forethought to how marginalized cultures may be affected in certain contexts and offer “anticipatory empathy” as the relationship begins (D. L. Comstock et al., 2008, p. 282). As deeper mutual connections form, more accurate empathy is possible, though even some of the best attempts can still lead to empathic failure and relational disconnectedness (Rogers, 1975).

Mutuality within Organizations

Fostering Collective Meaning-Making

Ethicist Ruth Yeoman approaches theorizes mutuality as a meta-value in philanthropic and socially-minded organizations. Such organizations can range from small, grassroots groups, like Campo Amor, to worldwide ecosystems of multi-national associations. Mutuality is a meta-value, according to Yeoman, as it has the capacity to orchestrate other values into value-systems (2019). She explores mutuality and its implications for such organizations – what she calls “collective moral agents.” “Mutual practices establish members as equal co-authorities in meaning-making, equipping them with capabilities for reflecting meaningfulness into practical reasoning” (Yeoman, 2019, p. 1). She states that making meaning is part of what it means to be human, and that love is a powerful source of meaning. To engage in acts of love and care towards something then, is a central task in the human experience. Yet deciding how to act towards these things is not something that should be left to individual preference or even individual moral judgment, claims Yeoman. Within the framework of mutuality, we involve many, diverse voices in the process of collective love and care, and in order to both imagine and solve problems from both the collaborations and tensions.

But in some organizations and partnerships, contributions are less characterized by mutuality, and more so by domination, alienation, and a lack of dignity (Yeoman, 2019). Domination is more likely to embed itself in “conditions where people have to live at the mercy of another, have to live in such a way that leaves them vulnerable and exposed to the arbitrary interference and imposition of the will of another” (Alexander, 2008, p. 166). In a context of domination, people are more likely to alienate themselves

from what they most care about – they may see objectively that they are accomplishing good, but may be emotionally distanced from it. Other scholars have described this as not being at one’s own command, and not being able to understand oneself as “the author of one’s own actions,” (Jaeggi, 2014, p. 49). This lack of dignity comes from “relationlessness” as Jaeggi calls it, and MacIntyre calls “a stranger in the world that he himself has made” (MacIntyre, 1953, p. 23).

How can organizations and partnerships avoid alienating people in the very worlds they have a stake in making? Applying the meta-value of mutuality to organizing invokes an approach that is relational, pluralist, and power-sharing. Mutuality asks how we are to exist together, not merely what ends we produce together. All humans have limits – this can be cause of both suffering and nourishment. All humans both receive and give help – our interdependence is fundamental to the human condition. In a mutual organization, the fair share of benefits and burdens are distributed throughout their joint aims and activities (Yeoman, 2019).

Further, this idea of the interplay between relationships and performance was schematized in an analysis of school accountability systems in the United Kingdom by Michael Fielding. He stated organizations are primarily oriented as either a high-performance organization or a learning community (2001). He outlines a typology which is applicable to many nonprofit organizations: impersonal, where individuals are undervalued, instrumental purposes dominate, and success is found in measurable attainment; sentimental, where performance standards are of little consideration, and individual feelings and freedoms reign supreme; high-performance, where individuals have a sense of significance in community, but only as it relates to achievement of

measurable goals; and person-centered organizations, which are imaginative in their group goals, and are satisfying for participants both instrumentally and interpersonally (Fielding, 2001) (See Figure 1).

Philanthropic studies scholar Lehn Benjamin suggests that it is this very attention to the inherent value of relationships that can provide for long-term instrumental success. She notes a fine distinction in the approaches of philanthropic organizations regarding relationships and tasks, stating that sometimes relationships are created to accomplish tasks and sometimes tasks are accomplished in order to build relationships. She claims that achieving long-term outcomes requires not only technical competence but also relational work. These longer-term outcomes, such as widespread, enduring growth to take action against problems, “required building positive and mutual relationships within marginalized communities” (2008, p. 978).

Miller spoke of five “good things” that are experienced in groups of mutual connectedness which take place and can be seen as the characteristics of relationships that are mutually empathic and growth-fostering (Miller, 2012).

1. Each person feels a greater sense of zest (vitality, energy)
2. Each person feels more able to act and does act in the world
3. Each person has a more accurate picture of her/himself and the other person(s)
4. Each person feels a greater sense of worth
5. Each person feels more connected to other persons and exhibits a greater motivation to connect with other people beyond those in one's primary relationships

Mutual Aid Groups: Historic Examples of In-group Mutuality

Throughout the history of philanthropy, examples of in-group mutuality include mutual aid groups that have supported individuals and families who shared a culture.

Like many examples from the past, such as the early *mutualistas* sustained Mexican-

American families in the late 1800s, marginalized groups engage in helping networks when their philanthropic cause is not supported by the state or the voluntary establishment (Orozco, 2010). Before the Great Depression, such groups representing a variety of cultures led the social service provision in the United States, with the exception of churches. It is estimated that fifty percent of the adult male population was part of a mutual aid or fraternal society during that time, and were particularly strong in African American and immigrant communities. These were self-help and informal neighborly arrangements, characterized by reciprocal philanthropy, where the donor and recipient were often the same. Often the poor created the groups themselves. Their work often dwarfed the impact of formal charities, and fostered social capital among the communities (Beito, 1990). More recent examples of mutual aid groups include cooperative economic structures among women throughout the Americas (Hosseini, 2018) and support for psychological and social welfare among Black communities (Perry, 2020).

Mutuality between Organizations

The Imperative and Peril of Partnerships in the Global Age

Collaboration between groups like those of Campo Amor is seen as an imperative in the global age, “yet fraught with potential for misuse and failure.” Relationships between organizations require knowledge, experience, care and careful management. As more organizations create relationships with other organizations, especially across cultures, the potential for misuse and failure also grows. The potential reward, however, is also great (Barringer & Harrison, 2000, p. 368). Campo Amor is a hub for a variety of programs and semi-independent organizations -- ranging from health clinics, to

community sports programs to house churches, facilitating intra-organizational collaboration. It also receives visitors representing a variety of types of organizations -- ranging from churches to sports nonprofits to socially-minded businesses, often called inter-organizational partnerships.

Partnerships between organizations refers to a “structured, enduring association of individuals, groups, and organizations that engages in common activity and combines resources to achieve common goals” (Kniffin et al., 2020, p. 5) and is distinguished from other inter-organizational relationships because of special attributes: closeness, equity, and integrity (Bringle et al., 2012). While partnerships are built on interpersonal relationships, they also are expressions of social networks and structure (Wasserman & Clair, 2011).

While organizations may partner for reasons ranging from instrumental to moral, the practice of their partnership may also exhibit a range of characteristics. Bringle et al. proposed that partnership relationships are characterized by exploitation, transaction or transformation. Exploitative relationships are those wherein the cost exceeds the benefit for one or all participants, a net negative outcome, which range from subtle to egregious. Relationships that are transactional aim for the benefits to exceed the costs for all involved. In these relationships, the interactions are most likely to be short-term, with close-ended, and context-bound (2012). Transformational relationships foster growth in both partners, inherently hold tension as participants question norms and seek to enter into the subjective context of one another, and often lead to substantive change in both concept and operations of partnerships for both groups (Kniffin et al., 2020). Transformational relationships in partnerships approximate the description of mutuality

in social psychology literature. While the shared project is still the focus, the relational process of partnering is seen as both a moral ideal, as well as a process that better facilitates the work of the project itself.

The work of understanding the structure and nature of organizational partnerships led Bringle and colleagues to develop a research tool, which will be used in future phases of this study. Now in its second iteration, the Transformational Relationship Evaluation Scale (TRES) sought to capture the attributes of a transformational partnership, both at the organizational and individual level. As no validated scale for mutuality in organizational partnerships exists, TRES provides a useful heuristic. The tool examines the quality of partnerships with a survey, which inquires about, closeness, goals, conflict, resources, identity, power, and impact among other elements of partnership quality (Bandy et al., 2018, p. 49). See Appendix A for further information on TRES.

Example: Cross-Cultural Partnerships between Faith-based Organizations

Today there is a dynamic interplay in World Christianity demographics, migration patterns, and the flows of resources and relationships in mutual missions. This movement is relocating the hubs of believers and returning the faith to a polycentric geography perhaps more than any time in history. Accompanying these changes are new models of interpersonal and interorganizational relationships across Christian institutions. Cross-cultural collaboration is a preeminent topic in U.S. and global religion. As mentioned in the introduction, Conwell Seminary's Institute on Global Christianity reported 440,000 Christian foreign missionaries and 5,500 sending agencies worldwide (Zurlo et al., 2020).

At a presentation for the Coalition on the Support of Indigenous Ministries in 2007, Scott Moreau cited exponential growth in the number of Protestant churches and

mission agencies stating partnership as a primary method for their global programs (Lederleitner, 2010). Like other aspects of globalization, the trend towards more engagement appears exponential. More than ever before, exchange between Christians now happens, versus a one-way flow of information, people, ideas and resources. In the U.S. alone, Wuthnow claimed that nearly 50,000 U.S. citizens worked as full-time missionaries in other countries, 350,000 served between two weeks to one year, and approximately one million had served abroad for less than two weeks (Wuthnow, 2009).

Cultural intelligence may help guide these interactions at an organizational level (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015). Amidst the various topics that influence cross-cultural partnerships in global Christian philanthropy, one persistent thorn is cross-cultural understanding of money. Christians who collaborate across cultures find it difficult to navigate the ethical complexities of money as it relates to partnerships. Generally speaking, separating friendships purely for emotional/enjoyment purposes from friendships that help with financial needs is a rare phenomenon outside of affluent Western cultures. Most of the world operates in financial interdependence and permeating reciprocity with their family and friends (Lederleitner, 2010). To have a friend in need yet hold back funds from them is in fact considered stealing in many collectivist cultures. As such, the notion of designated or restricted funds can be unfathomable to partners leading organizations where the basic needs of their community often go unmet. They are baffled by multi-million dollar U.S. capital campaigns that fund projects which seem extravagant, such as coffee shops and recreational areas for churches.

Likewise, international partners often chafe at the idea of a financial accountability system that is not co-produced by those most closely involved in the work. In short, though a faith may be shared, the differences in the logics and cultures of giving can deter collaboration between Christian partners. Even given what is widely known about paternalism, or treating indigenous leaders as novices or children, it is difficult for Christians to share power and control in partnerships where funding is at stake (Ayegboyin & Adebo, 2016). This fault has often been ascribed to Western Christians, yet Lederleitner points out that it proves true in any cross-cultural situation where one group has more material wealth than another, independent of the location in the world. It is a difficult terrain to traverse in philanthropy. Some Christian groups prefer to avoid it and only give locally and domestically. In so doing, these groups do not participate in the work of the church globally, and do not benefit from the rich diversity of perspectives on the faith and relationships built across difference. Yet, even local partnerships experience the same dynamics of wealth and power, particularly when congregations are themselves diverse and represent the cross-cultural challenges of relationships within their own congregation. So some Christian groups isolate themselves from cross-cultural engagements. On the other end of the spectrum, some continue to engage in partnerships marked by power imbalance and paternalism. These groups often, at the same time, project the nobility of their cause to would-be donors (2010). Increasingly, however, groups are becoming more reflective about their partnerships models, and many churches and faith-based organizations are somewhere between these two extremes, navigating the tensions inherent in cross-cultural philanthropy, faith and relationships.

To sum up, this section discussed mutuality at the mezzo level, in and across organizations. As with other the other levels, micro and macro, there are both inherent and instrumental value to creating organizational relationships of mutuality. Ethicists who theorize relationships within organizations claim that mutuality can organize other values, such as empathy and inclusion, and provide a framework for meaning making participatory practices in organizations, so that they serve as collective moral agents. This mutuality produces in itself good things that influence both the goals of an organization, social psychologists note, and the processes by which those goals are pursued. Across organizations, particularly those that span diversity in various forms, organizational relationships can range from exploitative to transformational. Partnerships are formed often for instrumental reasons, and should simultaneously be marked by a unique sense of closeness, equity and integrity in the relationship. The final section explores mutuality at the cultural level.

Macro Mutuality

Mutuality In and Between Cultures

Considering the Roles of Social Identities in Relationships

Further developments in the concept of mutuality also consider culture and context. Relational-Cultural Theory (RCT) seeks to understand mutually empathic, growth-fostering relationships. They characterize psychological growth and relational development with the following:

1. People grow through and toward relationship throughout the life span.
2. Movement toward mutuality rather than separation characterizes mature functioning.
3. The ability to participate in increasingly complex and diversified relational networks characterizes psychological growth.

4. Mutual empathy and mutual empowerment are at the core of growth-fostering relationships.
6. Authenticity is necessary for real engagement in growth-fostering relationships.
7. When people contribute to the development of growth-fostering relationships, they grow as a result of their participation in such relationships.
8. The goal of development is the realization of increased relational competence over the life span. (D. L. Comstock et al., 2008, p. 280)

Despite the centrality of relations to human existence injustice in society and culture can prevent individuals from forming and sustaining growth-fostering relationships, with various tendencies over the life span of both individuals and groups (D. L. Comstock et al., 2008). Relational-cultural scholars claim many theories are built on ideologies that emphasize individualism, including hyper-competition and deterministic control (Walker, 2008). Within this orientation, places in society are primarily based on merit, and the goal of development is self-sufficiency and mastery over physical and social environments (Jordan, 2004).

Whereas mutuality focuses on the internal disposition towards relationships, relational-cultural theory points out that connections and disconnections in an individual's life are built in contexts that have been "raced, engendered, sexualized, and situated along dimensions of class, physical ability, religion or whatever constructions carry ontological significance in the culture" (Comstock et al., 2008, p. 280). These disconnections often have to do with the conflict of holding multiple social identities within any relationship or community. As such, relationships cannot be understood when they are separated from their cultural, racial and social contexts. Quantitative neurological studies have examined the outcomes of such experiences, and confirm the broad influence of culture on individuals' abilities to successfully relate to one another and perform professionally (Eisenberger et al., 2003; Genero et al., 1992; Taylor, 2002).

Those who are socially marginalized and undervalued can blame themselves for failures that have more to do with their context, preemptively blocking mutuality (Hartling & Sparks, 2002; Jordan, 2001; Miller et al., 1997). In short, relational efforts that are not guided by multicultural understandings may further extend the silencing and oppression of marginalized people and the isolating self-sufficiency myths of the dominant (D. Comstock & Comstock, 2004).

Example: Mutuality and World Christianity

Flows in World Christianity constitute an influential aspect of globalization. More than ever before, exchange between Christians now happens, versus a one-way flow of information, people, ideas and resources. Christians make up the largest religious tradition as almost a third of the world's 7.3 billion people (NW et al., 2015). Although still popularly perceived as a Western religion, the Global South is now the center of Christianity. At the beginning of the 20th century, 90% of the world's Christians lived in the West or North. The beginning of the 21st century, however, finds at least 75% of the world's Christians in Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia. The change represents a growth rate of 1,130 percent for the Global South region over the 20th century (Bakker, 2013). By 2050 only one in every five Christians will be white, and the average Christian will be from a village in Kenya or a Brazilian favela (Jenkins, 2011). More than simply mapping changing demographics, the developing field of World Christianity seeks to understand, compare and contrast expressions of Christianity across the world, especially the social implications in cultures where Christianity is experiencing widespread changes. Examples include places where belief in Christianity is new, growing in influence, or waning, and how those places interact with others (L. Sanneh, 2003). The lens of

mutuality is a helpful tool to attend to the relational aspects of these phenomena.

Alongside increased study of Christian growth outside the West, there has also been an increasing literature on the ways in which global exchange complicates singular narratives. Sociologist of religion Robert Wuthnow points out the many ways that globalization provides for an increased exchange of ideas, relationships and influence between countries, especially religious ones. Christian patterns of growth form an integral part of the globalization phenomenon, which includes market forces, technological advances, communication and travel. While globalization forces may perpetuate inequities in some ways, each of these facets have also facilitated exchange. Historian David King points out that the multi-directional influence of faith-based organizations provided an example for the emerging field of international development (2019). Wuthnow states that an enhanced capacity for exchange provides an explanation for the changes in World Christianity more convincing than those who claim that the influence of the Western church is waning or that the future of the Christian church simply resides within the Global South. Like other scholars, he advocates for increased mutual cooperation, what World Christianity scholar Lamin Sanneh called, “the imperative of partnership” (2008, p. 287).

In summary, both Christian theology and global shifts in Christian demographics point to the imperative of mutual religious influence, exchange and partnerships coupled by an enhanced capacity to suss out ideas and practices that are particular and those that are universal within the faith (Kahn & Agnew, 2017).

Conclusion

This literature review argued that understandings of mutuality are built on layers of personality and experience, can be conceived of individually or collectively through organizations and cultures, and depend on the particular contexts of ideologies and social patterns such as those of Christian philanthropy. The concept of mutuality understood through the disciplines of social psychology, organizational studies, and World Christian studies reveal an orientation to relationships that form the core of human endeavors. Individuals and organizations pursuing mutuality welcome interdependence, diversity, and creativity in individual and organizational life. They look for alternatives to the individualist, accomplishment-centered, and materialistic patterns that can dominate modern culture. Mutuality seeks to carefully regard others with a goal of discovering a common good both in process and product. It finds relationships valuable both inherently and instrumentally. This relational orientation of mutuality does not reject productivity, rather, as a meta-value, it subsumes it. In another sense, mutuality is closer to the center of what it means to be human, therefore a deeper, more meaningful source from which to draw other values and strategies when organizing human action. Philosopher Martin Buber explained that mankind confirms his own being with the interaction from other humans. Though the desire is often discrete, this ‘yes’ from another allows his own personhood to flourish (1970).

CHAPTER THREE:

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF CUBAN CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY

Given the understandings provided in chapter two regarding mutuality in individual, organizational and cultural contexts, this chapter provides a critical, historical perspective on Christian philanthropy between Cuba and the United States. It serves as a point of reference by which to compare and contrast the current lived experiences as reported by Cuban and North American partners in chapters four and five. The key understandings of this chapter are: the importance of reflection about culture's influence on belief and practice of Protestant institutions; how Cuban Christian organizations operated first in a paternalistic system, then in an authoritarian; the persistence of religious partnerships between the United States and Cuba, despite the tension that typified Cuba's geopolitical relationship with the United States throughout its history.

The Double Character of Cuban Protestants and Philanthropy

As Cuban theologian Arce Valentín wrote, the “doble carácter” (double character) of Cuban Protestant churches has grown out of both collaboration with, and resistance to, U.S.-style evangelicalism (2016). Adaptations of liberation theology, adopted among Cuban Christians, provide an influential counterweight to the mighty Western theological and philanthropic tradition (González, 2012). The nature of this engagement influences Cuban civil society, ensures the survival of the Cuban regime, and provides an extreme case for cross-cultural philanthropy worldwide. This chapter's socio-historical account utilizes the data collected from my pilot study—personal interviews with Cuban Protestant leaders, primary sources found in the library at the Matanzas Evangelical

Seminary, and Cuban theological journals, and literature on Cuba, Protestants, missions, philanthropy, nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and civil society.

Pastor Eduardo Otero and Professor Daniel Montoya are Protestant theological leaders in Cuba. Otero's Christian civil society organization, Campo Amor, was the primary research site of my study. Its philanthropic systems are a microcosm of Cuban religious culture, ranging from church members donating portions of their ration cards as a tithe, to the acquisition of an abandoned government hospital from the Cuban government in exchange for American food products. One hundred kilometers away in Matanzas, Daniel Montoya is one of the leading professors at Evangelical Seminary. See Figures 7-9. Professor Montoya's father disappeared mysteriously when Montoya was 15, never to return. As a young man in a Baptist church while the Cuban Revolution was brewing, his views on faith were shaped primarily by his pastor, who also served as Fidel Castro's treasurer. Montoya voices concerns about the emergence of classes in Cuba and the ongoing consequences of American-style capitalism in Cuban churches—yet he has traveled to other countries to receive donations in cash for philanthropic projects. His theology is ecumenical, which he deems to be crucial in Cuba's sociopolitical environment, and the seminary regularly convenes Christians of many denominations from across the globe. Otero and Montoya demonstrate this double character of Cuban Protestant churches, both fiercely independent and also formed by foreign religious generosity and influence. Seen through the lens of mutuality, these tensions in individuals and the organizations they represent point less to binaries, and more to the multiple social identities that individuals and groups experience and hold at one time.

Figure 7. *Dr. Daniel Montoya edits our co-created survey*



Figure 8. *Dr. Montoya takes me on a tour of his garden (close-up)*



Figure 9. *The campus of Matanzas Evangelical Seminary*



This tension persists from Cuban colonial days. Father Félix Varela, a Cuban Catholic priest and social activist, resisted the philanthropy associated with colonialism, claiming it was borne out of the same self-interest as the previous cruelties of slavery. “Englishmen, on your lips the word philanthropy loses its value: excuse the expression, you are bad apostles of humanity” (Corwin, 2014, p. 28). U.S. and Cuban Protestant churches have held competing logics of evangelicalism and liberation throughout their

collaborative history as part of their identities. Ongoing macro contexts such as government and market influences heighten this tension and the need for discernment in interpersonal and interorganizational relationships.

Modern-Day Cuba

Home to more than 11 million people, Cuba is one of the remaining Communist countries in the world, and one of the few to retain a state-controlled economy. Life and work in Cuba are unique compared to most other countries in the Western Hemisphere, with most employees earning 5 percent of the revenue generated by their labor. The average monthly salary for a full-time employee in Cuba is around \$30 U.S. The government of Cuba provides ration cards for citizens to redeem in exchange for food and other necessities, and healthcare is also provided by the state. Fidel Castro's death on 25 November 2016, at the age of 90, ended the life of the longest direct and continual reign by one individual in the modern history of the world, of nearly 50 years (Whitehead & Hoffman, 2016). Though former United States President Barack Obama restored diplomacy with Cuba in December of 2014, in June of 2017 U.S. President Donald Trump repealed some of the former agreement, limiting the interaction between the two nations. Recent accusations of sonic attacks against U.S. diplomats stationed in Havana have further escalated tensions (*Chairman Royce Statement on New Cuba Policy*, n.d.). Central to this study is the support for the right of associationalism in Cuba. As former President Obama stated, "The promotion of democracy supports universal human rights by empowering civil society and a person's right to speak freely, peacefully assemble, and associate, and by supporting the ability of people to freely determine their future" (*Statement by the President on Cuba Policy Changes*, 2014). See Figure 10.

Figure 10. Artists reflect on the complexity of Cuba's modern state, the tensions of economics and ideology after the partial reopening of Cuba to the United States.



Modern-Day Cuban Civil Society

Cuba freed itself from Spanish rule nearly 100 years after most of its Latin American counterparts, in 1898. That freedom was conditional, however, in that the United States had such strategic interests in Cuba that it negotiated the Platt Amendment, compromising the sovereignty of the nation. The U.S. government's attention brought incredible amounts of press coverage, which influenced popular thought in the U.S about Cuba. Motivated by the popularity, waves of Protestant missionaries came to Cuba en masse (Yaremko, 2009). The combination of interventionist state policies, powerful corporate interests, and arguably paternalistic missionary approaches, produced varied results in Cuba, including both dependency and "cubanismo," an overt sense of nationalism (Ayegboyin and Adebo, 2016). See Figures 11 and 12. Today, NGOs and participation in civil society in Cuba is common, but the government sees them as a way to obtain precious funding for its purposes, and not as a tool to develop interdependence among the people. The state deems these groups as socialist, utilizing them in pursuit of

the political aims of the country. Cuba officially redefined the term civil society, in fact, claiming that it is an intermediary step in the pursuit of socialist society (Hart, 1996).

Figure 11. *The downtown scene is a study in contrasts, with buildings abandoned since the 1970s and elaborate modern public art installations*



Figure 12. *A view from the Malecón, the seawall constructed to protect Havana from the fierce ocean waves*



Donations, especially from international partners, are closely monitored by the government, and must be formally recognized. Avoiding this requirement will cause the donor to be classified under “imperialism” that “attempts to introduce chaos in the Cuban Revolution by stimulating direct relationship with certain individuals, promoting organizational models alien to our political system, and unbalancing the democratic working of our society” (Quiroz, 2003, p. 66). Cubanismo, or Cuba’s self-perception,

extends to religious associations, as well. Like other Latin American countries, Catholicism has permeated Cuban culture and molded attitudes nationwide. Unlike other Latin American countries, Cuba has been a nexus of world trade, with many visitors present, such as Europeans, Africans, Chinese, and North Americans, and religious minorities such as Sephardic Jews. In effect, Cubans' belief systems and practices are both flexible and permeable. Institutions mean less to them than to their Latin American counterparts. Because of the consistent theme of struggle in their nation's history, religious Revolutionary heroes and symbols may possess greater meanings (Crahan et al., 2003).

Religion and Cuban Civil Society

Throughout the nation's history, it has been religious leaders who have challenged both political and religious institutions, and who have championed independence. In the early 19th century, Father Félix Varela and others were exiled for promoting independence, the abolition of slavery, and a participatory form of government. Varela's ideas influenced one of Latin America's greatest independence leaders, José Martí, along with a generation of anti-establishment Christians (Crahan, 2002).

Religion is a key aspect of the ground-level development of Cuban civil society. Simultaneously, the Cuban state attempts to control much of the country's religious beliefs, practice, and assembly (*Freedom in the World: Cuba*, 2018). In the case of Cuba, the Cuban state has either repressed or co-opted religious groups as a key tactic to its survival. Yet, Protestantism has strengthened since the 1990s. "Protestant growth began to skyrocket in terms of formal membership, numbers of worshippers, and places of worship" (Goldenziel, 2009). Crahan and Armony state that not only Christians, but a

wide variety of Cuban religious groups, make up the most broad-based subsector with a national reach. “A better understanding of the role of religions, past and present, in the context of the evolution of Cuban civil society can help establish the dynamics of citizen participation, nuances in the relationship between state and society and to some extent the future of Cuban civil society” (Crahan & Armony, 2007, p. 140).

U.S./Cuba Relations

Intense relations between Cuba and the United States is nothing new. From before the turn of the 19th century, the United States has maintained a strategic interest in the welfare of their island neighbor, Cuba. John Quincy Adams saw Cuba and Puerto Rico as “natural appendages” to the new nation, later writing to the U.S. ambassador to Spain that, “the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself” (Schoultz, 2009). Other presidents, such as Thomas Jefferson, also repeatedly expressed their desire to add Cuba to the Union (Schoultz, 2009). The U.S. helped Cuba win its independence in the Spanish-American War in the late 1800s, afterwards mandating the Platt Amendment, which gave the U.S. the right to overrule Cuba’s national sovereignty (Gott, 2005). Business and citizen groups, taking cues from the U.S. government, provided help for a generation of Cubans. This American help, however, exhibited paternalism in all sectors, including religious ones (Leimdorfer, 2003).

Religious Philanthropy in the Platt Amendment Era

In the late 1800s, U.S. evangelicals who had experienced the success of the movement were eager to share their ideals with other countries. U.S. Christians felt an obligation to rescue those in need, both at home and abroad. Press coverage of the war in

1898 stimulated increased interest in Protestant missions in Cuba. North American Protestants sent an increasing number of missionaries to the country, especially Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. “The image projected by the press and politicians was of a benevolent US sacrificing its soldiers for the good of all Cubans” (Leimdorfer, 2003, p. 69). As Military Governor Leonard Wood explained in 1900, “We are dealing with a race that has steadily been going down for a hundred years, and into which we have to infuse new life, new principles, and new methods of doing things” (Pérez, 2012, p. 159). Baptist writer Howard Grose agreed, saying, “There must be a deal of uplifting, of change, of improvement. The moral standards must be raised, and new ideals must be introduced. The Cuban people have generations of bad training and no training to outgrow, new habits to form, new customs to adopt, before they can reach the condition of civilization which they ought to have” (Pérez, 2012, p. 249).

The popularity of the Cuban mission caused one observer in 1899 to note, “The country had been overrun by Americans during the last 70 years. They had introduced every form of Protestantism, including Episcopalians and Quakers, and even Shakers” (Gott, 2005, p. 68). Unlike the rest of Latin America, the Protestant movement before the Spanish-American War was led by Cuban ministers or Cuban patriots, as the Presbyterian minister and Cuban historian Rafael Cepeda called them (Fernández Albán, 2015). Cuban leaders were grateful for the financial support and building of religious institutional capacity. They valued the ideas of liberal democracy and civic participation. Yet, missionaries also assumed that their system was superior—“politically, socially, economically and religiously” (Leimdorfer, 2003). As was characteristic of American evangelical philanthropy, the U.S. missionaries by and large did not reflect on the

overlapping influences inherent in their work alongside the Cubans. For example, funding for U.S. missionaries came from mission boards and also from U.S. corporations. These missions and schools provided English-speaking employees for the companies, who were accustomed to American culture (Leimdorfer, 2003).

Roots of Cuban Nationalism

At the same time, Cuban nationalism was also growing. From the high echelons of society to the common rural farmers, social protest and anti-American sentiment was on the rise. Even the first Cuban president, Tomás Estrada Palma, was chagrined over the Platt Amendment. Yet he also felt that Cuba owed allegiance to the U.S. because of their effort in the war. He was further beholden to U.S. Protestant interests, having spent years living with a Quaker family and serving as administrator in a Quaker school. U.S. capital was soon responsible for two thirds of the country's sugar production. Self-sufficient farmers in Eastern Cuba, where half of the country's sugar was produced, lost access to their local market. They were reorganized as workers in the larger foreign-owned mills, and bought their food from the company store. In short, the U.S.'s benevolent intervention in Cuban affairs, in actuality, "deprived Cubans of their rights to sovereignty and self-determination" (Leimdorfer, 2003, p. 69). Their independence existed only in so far as it accommodated the U.S. interests. This, Pérez suggests, led over time to considerable backlash against the foreign presence in Cuba (Pérez 2012; Leimdorfer 2003).

Selective Synthesis in Cuban Protestant Communities

These complexities were inherent in the Cuban Protestant communities of the day, creating what Cuban religious scholar Reinerio Arce Valentín calls a *doble carácter*, or

double character. These doble carácter churches reflected more than a dichotomy; they represented the vast cultural menus of the two countries from which Cuban churches developed their institutions (Arce Valentín, 2016; Chen & O’Mahony, 2006). In general, most Cuban Protestant churches embraced the ideas of liberal democracy, and of civic participation. Cubans were less interested, based on their culture, in the intense bent toward the productivity and capitalist logic of their northern neighbors. These varying institutional logics, values, and practices were integrated through selective synthesis. Selective synthesis is a normal process for organizations aiming to create social and personal change, especially when the organizations seek to create cohesion across great cultural differences, rely upon volunteers, and make decisions collectively. Members select from a wide variety of organizing choices and dueling criteria. These conditions are inherent to the process of creating new organizational forms, even while they intensify the dilemmas of organizing (Chen and O’Mahony, 2006).

North American Evangelical Logics Applied in Cuba

Missionaries who have traveled to Cuba since the 19th century have been primarily Americans. Most often they were Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, groups that at the time would have been considered evangelicals. Representing a variety of denominations, evangelicals are known for their reliance on the Bible as the ultimate authority for religion, emphasis on conversion or new birth, social activism and a sense of personal duty, and finally crucicentrism, which is “a focus on Christ’s redeeming work as the heart of true religion” (Bebbington, 2003; Noll, 2007, p. 6). Like many other groups in this study, however, Evangelical Christians are themselves a people at the intersection of multiple social identities. Scholars argue that a global perspective of evangelicals leads

one to describe them more as historical phenomena than reducing their definition to theological terms, as particular Evangelicals have usually emphasized certain beliefs over others (Hutchinson & Wolffe, 2012). Today many groups would identify as evangelicals, including African-American Protestants, Quakers, Mennonites, and many Roman Catholics (Noll, 2007).

The Great Awakening, which began in the 1730s, also changed church membership. Many new voluntarily supported congregations formed, while tax-supported churches sought to suppress the movement, often with beatings and imprisonment of fledgling groups such as Baptists (Hammack, 1998). The subsequent separation of church and state forced Americans to reconsider their dealings with the public, be it religion, business, or politics, as an issue of personal conviction and choice. The protection afforded by the religious disestablishment clause encouraged a complex network of churches and voluntary organizations. “It is not enough to say of churches and colleges that they contribute to the welfare of a State: they are necessary to the existence of a free State. They form and mold the public character....” Hall went on to call their influence regarding socially minded and charitable activities of the day as “astonishing.” By the 1850s, the networks of churches had created a culture of organization and a popular mindset that made collective action a norm, or as Hall describes them, “a subgroup of individuals with an unusual proclivity for corporate activity and voluntary action” (Hall, 2001, p. 33). Swiss theologian and historian Philip Schaff described this group in the 1850s, stating, “The genuine American despises nothing more than idleness and stagnation; he regards not enjoyment, but labor, not comfortable repose, but busy unrest, as the proper earthly lot of man; and this has unspeakable importance for him, and upon

the whole a most salutary influence on the moral life of the nation...the same zeal, the same parsimony of time, is employed by the minister, the missionary, the colporteur, the tract and bible societies, for higher ends” (Noll, 2007, p. 3). In 1900, two million Christian workers, both Catholic and Protestant, were employed within their home countries, while 62,000 missionaries were sent to foreign countries by 600 mission agencies and denominations, which generated \$200 million of income for foreign missions annually (Johnson et al., 2016). Mission groups that formed out of this movement inextricably carried their faith’s culture alongside their Christian message (Yaremko, 1997). In Cuba’s context, this meant that North American missionaries at times cared more about personal piety among the Cuban adherents, and much less about social justice (Fernández Albán, 2015).

Often disregarded in current scholarship, however, the interests and needs of people in specific locations uniquely formed local missions (Robert, 2008). In a quantitative study of more than 50 countries, sociologist Robert Woodberry found that the presence of what he calls conversionary Protestants had a profound influence on the formation and stabilization of democracies around the world, through the spread of “religious liberty, mass education, mass printing, newspapers, voluntary organizations, and colonial reforms”(Woodberry, 2012, p. 244).

Evangelical Philanthropy in the 20th Century

A constitutive element of the world mission movement at the turn of the 20th century was its corresponding philanthropy. Four generalizations characterize the philanthropy of evangelicals. First, evangelicals are generous; throughout history, free-will support has provided for the work of the churches and para-church ministries.

Baptists were among the first to base all finances for churches in offerings and collections, mainly to avoid meddling from elites. As such, this type of generosity was distinguished from a general understanding of the term. Evangelical generosity can be characterized as prioritizing giving towards the causes that further their religious vision, then for the general welfare of humanity. Voluntary organizations to support Christian causes multiplied the giving levels of evangelicals in particular, and foreign mission groups were among the most popular causes in the mid- to late 1800s. Today, evangelicals are still associated with high levels of giving, mainly because of church involvement, strong belief in the truths of the Bible, and the importance of religion in their lives (Hoge & Noll, 2000).

Second, evangelicals adapt readily to the capitalistic culture of the United States. Primarily egalitarian anti-establishmentarians, the mindset of American evangelicals particularly corresponded to a free-market system. With only a few exceptions throughout their history, from George Whitefield to Billy Graham, organizational efficiency, and robust and shrewd fundraising have been a constant emphasis (Noll, 2007).

Third, evangelicals have promoted generosity in their organizations, even while they simultaneously have shied away from discussing economic matters directly. Evangelicals are known for reacting to immediate needs, rather than building widespread theological reasoning about money and developing corresponding institutions, unlike their British counterparts. Popular evangelicals such as Alexander Campbell warned against sophistication with finances and fundraising, citing II Peter 2:2, "...and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandize of you" (Noll, 2007).

Finally, these strengths and weaknesses can be explained by the emphasis on personal choice, a highly influential aspect of their foreign missions engagement. This type of Christian had a tendency to focus on a select number of social problems, mostly belief and personal piety in alignment with biblical injunctions. The more complex, global and abstract a problem was, the less likely evangelicals were interested (Galli, 2006).

Distinct Environments for Philanthropy

Americans and Cubans were also accustomed to distinct charitable environments. The established churches of early American colonies practiced pew rental and glebe lands to support both their pastors and the operating costs of the church, much like in England. After the separation of church and state was guaranteed by the First Amendment, religious and charitable leaders innovated and greatly expanded the sector. Gradually, American evangelicals increasingly encouraged free-will offerings and voluntary pledges. The evolving laws corresponding to charitable gifts in the United States protected and privileged this phenomenon (Noll, 2007).

In contrast, Cuban communities had not experienced the religious disestablishment of the United States. As of the late 1800s, many of their associations were operated by elites, with close ties to the Spanish colonial government. Moderately liberal legislation in 1888, however, provided for the blossoming of all types of charitable organizations, including workers' unions and previously outlawed Afro-Cuban societies. White Cubans of Spanish descent were accustomed to the giving traditions of the Catholic community, which provided many of the social services for the island, including schools and hospitals. Quasi-government groups like the Economic Society of Friends of

the Country, provided services like the local newspaper and counsel for economic development. Afro-Cuban traditional associations were both religious and charitable, known as councils and brotherhoods, but were excluded from the mainstream associational life. Afro-Cuban secret societies, once declared illegal and repressed for fear of rebellion, were at last formally recognized in the associational laws of 1888 (Quiroz, 2003). As Cuba was a nation of immigrants, mutual benefit societies provided members with much-needed social services, as well as entertainment. In the 1840s, groups representing regional interests from Spain—Catalonians, Asturians, Galicians, and Canarians, established such centers (Evans, n.d.).

Cuban religious associational life at the time of the Spanish-American War was thus characterized by hierarchical institutions of the government and Catholic church, dominated by elite members, but with a trajectory toward a more liberal democratic civil society. Despite the challenges, the sector was among the most prolific in Latin America at the time. Working-class and Afro-Cuban organizations proliferated, as well as associations that benefited members with Spanish regional interests (Quiroz, 2003). Though the country was in a period of fierce contention between governments, races and socio-economic classes, the processes of democracy were beginning to bear fruit. U.S. intervention—militarily, economically, socially, and religiously—helped to leverage this phenomenon to some degree, but the United States was primarily concerned with its own economic and political interests. Religious actors, often genuine in their desire to aid the people of Cuba and share their Christian faith, often operated in a similar fashion to their U.S. secular counterparts. In effect, Otero describes this period of American evangelization of Cuba as “quick and aggressive”.

Tensions between Ideologies and Methods of U.S.–Cuba Religious Philanthropy

Cubans were also still bruised from the war, with many experiencing the Platt Amendment as another chapter of white colonizing control. Albán explained the exploitative inheritance dating from early colonial times. Not only were hundreds of indigenous citizens murdered, and natural resources sacked and destroyed, but also “entire systems of community life were restructured and new identities violently assigned” (Fernández Albán, 2015, p. 8). In order to control people and resources, this system created new names like Indians, blacks, mestizos, and mulattos, and new norms about how the groups should interact. Previously, these categories were not considered, or were thought to be unnecessary. In effect, throughout Latin America in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, groups became both homogenized and marginalized. Over several generations, the European hegemony was cyclically expressed and legitimized, and so it began to self-perpetuate through what Quijano called, “euro-centric perceptions and production of knowledge” (Fernández Albán, 2015, p. 8). He further emphasized that “in a large part the very imagination of the people became colonized” (Fernández Albán, 2015, p. 8).

The dynamic conversation between faith and culture (Otero, 1995) in this context meant modernization, and it resulted in Western missions pouring out resources without questioning whether what was good for North America was good for Cuba (Bosch, 1991). The conflict in the ideologies and methods of U.S.–Cuba religious philanthropy in this era concentrated on two areas. First, missionaries who came with financial support from their denominations required local pastors to raise their salaries with gifts from local congregants. More importantly, Cuban pastors sought administrative roles in the

denominations governing their churches. Whereas before 1898, missionaries collaborated with Cuban pastors and lay leaders, especially regarding donations and organizational budgets, after that time, North American missionaries dominated the administration of the religious movement. Cuban Protestant leaders responded to this treatment in a variety of ways: they wrote letters of petition, advocating for an increased role in administration within the mission organizations. Other Cuban Protestant leaders left with their congregants and began new churches, independent of the denominations that previously supported them. As pressure increased to make Cuban churches more Cuban, J. Merle Davis authored “The Cuban Church in a Sugar Economy,” which examined more than 400 Protestant congregations. Davis concluded that Protestantism would expand no more, because it was centered in urban locations and based on American cultural realities. Middle-class institutions, Davis said, are created in Cuba, while an economic and social middle class practically does not exist in the country (Crahan et al., 2003).

Speaking generally, the North American missionaries who came to Cuba at this time did a great deal to invest in the growth of evangelism and spiritual salvation, and they provided new institutions of education and social welfare. However, they neglected to advocate for structural social change in Cuba at this time. Others state that the Protestants’ focus on personal piety helped address moral ills that were eroding Cuban society such as alcoholism, prostitution, and gambling. Most agree that a Weberian understanding between the spirit of capitalism and the Protestant ethic has profound explanatory power in the case of Cuba (Fernández Albán, 2015). Pastor Otero stated that Cuban churches were indeed daughter churches of the U.S. evangelical movement, a collaboration that he was proud to inherit. He perceives the growth, even with the

imperfections, as being consistent with the Christian gospel, that Christians pass on what they also receive (Otero, 2017). Though borne out of conflict, these efforts helped to multiply the number of churches in Cuba and to fuel the particularly Cuban religious consciousness (Yaremko, 1997).

Protestant Philanthropy in the Revolution Era

Out of the cradle of independence (Yaremko, 1997), Cuba entered into the republican era of its history. Over the ensuing five decades, Cuba's religious community developed the infrastructure for a dense web of schools, as well as community and student organizations, such as The Daughters of Mary, The Knights of Columbus, Catholic Action, The Evangelical Social Civic Movement, and the Association of Protestant University Students, which was one of the most advanced systems in Latin America, despite erratic periods of control (Quiroz, 2003). Native leadership was consolidated through the creation of two institutions in the 1940s: the Cuban Council of Evangelical Churches, and the Evangelical Theological Seminary (Fernández Albán, 2015). They also communicated through a media network that included radio, television, and publications (Pedraza, 1999).

In 1952, backed by the United States, the elected official-turned-dictator Fulgencio Batista came to power. In 1959, Fidel Castro and a small guerilla army surprised the world when they overthrew Batista's government, and within months they had converted Cuba into a Communist nation, seizing American assets such as banks, oil refineries, plantations, and other businesses. Millions emigrated to the U.S. For the remaining citizens, the freedoms of association, speech, and religion were replaced by a socialist vision of 'el pueblo'—a collective notion of citizens who sacrifice individual

desires for the good of the whole (Armony, 2003). These ideologies, paired with Cuba's intimate relationship with the Soviet Union, put them at odds with U.S. President John F. Kennedy, who launched an unsuccessful invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Tensions climaxed with the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, considered the closest that the Cold War ever came to full-scale nuclear war. The Cuban Revolution "drastically impacted" religion on the island (Goldenziel 2009, p. 80). At first, many Protestants were captivated by the charismatic leader Fidel Castro and the possibility of a free, just, and egalitarian society (Pedraza, 1999). When David Montoya was a young man, for example, his teacher at a Baptist school was a famous member of the July 26th movement. His pastor sold war bonds to his congregation to support the soldiers in the mountains.

While still fighting the Revolution, Castro himself had invited a priest to live with the soldiers to baptize, marry, and perform funerals for the soldiers in the mountains. Evangelical members of the movement requested and received their own pastor, as well. In the later part of 1960, however, criticism over the death penalty, and the expulsion of religious curricula in public schools, among other issues, began to mount, and religious groups came under attack. Then religious programming on radio and television were outlawed, and religious publications that criticized the Communist influence in government were shut down. Corse asserted that "by mid-1960, [Castro's] denial of Communist influence in the Revolution had become hard to sustain, and for many Cuban Protestants, this was an insurmountable problem" (Corse, 2007, p. 25).

An End to Euphoria

The period of euphoria for the Protestants with the Revolution ended when the State officially adopted a Marxist–Leninist ideology on 15 April 1961 (Fernández Albán,

2015). Then, in May of 1961, religious schools were taken over by the government to further the government's goal of creating a "new man"—without the need for religion (Pedraza, 1999). Cepeda noted that, "the nationalization of all our schools was a heavy blow," they were "the bridges we used to reach out to children in our evangelistic zeal, and through them the doors of their homes were opened... With the nationalization of the schools, disenchantment became the general rule"(Cepeda, 2003, p. 20). Between those two events, the Protestant posture toward the Cuban government changed dramatically.

Fidel Castro's new government sought to eliminate any viable threats to its power, and thus set as a first priority the restructuring of society's core institutions (Cepeda, 2003). Through an executive order in 1959–1960, he "[had] effectively arrested the autonomy and development of associative organizations" (Quiroz, 2003, p. 55). Religious philanthropic organizations were among the first groups to be persecuted in the Communist government—especially churches. "Churches...presented the greatest threat to the Revolution due to their extant organizational infrastructures" (Pedraza 1999, p. 17). Confrontation between the Church and State appeared quickly after the Revolution. The Catholic religion was most heavily suppressed. Afro-Cuban religions were deemed to be criminal, but because they operated in secret, they were excluded from public discourse. Protestant faiths were both suppressed and co-opted (Goldenziel, 2009).

The leaders of the Revolution believed that religious groups represented foreign interests. The concerns were not unfounded: the majority of the priests in Cuba were from Spain, and Protestants received strong support and guidance from their U.S. counterparts (Luis, 2001). Castro was determined to dismantle the traditional sources of

cohesion and redirect allegiances (Pedraza, 1999). Similar to when Spain exiled its Cuban-born clergy at the turn of the 19th century, the Revolution's government officially exiled 130 Catholic priests in 1961, while hundreds of others fled, leaving 200 on the island (Goldenziel, 2009). By 1965, 90 percent of practicing Catholics, mostly elites, had left as well. Fifty percent of the Protestant pastors and lay leaders left also, including 200 North American missionaries (Luis, 2001). This plummet in participation caused a radical diminishing of faith communities, including the closing of the Lutheran Church in Cuba, and the near-disappearance of the Jewish community (Goldenziel, 2009). Many of those who left were faithful contributors to the church communities. Because of their wealth and connections, these emigrants had the capacity to relocate, while other, more working-class Cubans, were not so fortunate. Religious philanthropy suffered greatly without these donations; for a while, some continued to contribute, while others abstained in order to not support any aspect of Castro's regime. Once the U.S. embargo was put into place in 1965, outright philanthropic donations between faith communities in the U.S. and Cuba became temporarily impossible.

Churches in the Center of Social Dilemmas

The more the government implemented deeper reforms, such as agrarian, urban, and education reforms, the more the "social tensions, class antagonisms, and ideological conflicts" increased. Churches were often in the center of these fierce debates, and they were not prepared to address these profound structural social dilemmas. Protestant congregations struggled with an ever-increasing loss of members, diminishing donations, and loss of major institutional power when their schools were closed (Fernández Albán, 2015, p. 44). Because of their organizational capacity, and their upper- and middle-class

membership, Revolutionary authorities made the dismantling of churches a top priority (Pedraza, 1999). Individual adherents were forced to choose between their faith and their livelihood. Religious believers were excluded from the Communist Party. In most cases, this meant difficulties in entering a university or in finding employment. Foreign missionaries who stayed faced the threat of persecution and imprisonment (Pedraza, 1999). UMAPs, or Military Units to Aid Production, were a web of concentration camps where undesirable citizens were sent. Most often, these undesirables included Catholic priests, and Protestant ministers and seminarians, as well as anyone judged as a deviant. University faculty members and school teachers with religious affiliations were purged from their posts (Pedraza, 1999). Montoya was very careful as a Protestant minister in those days. He traveled to people's homes to encourage them in private. Many times, even a household would be divided. A woman would greet him at the door and welcome him but say, "Careful, Pastor, my husband is in the other room, and he is Communist, he's not a believer".

Catholic Opposition to the Revolution

One important note is that while the Protestant communities played an activist role in responding to the Revolution, it was the Catholic church by far that led widespread cultural opposition, both from diaspora communities as well as domestically. Because of their international status and resources, the Catholic Church most openly opposed the government. Nevertheless, from 1959 through 1964, the religion was deprived of all church properties and schools; Catholics were jailed, and anti-Catholic propaganda was distributed (Goldenziel, 2009). Many of these policies were codified into law in the Cuban Constitution of 1975, specifically Article 54, which states: "It is illegal

and punishable by law to oppose one's faith or religious belief to the Revolution, education or the fulfillment of the duty to work, defend the homeland with arms, show reverence for its symbols and other duties established by the Constitution" (Luis, 2001, p. 25).

Protestants, while also threatened by the atheist ideologies and laws, had at least some relationship with the new government. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists had formed the Cuban Council of Evangelical Churches before the Revolution, and now used the organization to advocate for faith communities and to participate in the creation of the new society. The government co-opted the Protestants instead of fully suppressing them, in order to bolster its own legitimacy, garner consensus for its actions, and further isolate Catholic institutions (Goldenziel, 2009). Some saw the position of the Protestants as conciliatory, and as a group they assuredly lost autonomy because of the relationship. However, though the council represented only about half of the Protestant congregations in Cuba, the Protestant community in general had avoided the distrust of the much-estranged Catholics at this point in history (Goldenziel, 2009; Luis 2001). This political position allowed them to cooperate with the government in educational and social service provision, both with churches that were part of the council, and with those that were not.

As such, the Protestant community in Cuba was seen as a unified group (Goldenziel, 2009), though internally debates over allegiance to the government or Christ were the consistent focus of contention. By way of adversity, Cuban Protestants at last had the opportunity to advance local leadership and develop a uniquely Cuban theology, instead of depending on the resources and thoughts of the international (mainly North American) community. Pentecostalism, in particular, has flourished in this environment

of religious “cubanismo” (Goldenziel, 2009). The practice of diakonia, or charitable giving, also became especially important. Pastors like Montoya, who ministered to people in the Sierra Maestra, for example, had suffered great losses during the war, including the destruction of their homes. Their services always consisted of both teaching and giving, usually of clothing and non-perishable food items as they were available.

Protestant religious leaders of the day suffered losses, as well. For example, the North American seminaries and denominations that had managed the retirement accounts of Cuban administrators, professors, and pastors could not distribute many of those savings because of the embargo. Cuban theological leaders who had devotedly served the Church, retired and passed away in severe poverty before solutions could be brokered. As the years passed, seminary professors and pastors, who were nongovernment employees and therefore received no social benefits, were supported by the philanthropy of Christian organizations from abroad, mostly North American funds that were funneled through Europe. Until the partial opening in 1991, however, this practice remained limited and precarious. Choosing the vocation of pastor, then, became a commitment to a life of both material poverty and political danger.

Faith as a Secret Matter

For most Protestant believers, faith and philanthropic action in this period became a secret matter. Especially in the early days of the new society, 1960–1975, the Protestant Church and its corresponding parachurch organizations were characterized by hibernation. Scholars state that in general, the churches became publicly dormant, although life was still flowing inside. Ongoing religious discrimination made a “doble moralidad”—or double morality, a norm of life. In this double morality, Protestants’

public life demonstrated allegiance to Cuba alone, but privately maintained faith traditions among family and friends, yet even in those groups it was difficult to know who to trust. Otero stated that to be seen with a Bible in public or to be caught in group worship at that time was not officially illegal, but nevertheless disparaged. Aspiring Protestant university students signed their allegiance to the Communist Party, including a statement of atheism, in order to be able to enroll. At the local level, government groups were known to deny churches access to materials in order to maintain their buildings, even when they had raised the money to do so. Citizens' homes were searched for any evidence of religious adherence; citizens were also routinely harassed for their faith. Other Protestant groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists, were considered to be counter-Revolutionary because of their pacifist stance (Luis, 2001).

Integrating Catholic Social Stances into Protestantism

Near the time Cuban state leaders were writing the new Constitution, however, progressive Catholics throughout Latin America were advancing new expressions of the Christian faith, called liberation theology. These theologians, in their first iteration of the religious thought, did not see a contradiction between Christianity and Marxism. Soon, the Nicaraguan combination of faith and Revolution captured the world's attention, and Cuba's political, Catholic, and Protestant leaders adapted these thoughts for their context. Protestant evangelicals created an iteration of the theology as well, calling it "misión integral" or integral mission (Padilla, 2002). Catholic social teaching of this day had a lasting effect, therefore, on Protestant Latin American theologies, particularly that of Cuban thought that emerged during or in the decades after the Revolution.

In 1960, the Cuban Council of Evangelical Churches (CCEC) adopted a declaration of principles that illustrated the tension and uncertainty of the Revolutionary times. Those who signed and supported the document were advocating for a Christian social order, one that ascribed to God “the ultimate authority concerning man and history, and that is based upon the social principles of Christ, which postulates the value of the human personality, reverence for life, liberty of the individual, the spirit of service, social justice and the brotherhood of man” (Corse, 2007, p. 49). The CCEC was in support of a Revolution aimed to reconstruct the society of Cuba, but desired one that was centered in Christ, and not materialistic nor atheistic. Their desire was to affirm the aim of social justice of the Revolution, but to reject the Communist terms and means (Fernández Albán, 2015). Cepeda made a similar assessment: “By joining unconditionally a system that challenges religious faith—even if it is only in theory [the leaders of the Revolution] limit the tremendous contributions that people with profound Christian convictions and great desire to serve the people in this critical hour of danger and opportunities...can offer to the Revolutionary process” (Fernández Albán, 2015, quoting Cepeda, p. 49).

Affirming a Cuban Christian Identity

Having lived in the underside of history, Cuban Protestant thought in this time period turned from Eurocentric ideas (Fabella & Torres, 1983). Rejecting the Enlightenment’s separation between what is human and material, they questioned how one could preach the Christian gospel but leave the poor starving. On the contrary, liberation theology stated that God’s first attention and concern is for the poor. For the church to align themselves with God, liberation theology taught that they must demonstrate solidarity with the poor. As Cuban liberation thought developed, the

churches rediscovered and affirmed their identity as uniquely Cuban Christians. Cuban Protestants were living in debilitating poverty, with only the basic provisions of food and housing, little to no medicine available, and the constant threat of detainment, intimidation or death because of their faith. Out of this reality, the Cuban Protestant tradition viewed social concern as more than a question of ethics. Their notions of philanthropy grew out of the recognition of identification of Jesus with the poor, and in effect, it “was not an ethics question, it was a gospel question” (Bosch, 1991, p. 447), meaning the very authenticity of their faith hinged on their solidarity with the poor.

In the same vein, Latin American Protestant philanthropy relied much more on reciprocity versus a one-way flow of gifts from donors to recipients. Cubans had very few material possessions, which prompted them to reconsider how to use them. The house church movement, currently multiplying in Cuba, was rooted in the late 1970s religious experience. The movement recognized that the poor had something of value to contribute to God’s kingdom. It resisted the notion of development in general. Having witnessed what happened in other countries, Cubans discussed the “idolatrous character of capitalism” (Fernández Albán, 2015, p. 7). For example, items that were previously sold for the value of five sacks of coffee now cost 206 sacks of coffee for the same item (Bosch, 1991). At the time, Western Christians were also technological humanists; they believed the world’s problems could be solved through modern technology. This idea of salvation through technology was pervasive. Even Pope Paul VI stated that “development was the new name for peace” (Bosch, 1991, p. 444). Albán claimed that Cuba would continue to address “deepening capitalist globalization,” which would include both

certain accommodations, “while also continuing to resist and to explore alternatives” (Fernández Albán, 2015, p. 8).

Otero also dissented from the technological, humanistic approach to church growth. He emphasized that the advance of the church in Cuba is a work of God, not man. According to Otero, from the time of the blockade until the moments when, out of extreme poverty and oppression, Cubans began to meet in one another’s homes, this movement was not something that anyone could have foreseen or invented. An important and unique factor in the church in Cuba, he stated, was their identity as a nation of immigrants. All of the native citizens of Cuba were exterminated in the colonial period, and those who live in Cuba today represent a heterogenous mix of people from Europe and Africa, primarily, but also from across the world. Some came voluntarily to build businesses, others were forced, and a third group came to Cuba as refuges. In effect, the character of the Cuban Protestant Church reflects an openness to ideas and alternatives, as opposed to dogmatism and structuralism. Otero is concerned about religious systems that rely on officiants, boards of directors, and bureaucratic hierarchies, stating that they could extinguish the enthusiasm of Cuba’s highly diverse and participatory church.

The Special Period and Other Openings

The Cuban Church had suffered greatly during Revolutionary times, but its suffering was not over. Goldenziel theorizes that politicians want to maintain power, maximize government revenue, promote economic growth, minimize civil unrest, and minimize the cost of ruling. In the early days of the Revolution, the Cuban government suppressed religion to maintain political power. As the need for the support of the religious community became evident, Fidel made overtures about how the Catholic

Church and liberation theology served the common good throughout Latin America. An interview in 1985 with the Brazilian Roman Catholic priest Frei Betto became the widely read “Fidel and Religion” (Beto, 2006). When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, and other sources of support in Cuba ran dry, Castro strategically used religion as an outlet for dissent and a humanitarian mechanism to provide for the people (Goldenziel, 2009).

Protestantism has strengthened since the ‘Special Period’ of the 1990s, compared to Catholicism. One reason for this growth is the multiplication of house churches, a Protestant practice to gather and worship in private homes, again made legal in 1991. The government then responded to these “casas cultos” with a new law limiting gatherings to 12 people, with at least two kilometers between each (Goldenziel, 2009).

Increased religious liberty also comes with a cost, however. Cuba is aware of U.S. strategies to bolster an independent civil society through religion, including the Roman Catholic leadership in the 1990s and the U.S. State Department’s call for more religious involvement in 2004. In response, the Cuban government created the Office of Religious Affairs. Representatives of the office sporadically attend and report on religious meetings in their assigned groups, and regulate travel of religious leaders, among other controls. A State-sponsored research team also is dedicated to collecting and analyzing data on religious communities in Cuba (Goldenziel, 2009). Pastor Otero asserts that the Cuban government’s key mistake was to not recognize the importance of the spiritual needs of the people. He says it is something that no government program or social assistance can replace. Slowly, the Cuban government is respecting the outreach programs that the Protestant churches provide, if not the spiritual aspect of the churches.

Re-establishing Political Relations

On 17 December 2014, another landmark event occurred. U.S. President Barack Obama announced the most significant policy change regarding Cuba in more than 50 years, restoring diplomacy between the two countries in a step toward normalizing relations. The policy change did not abolish the embargo, however it did allow for increased categories of approved travel from the United States to Cuba, including more flights and cruise ships that brought U.S. visitors by the thousands in the following two years. The U.S. Embassy was officially reopened as well, creating a symbolic diplomatic tie between two of the world's previously most estranged countries. However, throughout 2015 and 2016, ongoing civil and political rights violations in Cuba totaled more than 600 documented cases of individuals being jailed without impunity, many of them Protestant leaders. According to the United States Congressional Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee Chairman Christopher H. Smith, these violations have gotten worse, and have not improved, since the former president's renewed engagement with the island country (Smith, 2015). Subsequent executive orders from President Trump again made travel to Cuba difficult and trade nearly impossible.

Conclusion

Protestant churches in Cuba have developed a double character over time because of the North American and Latin American mutual influences in relationships. This double character symbolizes a binary less, and more a selective, ongoing synthesis of elements of culture, resulting in the holding of more complex, at times conflicting social identities. Beyond the Cuban and U.S. national differences, understanding what it means

to be a Cuban Protestant includes considerations of gender, generations, localities, race, and socio-economics, the social perceptions of which are contested and in flux.

Beginning as a patriot religion led by native Cubans, the U.S. involvement in the country during and after the Spanish-American War motivated a wave of U.S. evangelical missionaries to come to the island. U.S. evangelicals were known for being generous, yet they did not critically engage with their religious tradition in order to separate spiritual beliefs from political and economic interests. Cubans had been accustomed to the institutional hierarchy of the Catholic faith, and were building an emerging philanthropic sector when the United States intervened. However wrought with problems, the collaboration between the North American and Cuban churches proved influential in the history of both countries. See Figure 13.

Figure 13. *Borrowed buses with political statements from partner churches in Cuba. Campo Amor avoids explicit political statements in their own approach to community development*



Through the suffering of the Cuban Revolution, Christians there were liberated from colonial structures, only to take on the yoke of Communism. After a brief period of enchantment, the Protestant Church rebuked the government's creation of an atheist state, while still agreeing with their goal of eradicating injustice. Liberation theology, adapted

for their context, helped religious leaders to reimagine their faith, independent of Eurocentric traditions.

During the early years of the Revolution, the church went into hibernation, but lived on. North American philanthropy found creative ways to deliver resources to the Cubans, despite the blockade. Religious diakonia characterized the Protestant services of that time, including both teaching and charitable gifts for congregants. Most often, Christians met in one another's home, out of fear of the local governments' reactions. Decades later, the house church movement in Cuba is growing rapidly in both numbers and influence. Neither the oppression of the early days of the Revolution, nor the extreme poverty of the "special period" after the fall of Soviet Bloc countries, extinguished the Protestant faith in Cuba. For this reason, Otero calls the Cuban Church "the survivor church".

Cubans and North Americans in particular are entering a new stage of history after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. Past lessons can provide rich understanding for future movements. Repeated interventions in Cuba's political, economic, social, and religious systems have fostered a culture of cubanismo, a robustly independent Cuban people, even as they experience ongoing material misery and are often dependent on external support. This intervention and misery also prompted Cuban Christians to interpret the gospel in a way that emphasizes the value of community and relationships, to expect ongoing, miraculous intervention from God, to engage in congregational life as an escape from injustice and as a place to re-create social micro-systems, and to avoid highly institutionalized forms of social organization.

Justo González states that changing contexts of World Christianity offers believers a lesson that Cuba has already been taught: "...the opportunity to learn more of what it means to be a people of faith in circumstances where faith is not supported by society and culture" (Lez & González, 2012, p. 38). For North American Christians, reflecting on Cuba and North America's shared history may alter their beliefs and practices. Lessons emerge about the effects of aggressive interventionism, advocating for structural justice alongside personal piety, and the mutual enrichment of geographically near but ideologically distant neighbors learning again to become trustworthy friends. These lessons are yet another impetus for increased understandings of mutuality, how local and U.S.-based partner churches can serve as institutions that foster cross-cultural support between individuals, stronger organizations engaged in civil society, and a peaceful end to ineffective policy. Mutuality provides a lens to see these organizations and their relationships with one another that upholds the complexity and fluidity of their identities, without denying that U.S. and Cuban Protestants do approach one another with deep differences.

CHAPTER FOUR: MUTUALITY AMONG CUBANS—FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Lucy and Tatiana are best friends and staff members at Campo Amor. One is a house church pastor who works primarily with the elderly; the other leads children's programs at the organization. They see one another nearly every day when North American groups come to the guest house, as they also help host these groups. In Cuban hospitals, friends and family bring bed linens and food for the patients, so when Lucy and Tatiana were pregnant at the same time, they went to the hospital to care for one another, even as the other was nearing her due date and the other had a newborn.

In this chapter, I describe and analyze what Cubans told me about their life in the community of Campo Amor. This section will primarily be about Cubans' relationships with other Cubans. The stories and attitudes of respondents may sound familiar, while at other times the insights may be very particular to the Cuban religious and cultural context, a "within culture" understanding of mutuality. In Chapter Five I build on this understanding of mutuality to explore it across cultures—Cubans' understanding of mutuality with their North American partners.

The findings presented here were judged important based on the following criteria: either they were repeated by several interviewees or were a unique answer that was strongly emphasized by a single interviewee—that is, repeated several times or used as a key idea within one interview. Because the methodology of the study included a great variation of types of participants—theologians, scholars, practitioner leaders and participants—the types of comments that were offered varied. While some commented on the daily lived experiences of mutuality, others commented more on the aspirational

ideals of the concept, how things “should” be, especially as related to their understandings of Christian teachings. Most interviews contained some of both.

After having reviewed the pertinent literature in Chapter Two, and outlined the shared history of Cuban and North American Protestant engagement in Chapter Three, the following two chapters analyze new data, thematically organized and presented according to the original research questions: **1) What is mutuality? 2) What are the meanings and experiences of mutuality for Cuban Christians; and 3) What are the meanings and experiences of mutuality for Cuban-N.A. partners involved in a shared mission?**

In Chapter Four, I am focusing on the questions “What is mutuality?” and “What are the experiences and meanings of mutuality for Cuban Christians?” This data contained responses relating to the unique context of Cuban Christianity, such as the relationship of the church to the government, how Cuban culture influences relational cultures, how mutuality is formed, how these people navigate differences and conflict in their relationships, how relationships are formed and how they grow, and the perceived differences between the relational culture of Cuba and North America, how the tension between the two governments influences interpersonal relationships, and how interpersonal relationships influence organizational practice. This relational approach to understanding cross-cultural philanthropy takes its place amid a growing wave of research that focuses on Non-Western approaches, which are often less formal and are either largely unaware of or specifically oppose capitalist-centered, individualist approaches to giving.

Tensions of Identity and Morality in Cuban Christianity

Some of the most important results of the pilot study centered on the experience of Cuban Christianity during the days of the Revolution and afterwards. In interviews and literature, these experiences were described to me as the “double character” and “double morality” of Cuban Protestantism. However, the term doesn’t mean binary, but rather, layered. These layers of “doble carácter” (double character) of Cuban Protestant churches reflected both a collaboration and resistance to U.S.-style evangelicalism (Arce Valentín, 2016). Life in Cuba’s socialist context makes “doble moralidad” (double morality) a norm of life. For example, one university student told me that she had to sign her allegiance to the Communist party in order to be able to enroll.

The implications of double character and double morality were seen in the everyday practices of Camp Amor. In order to host groups for example, Eduardo had to exchange U.S. dollars with an underground vendor. He regularly paid gas attendants extra in order to be able to fill his tank completely. The system of a foundation being set up in Spain was to work around the embargo. He told me once on a trip to the seminary he believed that worldwide, laws did as much to preserve evil as they did to promote good. Yet he fiercely defended the work of the local government in the region of Baracoa regarding the dispensation of goods and medicine after a hurricane struck the island in 2018. When I suggested that Campo Amor could set up a donor advised fund in the United States, he replied, “Then I would have to go there and raise funds. I’d spend my time doing things like writing a newsletter instead of taking care of my people.” At another point however, he asked me for advice on how to organize investors for his downtown apartments. “We are new to this capitalism thing,” he said.

Eduardo himself displayed more than a double identity and morality, however, as integrated the varying institutional logics, values, and practices of Campo Amor through selective synthesis. Selective synthesis is a normal process for organizations aiming to create social and personal change, especially when they seek to create cohesion across great cultural differences, rely upon volunteers, and make decisions collectively. Members select from a wide variety of organizing choices and dueling criteria. These conditions are inherent to the process of creating new organizational forms, even while they intensify the dilemmas of organizing (Chen and O'Mahony, 2006). Because Eduardo was in relationships with people from many countries, including Spain, the United States, Canada, Mexico and of course Cuba, he developed an increasingly diverse cultural toolbox from which to draw in an attempt to maximize the benefits for his organization. Through interpersonal and inter-organizational relationships in various contexts, traditional and clandestine institutional practices, and the socialist and market-based logics, Eduardo illustrated the instrumental benefits of mutuality.

One particular aspect of selective synthesis that I observed was Eduardo's ability to integrate underground philanthropic practices into his partnerships. In some ways Eduardo and Campo Amor's practices reflect the findings of Sudhir Venkatesh, who examined underground economies of immigrants in Chicago and New York (S. Venkatesh, 2013). It is common for marginalized groups to engage in clandestine networks when their philanthropic cause is not supported by the state or the voluntary establishment. These activities do not lead to the building of traditional institutions. Rather, they contribute to the flows of globalization, or as Venkatesh calls it, they help people to "float" (2013). As Venkatesh explains, in for-profit exchanges, globalized

underground networks cross socio-economic borders, seeking upward stability for the poor, and illegal goods for the upper classes. In the case of clandestine philanthropy, the socio-economic mixing exists to assist the poor and provides moral expression for all classes.

Though many of the cross-cultural philanthropic aspects of the Cuban Church are underground, the institution of the Church in Cuba is not—in fact, the Church provides a model as the Cuban government looks to apply socialist principles to decentralization. Now, scholars point to the variety of religions in Cuba as the only voluntary networks with national reach that can be useful models for education, agriculture and local civic leadership (Crahan, 2017). A 2008 report from the Brookings Institution, however, was less optimistic.

Some efforts by various religions to provide humanitarian services and train community leaders, professionals, and youths to take a more active role in civil society are occurring, but there has been no coalescing of such individuals around a consensual agenda. With such forums still limited in size and scope, the potential for Cubans to acquire leadership skills within a religiously oriented civil society framework remains weak in comparison to the strong influence of government-affiliated mass organizations. (“Toward a Cohesive Cuban Civil Society,” 2001)

Setting the Scene for Mutuality

Though some practices of Campo Amor were underground and off-stage, the day-to-day operations of Campo Amor were consistently busy and public (Adler & Offutt, 2017). The headquarters were known as a guest house; it was the main hub for all of Campo Amor’s activities, as well as a place where the North American partners could sleep and eat when they came to visit. Vans and buses were coming and going, taking volunteers to sites around the city. Groups were being fed—for the children’s and youth meetings at times, coffee during services, and breakfast, lunch and dinner every day for

the visiting groups. See Figure 14. When Cubans entered the room, everyone took a moment to cheek-kiss everyone: “Buenos días... como estás (or como está, to show more respect). The ritual was repeated when they left. Their interactions were a mixture of warm effusiveness alongside sober dedication to the purpose at hand. Cuban leaders did not show up late, and they were usually prepared and informed about the details of the itinerary of N.A. partners. But they carried their work off with an air of friendliness. This could be because, although Latin Americans, Cubans are also as Socialists. It also could be due to their trainings in leadership at Campo Amor. Opportunities like employment at Campo Amor were rare. Their roles appeared sought-after and were taken seriously.

Figure 14. *Coffee is prepared for the religious service at Campo Amor’s main building*



The building itself was large enough to host 40 guests, and 10 more could stay across the street at another house Campo Amor had purchased. I was once standing in front of the house and a man on the street walked by and murmured, “*Casa de*

millionarios, esa” (That’s a millionaire’s house). There were no religious symbols, no names or signs at the main site, except for a single print of the biblical Last Supper scene, the only hanging decoration. Eduardo remarked it was time to redo the entryway, as when they renovated 20 years ago, it was impossible to find enough tile that matched, so it had two competing designs on the floor. All the furniture was handmade by the congregation but looked like store-bought wood antiques. Every time I was there, renovation projects were taking place, never done by the N.A., always Cubans from the church family. This “family” was a network of house churches, legally allowed to have a maximum of 12 members, but often overlooked (Goldenzell, 2009).

Figure 15. *The staff at Campo Amor buys food to serve the groups*



Figure 16. *The blue house, one of Campo Amor’s guest homes in the Alamar neighborhood*



On any given weekday morning, when groups were present, people gathered in the front entryway waiting to be sent out on their projects for the day. The wood shutters were often pulled tightly shut, the doors kept closed, and the air conditioning on to fend off the incoming heat. The front entryway had a bulletin board with a list of the projects being carried out each day, and where different groups would be sent. These projects ranged from health clinics to evangelism and prayer walks, to children’s activities to

shared dinners. Again, I never saw a North American group doing physical labor with Campo Amor.

Roberto was the project manager: he coordinated the itineraries for each visiting group, as well as many of the activities for the house churches across the city. Each group would leave with a representative of the Campo Amor staff, usually a house pastor, and one or two interpreters. Staff who remained at the guest house included the cooks, the security guards, the bookkeeper, cleaning staff and a few others who offered general help for whatever needed to be done. See Figures 15 and 16.

On Saturdays, the house church pastors would bring their children for a joined service, then in the afternoon children played sports with their Campo Amor team and coach. Some of these were as informal as playing volleyball in an open field with no net, while some of the baseball teams played in local leagues with a coach who was a former member of the Cuban national team. On Sunday mornings groups participated in a number of the house church services, and the central staff again arranged and supported all of the activities, transportation and hospitality. On Sunday evenings the youth came to the guest house and spent the evening together, with lots of dancing, a short service, then a dinner afterwards, followed by dancing and sometimes games. In the evenings, when the groups returned after dinner, some of the Cuban staff would stay and chat. Some would sit out on the roof of the back of the house, pray, sing, chat and occasionally smoke a cigar together.

What Is Mutuality?

Relationships formed and grew at Campo Amor across this backdrop. My core research questions served to guide semi-structured interviews where they described their

life in the community and how they cared for one another. Most interviewees hadn't heard of or didn't use the term mutuality, but their stories were rife with the concept. Some spoke broadly about the Cuban experience of Christianity as related to government, while others avoided that subject. Many spoke in terms of solidarity, the most popular term for giving and helping in Cuba and a major tenet of the socialist ideology. Diakonia, a Greek term, was described as "help that empowers." Diakonia and solidarity are now almost synonymous, with diakonia being the more conceptual term, and solidarity the praxis. Many Christians utilize the idea for their church and community life. According to one interviewee, it can be defined as "sharing unto sacrifice."

Interviewees described mutuality mainly in three main ways: 1. the commitment to sharing; 2. intersubjective relationships which continually enter into and care about the thoughts and feelings of one another; and 3. the habitual approach that emphasized living one's way into patterns of thought, versus thinking one's way into patterns of life. For example, ritualized greetings and short conversations helped participants prioritize relationships, often without realizing they were doing so.

Cubans' self-identity was one of being known as a friend, both a necessity because of their material scarcity and also a source of deep pride. In part, this explains why Cubans emphasize spending unstructured time together, and why daily, physical affirmations are so important, as both serve to reify the preeminence of relationships in their lives.

Mutuality as a Commitment to Sharing

Material and Spiritual, to Insiders and Outsiders, for Inherent and Instrumental Good

Among my interviewees, mutual help is the idea that people can rely on one another for whatever is lacking or whatever needs they have. It generates an ongoing expectation that the help will be reciprocated: “I’ll help you today and tomorrow you will help me,” as one interviewee noted. Those who help count on the fact that the one helped will remember them in the future and return the kindness. It is a framework of confidence out of which they know their needs will be taken care of. Lucy told a story of her friend, who is a neighbor. Their daughters are friends in the same classroom. This friend shares food with her when she has nothing to eat. Likewise, Lucy has shared food with her when she needed it. These practices reflect Mauss’ theory of social status depending on reciprocity in gift giving, a kind of social safety net based on implicit cultural agreements (2002). Similarly, ethnographer Becky Hsu chronicled systems of microloans in rural China that were built on a system where to not include one another would bring dishonor to oneself and one’s family (2017).

There are nuances to understanding the mutual help that occurs in the Cuban community. I heard Cubans describe the help in different ways: sharing, helping, collaborating and things being held in common. Consistently, though, sharing with one another was a key social ethic to their Christian faith.

Many referred to sharing as the “most essential” aspect of mutuality, both material and spiritual. Material things could be something small—an egg, some salt or a sausage. A common theme in the interviews was the casual mention of when interviewees did not have what they needed. Often it wasn’t that people could not pay for something, it was

that they couldn't find it to buy. I observed this and experienced it myself in 2019, watching the staff at Campo Amor search stores for meat and coming up empty-handed. Though they had money to spend, some items were difficult to come by. The government dispensa, or food dispensary, I once observed, had sugar, rice and coffee, with little else. Chicken was a sought-after luxury, and we waited in lines or nudged into a mesh of bodies and grabbing hands when the stores had it stocked. I noted often the long lines, the crowds, and how much time we spent looking for meat.

With such lack of material goods, at times Cubans resort to stealing. Someone waiting at Campo Amor told me their son was a truck driver, but when his truck breaks down he often can't find parts to buy to fix it. "I can't tell you what he does to fix it," she said with embarrassment, "and I don't tell these things to my American fiancé because he wouldn't understand." This example of double morality was not mentioned to me by Christians; however, I did observe that the temptation to covet others' belongings was difficult to resist.

On the contrary, leaders at Campo Amor encourage church members to understand wealth both materially and spiritually. One house church pastor I interviewed, Santiago, encourages his congregation to consider how they are "sowing" their generosity whether sparingly or abundantly, in times of need or surplus. He claims this is a spiritual principle, one that as a Christian, he must respect. Many agree that there are a number of spiritual goods which can also be shared: prayer, encouragement, love and even, as one interviewee mentioned, freedom.

Sharing that which is spiritual means to not only give that which is good, but to accept and help carry that which is burdensome by listening and counseling one another.

As everyone is sometimes sad or discouraged, we have needs that we cannot solve even if we wanted to. Tatiana said we must share our spirituality in this time and advise one another: “Wait on God,” “Don't worry, everything will be resolved.” So, she said, we are calm. Lucy mentioned that this help should be kept quiet, that part of sharing one another's burdens is to help, support and guide without “trumpeting” their problems.

As sharing was one aspect of mutuality, one interviewee mentioned that a further distinction would be giving to the point of sacrifice, either in quantity, or things that one doesn't want to part with—and not necessarily expecting it to be returned. “The way we do things for friends, and they give them back, the same, sometimes we give a lot of things, but if you are a good friend you give a lot of things that you don't want to.... Your friends give all away.”

Beyond the normal Cuban culture of sharing, the Cubans recognized they should help strangers, including going where no one else will go in order to find them. For example, one interviewee said, “Those old men who have nowhere to eat, we go to those places and bring them something to eat. Not only to give them the Word, but what to eat, or to go to the worst neighborhoods where no one goes—Here we go.” Similarly but different, is the idea of helping someone, even if they are a stranger on the street. “If they need help, we give it to them.”

As theorists grapple with the phenomenon of religious communities worldwide, many like Peter Berger of Boston University have introduced the concept of spiritual capital, claiming spirituality produces goods of value that can be used to influence political and social processes (Berger & Hefner, 2010). Sociologists David Palmer and Michele Wong define spiritual capital as: “The individual and collective capacities

generated through affirming and nurturing people as having intrinsic spiritual value.” Spiritual and religious capital have been used at times interchangeably, but the focus in this definition is the intrinsic value of a person’s spirit, and how that generates instrumental value, or capacity, both at an individual and community level. Scholars theorize spiritual capital is autonomous to other forms—social, cultural or religious—and not a subset of these other forms of capital. The concept was developed out of a growing concern for faith-based organizations, which like other nonprofits, slide seemingly unavoidably in a business culture, drawn into cultures that seek first to achieve technocratic goals (Tyndale, 2016). Spiritual capital, among other concepts and measures, is an attempt to study the well-being of organizations and the individuals therein through a different lens than the customary economic, business, technology or political science ones.

Political scientist Robert Woodberry describes spiritual capital as a capacity that serves as a means to an end and also shapes the ends that people seek. In other words, spiritual capital demonstrates both moral and instrumental influence, a key distinction from other forms of capital. Additionally, spiritual capital takes as reality an extra-materialistic view of the world, that there is a reality beyond our natural senses that can be known (2006).

Spiritual capital provides a theoretical frame in which even those of extreme material poverty have something real of value to share with one another, accomplishments are subsumed under the higher goal of loving and caring for one another, and participants are bestowed dignity—not for what they have or their position

in life, but rather the synergy produced by what they share. In this way of thinking, the gifts of relationship at Campo Amor balance the material provisions of the N.A. partners.

Another distinction worth noting is the difference between giving and sharing. Giving denotes a transfer of ownership from one person to another, as in the idea of giving a gift that insodoing transfers ownership, while sharing communicates an idea of holding things in common in the first place. Theologian interviewees Ofelia and Daniel framed the idea of holding *both* things and effort in common in their understanding of sharing. The emphasis was that a strong sense of individualism was negative, that in an ideal case, there was less of a sense of individual belongings and more a sense of a group—in which all things belonged to everyone. Though the context of our conversation was Christian belief, in many of their examples they also referred to the “goals of the Revolution.” Ofelia, in particular, as a former member of the Cuban parliament, described Christian practice as aligned with Socialist principles.

Ofelia and Daniel described sharing as a duty, the base of which is to seek to benefit one another instead of oneself, alone. They mentioned there were now many rich people in Cuba, who were self-employed, and sought only their family’s interests: “Individualist,” emphasized Ofelia. She said that self-employment entering into the revolutionary process is “not the best.” With the entering of capitalism, the economy in Cuba has been mobilized. But there is poverty that was not seen before, Daniel said. “People on the streets sleeping on a sidewalk and eating from garbage, that we did not see before.” Their perspective on sharing was that Christians have an obligation or duty to not seek only their own interests, but also those of others.

“Mine is mine,” said Daniel. “That is where the church also has a role to play, in teaching sharing, nothing is mine.” “I have to share what I do,” said Ofelia.

Sharing “what I do” speaks to the intention of the effort. Not only are the results or efforts of the labor shared, but more fundamentally, people engage in work for the purpose of sharing. She told the story of an ecological center she had helped develop, which was for the benefit of 100 families, including several farm cooperatives. The agreement was that what was done at the center was to benefit seven other farms in the surrounding area. In a previous interview, Daniel told me the story of raising funds for this project—that the couple had traveled outside the United States to receive \$30,000 in cash, and had strapped that cash to their bodies in order to pass through Cuban customs, another example of the double morality and selective synthesis of Cuban Christianity.

Daniel went on to explain that this sharing of benefit reflected an understanding that everything one receives is a gift from God, and it is shared knowing that so doing spreads salvation, both for the one sharing and for the one receiving, as it reflects the way God acts. This is difficult, as humans are individualists by nature. But Daniel and Ofelia noted that the key frame for Christians is not “myself” but rather “us.”

It is a bit like taking our Father, our bread, give us today – ours. It is not my bread, [it is] our bread. The ‘Our Father’ [prayer] always goes like this, our bread give us today, that is why it is very important to see the Our Father prayer like this: it is not my bread, no, it is everyone's bread, it is our bread, so we have to concern ourselves with this.

This way of life had other implications, including the concept of productivity. Daniel understood productivity in terms of how much a resource could be shared. “If there is a family that has managed to have a tractor, it can be used by another family next door that benefits from that use and that makes it more productive.” It also required a sense of creativity and advocacy, that people need to invent new ways of doing good and

find solutions for one another. Ofelia told the story of attending church and enjoying the sermon. She knew there was someone in the congregation who could not find work, so after the sermon, she spoke up. “Ladies and gentlemen, did you hear the pastor's sermon now? There is a person here in the congregation who is looking for work. Everyone is coming on Sundays and meanwhile he’s in pain and he’s crying because he wants to work. He’s a man over 55. Is there a chance to get a job for this man?” She said a woman she hardly even knew stood up and said, “I am the one who runs the school of economics, and we are looking for a guard.” Others stood with ideas as well. She said the man is happy with his work now. Ofelia commented that such efforts were commonly achieved through a congregation. She questioned if anyone in a church in Europe or the United States would dare to do such a thing. “No one,” she said.

Conscious of this frame, I began to note the differences between when people talked about or acted out of a sense of this sharing things in common as Christians, or in solidarity more broadly as Cubans. I saw examples of this both happening and not happening. For example, one day Eduardo was driving me somewhere on the highway and police cars were pulling people over. This was in 2019, when economically things were worse off than in previous years. What’s going on? I asked Eduardo as he sped past the officers. Eduardo explained that police were forcing people to accept others in their cars, as the bus system was overrun and people could not get to their work. “We don’t have time to stop,” he said. “If we do they will say, ‘hay que ser solidarios’ (you have to show solidarity) and put people in your car.” On the other hand, a vegetable farm that the students at the seminary created produced food both for the school’s cafeteria, as well as for the community and local hospitals. Though the productivity varied, based on the

leadership of the school and interest of the students, the effort was created and maintained as a project whose efforts and products were held in common.

Mutuality as Intersubjective Relationships

Entering into and Caring about the Thoughts and Feelings of Another

The ideal of common life shared by Christians points to something beyond sharing. Interviewees described mutuality as something relational. They said that it is more, for example, than the food one gives, which at some point gets eaten and the hunger resumes. Similarly, there is a real hunger and subsequent filling that comes from this feeling of human warmth. “Mutuality is something great that you feel in the middle of your chest. It fills everything.” When they run out, they go to look for more—which, interviewees mentioned, was the impetus for often visiting one another.

A Relational Way of Life

Cubans consistently expressed pride in their relational style of life. They talk about how “we Cubans are,” including how they talk to everyone, they laugh often, and greet even those whom they don’t know. They bring human warmth to those who visit. And mostly, they mentioned sharing love with one another, which one described as the “life of Christ.” They say that they do this well. Tatiana described mutuality in her role as a pastor. She said, “I am the pastor of a house church where there are very few young people. Almost everyone is older. This human care and relationships are really lacking for them.”

Several interviewees mentioned friendship, but a couple of interviewees who were themselves friends, emphasized it the most. According to Lucy (Tatiana’s friend) friendship is at the core of mutuality, because of the depth to which you know one

another, and then grow to love and understand each other, which can't otherwise come to be. Lucy said that sometimes we think, "Yes, I'm fine," but with deeper friendships we realize what is really happening. I realize when my friend Tatiana is worried or upset, I realize it and I tell her, "What's wrong?" I realize it because I know her, by her face, her way of expressing herself, her way of acting. Through friendship, we know each other's character. This can happen as we get to know each other little by little. Sometimes we share problems from home that we don't want anyone to know about. Or maybe we both have problems to tell one another. She'll advise me, "Look, do this." They converse about their problems together.

Though they love each other, they also disagree. Usually this happens with something related to work, especially when they are "overloaded," when there is a lot to be done. They feel tense from work, and don't "coincide in our moods or thoughts," and get upset with each other, one said. "We don't agree, then we get upset, but then we apologize." They say to one another: "Excuse me sister, I was dense." And they discuss how to better relate the next time.

Habits of Sincere Listening

Juan Carlos also touched on the idea that to have mutuality involves conflict at times. Strong friendships require sincerity, he said. One must express what they think. Likewise, one must learn to hear and reflect on the sincere comments of others. Ongoing dialogue makes this possible, because if you aren't talking, friends can't possibly know how they are mistaken.

Interviewees emphasized that there are always differences, as there are always conflicts; one cannot avoid them. The issue is how to resolve them. Daniel commented

that a 98-year-old teacher of his used to say, “God made me with a mold and after he made me he broke it. He made you with another mold. And I can't want to mold you my way.” Although sometimes, Daniel said, we want to.

Like other aspects of mutuality, interviewees described the practice of listening important at interpersonal, organizational and cultural levels. For example, Ofelia once bought 150 fruit bushes for the seminary garden without consulting the gardeners. They told her, “You cannot sow, Ofelia, it is not sowing time, it is dry. You lost the 150 plants.” Listening to people, she said, is how you learn how people can improve their lives and what resources it takes to do it. “It is listening to the peasants, the most humble, most needy people and seeing how they plan to modify the situation. Help them, accompany them, walk with them; we may have to use someone else's resources for that, but it totally changes diakonia.” Diakonia was a term the couple used often, which they defined as “help that empowers.” She mentioned that not only the church, but also “the revolution” was trying to convert to this approach as well. It was difficult, however, as they were accustomed to centralization from top to bottom.

It is difficult, very difficult for them, such a radical change, both in the party, because we have the power, we have the command: “Why do we have to listen to the peasant? Why? We can tell him what we can do.” Diakonia is the opposite, it is the other way around, it is from bottom to top and not from top to bottom.

The practice of listening was repeatedly mentioned as a key way that people got to know one another, how they developed a relationship with them, and understood deeply their thoughts, feelings and experiences.

No Right to an Enemy

The care and service that exists between people at Campo Amor was more than just friendship between individuals. Several interviewees mentioned an overall sense of family, which they attributed to their faith. Ingrid stated, “I think that the great love that exists between us is given to us by our Lord.” She emphasized that there is a sense of family, of closeness that Jesus Christ wanted all his followers to have.

A consistent theme was that to have faith and love Jesus means to be a part of this family and share that sense of familial love. This love also extends to those who are strangers or do not share the same faith. “We are not Christians of true faith if we reject someone, we treat him badly, we look with a face...there is no solid brotherhood there. Our Father asks us that, ‘You will love your neighbor as yourself,’” she said. It is an act of passing along the kindness that God has given them. “The love that he asks of us for others is what he gives us.” Without this love, faith is “a hollow thing” and it makes no sense to be a Christian.

One aspect of mutuality theory is the acceptance and encouragement of difference (Jordan, 1986). Interviewees emphasized this aspect—accepting one another as they are, including differing personalities, situations, patterns of thought, and problems, and that everyone is not the same in these manners, though they are seen by God as having the same value.

Christian theology teaches that humanity was made in the image of God. According to Julio, it was this idea that helped him overcome differences. He said, “If you can see God in another person, you see that person like a brother or like a sister.” Many times, this does not come easily, but rather is difficult relational work, to be able to

sincerely say, “It doesn't matter, you are like that, but I still love you. I am like that, you still love me because I am a human being and you are another.”

Ofelia told stories of her time in the Cuban Parliament, where, because of her faith, she acted in relationship with people even at great personal risk. An elderly gentleman, Orestes González, who was 93 years old, an ideologue of the Communist Party, was one of the few people in the party whom she could trust. “Pray that he does not die because it would be very bad for you,” a friend, Dr. Felipe Carneado (whom she called “un amigo del alma,” a friend of my soul) advised her. As it turns out, Dr. Carneado passed away, and his widow asked if Orestes would give the devotion and pray at the funeral. At this time in Cuba, such a public display of faith was a risk. Orestes asked Ofelia, “What do I do, Ofelia? What do I do?” “Have the devotional,” Ofelia replies. “She wants you to say a prayer; please do it.”

“It means that,” Ofelia said, “we never saw her as an enemy, but as a friend. Things change completely when you see the other as a friend. I believe that is what Jesus Christ wanted to teach us and we never understood. Love our enemies, says the Sermon on the Mount: love those you consider enemies. Love them.”

They state that these relationships, as long as it is up to you, are with everyone—with Christians, non-Christians, civil society, those who believe in God, those who don't, people you like and people you don't like. “Ay, qué madre, tengo que lidiar con esa persona”...(“Oh, what a bother, I have to deal with that person.”) These relationships are established broadly, not just with those who think like you, but rather with everyone. In the words of Ofelia, Christians who seeks to align their faith and relationships, “do not have the right to have an enemy.”

At another time, she formed a friendship with a lady there who was very powerful in the town of Jovellanos, with around 500 people under her direction. One day she told Ophelia she wanted to be baptized. She had promised God that if he saved her sister from her sickness, she would be baptized. She wanted to fulfill her promise. It would be unallowable to conduct the baptism in or near the National Assembly, and Ofelia risked much by agreeing to help. She called a pastor friend in Jovellanos and asked her to see Cari and baptize her. Several months later, Cari looks at her from the main floor of the National Assembly and calls, “Ophelia”—all the way to the balcony. “Shhh, shhh,” she says. “Ya.” Ya means, “it happened,” as in “ya pasó.” The two never spoke about it again. Though trivial, these exchanges took place at a time in Cuban history when many were jailed (or worse) for demonstrations of faith, particularly among public leaders.

Intersubjectivity

The theory of mutuality is a framework in which people “seek and hold” the intersubjective cognitive and affective experiences of one another. In simpler terms, people try to understand how others are thinking and feeling in a relationship. Once they understand, they keep these thoughts and feelings central to how they relate to the other person. Mutuality is distinct from empathy in that it describes an ongoing approach to relationships that considers the cognitive and affective experience of the other (Jordan, 1986). It is the ongoing aspect, the habitual approach that distinguishes it from empathy, along with the fact that mutuality is inherently multi-directional. That is to say that mutuality must, by its nature, be mutual. The more an ongoing empathetic relational approach is one sided, the less it embodies mutuality. The relationships between Cubans at Campo Amor illustrate major tenets of mutuality and relational-cultural theory. I

observed people at Campo Amor making efforts to increase their capacity for relational resilience, mutual empathy, and mutual empowerment as well as naming its importance repeatedly in interviews (Jordan, 2013) . The people of Campo Amor prioritized relational aspects over task performance, although their projects were simultaneously ambitious. They performed the organization's tasks with competence, but they did not explain the meanings of their community in terms of achievements.

Rather, the organization appears to embody Benjamin's (2008) framing, that some organizations accomplish tasks in order to build relationships. The process of relating at Campo Amor was seen as inherently valuable. For example, a local teacher gave private English lessons in the evenings. Students at this school often were recruited to come to Campo Amor to serve as interpreters. The more time I spent at Campo Amor, the more aware I became that often these Cubans were the newcomers to the group, and I watched their interaction patterns change as they became more comfortable. At first, they gave the customary greetings, then waited alone. Many times, these students did not share the faith of others at the organization. When they translated during activities, they were unfamiliar with Bible passages, or unable to translate the cultural meanings of Christian teachings. The leaders at Campo Amor were not ruffled by this, but attempted to put the interpreters at ease, both while they were interpreting and also interpersonally in less formal moments. As the interpreters grew more comfortable, they improved in their own confidence, and also felt at ease asking their fellow Cubans for help, creating a discursive interpretation during programs and services. This culture of learning was thus threefold: interpreters were learning to trust and form part of the Campo Amor group, they were learning the skill of interpreting English according to contextual meanings, and they were

familiarizing themselves with Christian teachings and idioms. This scenario was repeated several times a day across groups completing tasks with Campo Amor. The relational approach to new interpreters likewise helped bridge to relationships with the visiting North Americans, who were working to communicate and form trust with their Cuban counterparts.

Next, there was evidence that people were welcome to bring more of their authentic selves into the organization (Jordan, 2018). For example, Raúl, a baseball coach in the organization, began as a coach but did not participate in any of the other activities of the community. He had no previous relationships there, and many times would wait outside by the street when his baseball team would enter into Campo Amor's headquarters to rest, eat or participate in another activity. His growing relationship both with individuals at the organization and identification with the organization itself, over years, reflected Jordan's comment that, "The ability to represent oneself as fully as possible in relationships and be responded to with empathy contributes to mutual growth and well-being" (Jordan, 2018, p. 29).

For these relationships to foster growth, though honest, they must also anticipate the possible impact on the other person, known as anticipatory empathy. Complete honesty without regard for how it affects the other is not helpful or desirable. As people get to know one another, anticipatory empathy is replaced by accurate empathy (Jordan, 2018).

Not surprising for a collectivist environment, members of Campo Amor celebrate group belonging. This may indeed be a halo effect, as Eduardo chose only leaders and committed group members to participate in these interviews, so perhaps dissenting voices

were excluded. However, those with whom I did speak mentioned their interdependence, need for help from others, and enjoyment of being in relationships with others repeatedly. As Jordan writes, there was a “movement toward mutuality rather than separation” to characterize mature functioning. It appeared that many people had the opportunity to grow and benefit from the organization, and that the development of the individuals and community did not flow in one direction. Particularly those who were involved in the house church leadership seemed to benefit even as they contributed. Those who worked as staff in the guest house had fewer opportunities to interact relationally, as they were more devoted to completing the management tasks.

Mutuality as an Adaptive Preference

Critical perspectives on Campo Amor’s relational focus also lend insight. First, it is important to understand that Cubans are not free to travel. Not only can they not travel outside of the country, but they are limited in their mobility within their own country, a factor of their reality that spurs meanings for their relationships. Cuban artist Yoan Capote created a 26-foot-wide seascape to illustrate the Cubans’ relationship to their geography and inability to travel freely. A massive, gorgeous piece, made up of 500,000 fish hooks, it represents the “seductiveness of these dreams, but at the same time the danger and isolation” (Capote, 2019). See Figures 17 and 18.

Figure 17. *Modern art: Yoan Capote, Muro de Mar (Seawall), 2017*



Figure 18. *Modern art: Yoan Capote, Fishhooks, 2017*



Likewise, Cubans are not free, in large part, to creatively imagine their own futures. In market terms, nearly all assets of the country are owned by the state. Opportunities for education exist, but the most fruitful opportunities for subsequent employment are within government administrative positions. Any other vocation, including doctors and lawyers, results in salaries of up to \$40 per month, often with years of required volunteer service abroad (Acevedo & Acevedo, 2014). In short, Cubans may engage deeply in relationships in certain ways consciously or unconsciously due to a lack of freedom. In her work exploring human capabilities, ethicist and political philosopher Martha Nussbaum refers to adaptive preferences. The idea is that as many communities have been subject to sustained under-development, oppression or trauma, they are unable to construct a vision for their life and their community beyond their current reality (1997). International development scholar Bryant Myers likewise described people who are accustomed to suffering as assuming a poverty of being; they internalize much of the injustice surrounding them (2011).

Whether caused by love or necessity, Cubans highly value mutuality in relationships. This orientation goes beyond moments of empathy; rather, it guides their approaches to a variety of activities within their philanthropic faith communities in an ongoing way. Mutuality in relationships requires work, in many ways like other tasks associated with these organizations. This work includes navigating conflict, being sincere and authentic in environments when it may feel safer to disengage, and develop anticipatory empathy into accurate empathy as individuals grow to know one another.

Mutuality as a Habitual Approach

Living One's Way into Patterns of Thought, Versus Thinking One's Way into Patterns of Life

Finally, Cuban Christians I interviewed emphasized mutuality as a theology of life. It is not only a question of the intellect: it is a question of the heart, of life, and of dedication. In the past, Christian care for one another was acted out through charity—literally love, but put into practice as alms for the poor and needy. Liberation theology, however, framed generosity in terms of solidarity, as Daniel said, “because we all need each other.” As such, Christian service is not a gesture of the one above toward the one below, which is humiliating. It is sharing something of the one who gives and receives; his gesture of giving leads him to gratify himself. The Christian gives out of gratitude, because he feels grateful, graceful, blessed. These feelings enable him to give even to points of personal sacrifice.

Vocations that Further Mutuality

Others agreed that giving is not so much giving something, as giving of someone; it involves the whole person, it involves the whole being. Giving makes one feel full, in fullness. Not out of pride, “Because God does not tolerate the proud,” said Santiago, “but to give is to share in humility what one has, knowing that no one is completely empty.” Santiago shared the example from the Bible of a widow from the town Sarepta, who shared all that she had, yet never ran out of food and water. Her act of generosity in poverty brought about miracles of abundance, a paradox for modern reason and economics.

One interviewee, Puri, talked similarly about how a life lived in Christian community has formed her vocation. She generously contributes time and expertise as Campo Amor's chef, and among other aspects, is particularly thankful to be a part of a community where medicine is available, because of previous life experiences. Her husband died when she was a young wife. Then a few years later her children contracted dengue fever, and she could not access antibiotics for her children. Her daughter healed, but her son was left mentally like a child. Now in his fifties, he wandered in and out of the campus of Campo Amor, unable to speak intelligible words, looking for his mother to provide food for him. Puri said she lives on \$200-\$300 a month in retirement. Of this, the government provides \$8 a month in pension. Puri used to be one of Havana's best chefs, first cooking for a bank, feeding 1,200 people lunch every day, then working for the mayor, also providing lunches for his office. Now she feeds the Campo Amor community usually three meals a day, with as many as 75 diners. She takes the bus to Campo Amor and usually arrives before 7 a.m. Puri insists that the table be set formally for her meals, so guests eat on formal tablecloths with food served in ornate, albeit mismatched dishes. When the youth spent a week in theological training at the Matanzas seminary, they lamented missing out on Puri's cooking. "*¡Mádanos, Puri!*" they said when Pastor Eduardo visited. "Send Puri!" Because of her vocation, the work of Campo Amor advances in both relationship and tasks, and reciprocally her life benefits as well.

Spiritual Practices

This theology of life results in habits, or spiritual practices, that happen regularly and form the thoughts of participants. Spiritual practices often refer to the study of sacred texts, meditation, or prayer, practices of thought that influence behavior. One interviewee

discussed a physical act he considered a spiritual practice, sharing food daily, what he called “crossing beans.” He said he crossed beans with his neighbor every afternoon. Cuban interviewees generally lamented the waste of food. “Here in this house, no food is thrown away. It is not thrown away, we do not throw out food.” Rather, at 6 p.m. any leftover food was collected and shared with neighbors. “Why throw away the food, if there are people in the neighborhood in need?”

The idea of living in an open way was also part of this theology of life, seen as a spiritual practice. Interviewees cited a story of Jesus when he asked someone, where do you live? They answered, come and see, and Jesus spent the day with them. Similarly, even for those who have no beans to cross, the spiritual practices of mutuality can be that of hospitality or simple accompaniment. Santiago emphasized that a consciousness of mutuality helps us see God in others, which “carries us to the borders of our own hearts.” Oftentimes these people are among the most common, for example children, family, or people who normally surround us. More than tolerating them, this consciousness provides an opportunity to contemplate what is being expressed with their lives.

Conclusion

The Cuban Christians I interviewed described mutuality as a commitment to sharing; intersubjective relationships which continually enter into and care about the thoughts and feelings of one another; and the habitual approach that emphasized living one’s way into patterns of thought. Based on their accounts, solidarity was the prize, the goal of their life together in community. Catholic missiologist Robert Schreiter explained solidarity as stepping into another’s reality and standing alongside one another for the

sake of liberation (2001). Based on this interpretation, these relationships also approached mutuality.

Be it out of their experience in a Socialist society, their shared faith, or the opportunity to live out their vocation, interviewees at Campo Amor consistently expressed that care for those on the inside and outside of their religion, was both a duty and delight of the Christian faith. The customary divide between givers and beneficiaries was not a social norm at Campo Amor. Rather, their giving systems were patterned after mutuality, even considering the inconsistencies and conflicts of human relationships therein, some of which I observed and many I, of course, did not. Though as an outsider I was just beginning to build trust, and could not begin to account for the sincerity of their motives, the stories from this community were saturated with tales of love for one another and the processes of learning to understand one another more.

CHAPTER FIVE: MUTUALITY BETWEEN CUBANS AND NORTH AMERICANS, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

As I note throughout, I am defining mutuality in this study as a relational framework, one where the aim is to “hold” the experience of another person or people in order to understand how they think and feel, not just for a moment, but in an ongoing expanding consciousness and orientation toward one another. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Cuban Christians I interviewed described mutuality as a commitment to sharing; intersubjective relationships which continually enter into and care about the thoughts and feelings of one another; and the habitual approach that emphasized living one’s way into patterns of thought. These descriptions paint a contrast to relationships that primarily use one another instrumentally (Jordan, 1986). In the context of cross-cultural, faith-based, philanthropic partnerships, North Americans’ (N.A.) instincts to use partners could lead to forms of paternalism, insistence on business models of organizational practice, and the centering of accomplishments in a partnership. For Cubans, these impulses could lead to viewing N.A. partners as monolithic oppressors, treating them as a funding resource, or idealizing them for recent historical Christian influence.

This study takes the interpersonal and cultural concepts of mutuality and uses them to explore what happens when groups of people create and participate in partnerships—particularly partnerships for philanthropic purposes across cultural differences. In this chapter, we examine cross-cultural partners from the sample of North Americans and Cubans who are partnering in the work of Campo Amor. These are their experiences and meanings, with a centering of the Cuban point of view.

Meanings of Partnership across North American Groups

One evening I took part in a semi-formal worship and conversation time between two church groups who had come to Campo Amor. They didn't know one another previously, but from spending the week at the same site, they had begun to talk, and wanted to spend a bit of time together. They sat in a circle of wooden chairs, in the overly air-conditioned room that Campo Amor reserved for the N.A. partners. They sang two praise songs together to start the time.

The song leader asked, how can we pray for you? Now, and when we go back? One leader, Alex, replied, "Well you can pray...my prayer from the beginning of preparing for this trip will be that it is just the start of something that will continue for a long time. That our team will understand more deeply how to take their place in God's creation."

"And vice versa? How can we pray for you?" said Alex.

One of the ladies from the other group spoke up: "We are entering into a time of transition. Our pastor is retiring and we have a new pastor stepping in." "Do you know who it is?" Alex asked. The worship leader raised his hand.

The other group leader, Matt, talked about their trip's purpose: conducting leadership trainings and children's events at night. The conversation continued to have an accomplishment-centered theme, including quips made to Alex about pastors who only had churches of 10,000 and hadn't published books, versus Alex's church of 25,000 with a celebrity author as pastor.

I witnessed a few more accomplishment-centered encounters. One gentleman I met introduced himself as Pastor Tim, and immediately told me he had seven people

accept Jesus that day during their work. Later that week he insisted people wait outside in the July Cuban heat while people heard a presentation of the gospel before they could visit the community health clinic. Eduardo meanwhile was supplying the elderly with chairs outside, and giving everyone water and mayonnaise sandwiches (and also took my son to the emergency room as he had contracted a stomach bug overnight.) Later, however, I interviewed pastor Tim and heard more nuance to his story. He had been traveling to Cuba for decades, when there was no guest home, and a religious visa was one of the few ways U.S. visitors could get into the country. In the interview he described his relationship in familial terms, focusing on the joy it had been to return several times a year for years, feeling like a grandpa to some as he “watched his friends grow up.”

Though I did see accomplishment-centered interactions, they were not prevalent in my observations when Cubans and North Americans interacted. More often, I saw groups interacting in more informal ways, working to support and encourage the local leaders. N.A. partners were a bit of a spectacle in the groups they visited; their presence added curiosity that caused new or different conversations and experiences. For example, the group that came with Alex from Southeast Christian Church made friends with a young house church congregation that actually met in a metal shack. They called it “the garage.” Many of the members were also on Campo Amor’s baseball team, and the house pastor was their baseball coach. These youths wanted to be in the garage day and night to hang out, play games, and be together.

The Southeast team took to this culture and played game after game with the youth. They demurely gave leaders of the garage church chalk, balls and other items to facilitate the activities. As I followed them around for a few days, I watched them make

friends—trying out salsa dancing during worship, even as they blundered and blushed, praying for the interpreters then hugging and encouraging them, sharing their stories and listening to those of others. I found out later they also sent funding and crates of supplies via ships to the organization, but were careful to keep it “off-stage” so that few knew what was given between the partners. As Bakker said,

Eschewing one-directional sending of resources and human capital from so-called old to new churches, Christians from around the world are attempting to fashion a new breed of contemporary transnational relationships that blur the lines between sender and receiver, donor and dependent. (2013, p. 23)

Bakker relates that short-term mission models differ philosophically and practically. Some congregations engage in one trip. These trips may provide a faith renewal of the North Americans, and encouragement for the national partners. There also was a lack of accountability and “organizational support to follow through with the relationships that were started.” Others aim for a longer-term relationship, often called a sister church, with ongoing support, program funds built into the church’s mission budget and repeated trips over years and sometimes decades (2013, p. 49).

The Beginnings of Cross-Cultural Mutuality

For mutuality to begin, there is an interest in the experiences and inner state of the other. For example, Tatiana described her relationships with people in the church, as they got to know one another. We became a family, she said. “We are interested in the other as if it were ourselves.” She said as for those who come from the United States (calling them brothers), “we welcome them into this world of ours.”

Relationships at Campo Amor often begin when the groups arrive from the airport, visiting for the first time. Often they are tired from the journey, unaccustomed to the heat, and wary of the new environment. Lucy mentioned that especially at the

beginning, when the visitors are not familiar with the Cubans, they appear to be “a little unwell.” “We want them to feel their best—from the food, the cleanliness, the accommodations, as if they were at home. Right away we try to get them involved with us,” and treat them as though they are already a part of the family. When you come here, she said (speaking to me as a representative of the North Americans) we say some little words that we know in English, like "Hello" or "Hi", or if not, "What's your name?" We hug them without knowing them [laughs]. We don't know how they will react, but so far they have reacted very well, they adapt very well to us.” Another agreed, “Sometimes they arrive and they are a little more serious or they are not very talkative, but when they leave here they are another Cuban. They talk, laugh, play...they are one more family member. This is how we do with all who come.”

It may take time to develop mutuality, Tatiana said, as you may not know the person and it is difficult for you to get there. Once that barrier of knowing each other is broken, mutuality begins there. Luis said it might not happen on the first or second day, but by the third day, they begin to relate very well. “It's what happens, it's like that. Days go by, then we are getting to know each other and we are already starting to make a friendship. At least I want you to understand me.”

The process starts, Ingrid mentioned, by taking the initiative to meet people. This means going to their houses, knocking on the door and talking to them. Raúl agreed that everything starts with creating friendship, taking the time to relate to one another. Norma emphasized the importance of listening to one another's stories, that Cubans and North Americans always share their life and faith stories with one another, and as such end up being brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus. Julio agreed, saying, “...they listen to a

different reality.” Likewise, Juan Carlos stated that communication is what forms the relationship. Though his language skills in English are just growing, he adapts to the North Americans, speaking whichever language they prefer.

Luis mentioned that one of his friends from the U.S. is pregnant, and they talk often on Facebook. She asks him to pray for her, as she is close to her due date. Luis said he says the same thing he says to everyone, how are you? And things like that—especially “tranquila” (be calm). The phrase was one I heard often as Cubans were describing their interactions. Tranquila or tranquilo seemed to be used as a reassurance, similar to “everything will be all right” more than the more direct translation or popular English command, “calm down.” Another interviewee described the interactions like this:

They blend in, talk and tell us about their family, their children, their grandchildren, their jobs, just as we share with them, as always. They make beautiful prayers for us, we for them. Provided that our Lord takes care of us all, that he gives us love, that he gives us meekness to continue living. It is a situation that I think is beautiful, the union is beautiful.

Repeatedly, what I observed at Campo Amor was warmth, kind hospitality, friendship and Christian collaboration. One of the tensions for me throughout this project has been grappling with the financial nature of this work. The friendships also made for very good business. What was the primary intent of the exchange? Could friendship and good business sincerely integrate in a Christian organization? The average visitor to Campo Amor was paying \$80 a day for food, lodging and transportation in order to participate in the work. Meanwhile, high-level paying jobs in Cuba such as a doctor or lawyer earned \$40 a month. Scholars of resource dependency might describe Campo Amor’s organizational structure and culture as one designed to reduce environmental uncertainty by creating interorganizational partnerships (Guo & Acar, 2005). That is,

Campo Amor may engage in partnerships to secure the necessary support to operate in a difficult political and economic environment.

While this may be true at a basic level in this case, scholars of partnerships in other countries point to deeper cultural understandings of the role of money in partnerships and friendships. Unlike North America and other affluent places, to be a friend and partner inherently includes financial interdependence. Mary Lederleitner, former accountant consultant for international missions and now scholar of World Christianity explained that relatively few places in the world share a Western or North American view of finances and dependency. She once asked an African friend about dependency in partnership. Her friend refuted the very concept, replying,

“Mary, why do you Americans act like because you are providing the money, you are bringing the most valuable thing and you should be able to call the shots? Look at me! Say I am willing to take my family and endure the dangers and the hardships of living in a slum in Nairobi...My family is in danger. My health is in danger. Daily I work exceedingly long hours. But my body has a natural resistance to malaria so I am better equipped than you to serve in that place. I also know the language and the culture, so I can experience fruitful outcomes in ministry more quickly. Why, in light of all these contributions, is money viewed as the most valuable resource? I think the person putting their life and the lives of their family members on the line should be valued equally if not more!” (Lederleitner, 2010, p. 126)

In his book *African Friends and Money Matters*, scholar David Maranz further explained that while most Westerners distrust friendships that regularly include financial or material exchange, being involved financially and materially with friends and relatives is a very important element of social interaction. In these situations, people derive satisfaction when others ask them for help, whether or not they are able to provide it. In fact, it is highly normative for people to ask friends and relatives for help. Whereas with Westerners, particularly those of the middle class, to ask for money for a material object

is considered an imposition. People are expected to provide for their own personal needs (Maranz, 2001). Like the communities studied in Maranz's book, Cuban members of Campo Amor gave and accepted help with their North American partners in a reciprocal system, with the gifts being both material and non-material. Likewise, all material donations to Campo Amor were given to Eduardo, and he saw to the distribution of the items. At one point I saw the storeroom for the clinic and ministry, a room full of dry food items, toiletries, basic medicines, baseball supplies, blankets and sheets, eyeglasses, and other various supplies. Had these items been distributed between individuals, or done in an "on stage" way, the culture of relationships at Campo Amor could have been very different (Adler & Offutt, 2017). There were some exceptions to the fairness of the system, such as when Dave came from North Carolina with suitcases filled with shoes, and people knew he would do so, and flocked to him asking for a pair. Also, undoubtedly, there were other underground philanthropic exchanges at Campo Amor.

Finding Commonalities and Understanding Differences

If mutuality is found when one deconstructs differences, one will either find commonalities or further understand differences. Interviewees discussed both what is shared and the differences between Cuban and N.A. partners.

First, they mentioned a shared sense of purpose and faith through the Christian religion. "We are all brothers for the same thing," Luis said. Another mentioned that they share the love that God gives them, which they then share as mercy with others, and in one way or another share the word of God with them, according to what is important in the current moment. Whatever is needed—a prayer, a word of encouragement or just a visit—both the Cubans and N.A. partners join to do this work in the community when

they are together. One interviewee said this reflected Paul's call that Christians be in unity with one another, that all need one another to give something to each other. "We don't have money," Ada said, "but we do have a lot of prayer." She listed her N.A. friends: "I pray for you, I pray for David, I pray for Isaac...for Steve, for crazy Tony..."

Ingrid reflected on their shared humanity, that all have likes and dislikes. She said we want our children to be safe. We all have problems, we all need love and peace. Finally, she said that all need God, and when one has a problem, they pray. It is the same if you live in the United States, Africa, Italy...it doesn't matter. If you are rich, poor, black, white, it doesn't matter. Julio's comments were similar. He said when people come here they start to see a different kind of life, and at the same time realize we all have the same types of problems, the same yearnings for God. Santiago added that the belonging and unity is not just symbolic, or even a sharing of values. Rather, Christians "move one another" to do something, to contribute something, to move toward goals, and it is that movement that is shared—the walking together.

Cuban interviewees noticed several differences about the North Americans who came to Camp Amor, particularly regarding their approach to relationships, both with fellow North Americans and with Cubans. Interviewees repeatedly reflected on the relational aspects of N.A.s, stating they were "a little cooler," "more closed" or "more distant." Elsie said, "They are always a little further, and more serious." Ingrid had heard that in the United States, "*no se relacionan mucho*" (They don't relate to one another much.)

The Cubans described themselves as more friendly, more sociable. "We try to see each other as much as possible," Raul said. Many mentioned the normal culture of

dancing and singing. Elsie said, “We are expressive, we are affectionate, spontaneous, we give what we have, we greet each other with hugs, kisses, we are like that. We are freer.” Lucy agreed that she saw differences. Even when Cubans don’t know one another, she said, “we are always building trust. We accompany one another, we protect each other, we help each other.”

When N.A. partners come and see the greetings with hugs and kisses, they often back off. They are not used to these greetings and see them as very strange. “Sometimes they shake your hand, sometimes not. Nothing but a dry hello or hi,” said Elsie. Cubans know their neighbors. Juan Carlos said they know who lives in the whole neighborhood, and many North Americans don’t. Many times they may live near a Christian brother or sister, and do not know they live nearby. Julio mentioned that he wished N.A. visitors knew a bit more about the background, lifestyle and different religions of Cubans, which can lead to their different points of view.

Similarly, professors at the seminary commented that leaders from Europe can be in their office all day without leaving. Their communication is via email, not face to face. “Here in Cuba if you don't talk to people, if you don't relate to people, if you don't talk to them, your ministry is finished. You serve for nothing, you do not serve as a pastor, or as a leader, or as a boss, or as anything, you are useless,” said one. “Look, please get out of the office.” You had to ask for an interview to see him. “Get out of the office, that's Europe, we are not in Europe here, you have to walk in this yard, you have to talk to the workers, you have to ask them how their family is, you have to know how they are, this is Cuba.” They commented that here, in Cuba, if you do not relate to people, you are lost, there is no mutuality possible.

The Cubans said that they heard the North American churches have many people, thousands of members, and that it is more difficult for the pastor to know “even half” of the people. Maybe the pastor does not know the needs of the families in the church, because there are so many. Here there are fewer members, and the pastors greet everyone—gives them a kiss and a handshake. There is more union, more is known, the pastors know the needs of each person. Others heard that people in the same church do not know one another, and when they leave the church they go straight to the car without taking time to talk.

Cubans mentioned that despite their problems, they have a great blessing—that they are a very humble and supportive people, and they help one another. “So today if I do not have bread, the neighbor gives it to me; that if today my son cannot go to school because he is missing or someone needs to pick him up for me, that person goes to school, picks him up, brings him to my home,” Elsie said. The shared life within the church is the same, it isn’t just “pronouncing ourselves beautiful in a service and giving good preaching.”

According to those interviewed, they also put that preaching into practice. Elsie said that she didn’t think it was necessary to go to a large temple to worship God. “I do not think it is necessary for there to be thousands of people to praise, to feel the love of God.” She said it was as simple as the Christian scriptures said: “Where there are two or three people gathered in His name, He is in our midst.” She wants North American partners to understand that there truly is a people in Cuba who loves others directly in the community, carrying on the legacy of Jesus Christ, by working and helping others.

Taken together, this type of experience may be one reason why coming to Campo Amor has become so popular for N.A. partners. It may be why they feel good when they come to Cuba. As one Cuban interviewee speculated, when they visit, the North Americans say, “Here, it is different, completely different. Here, look at how they hug each other, how they kiss, how they love each other: it is completely different, I have heard. That is why I feel the difference.”

One interviewee, Santiago, a former lawyer, now pastor and graduate student of theology, likened the physical distance of North Americans to a sense of determinism. He stated that solidarity “in every step” counters determinism, which is the idea that the world’s dealings are “predetermined” and there is little use in engaging in the everyday acts of religion, as human action matters little, anyway. On the contrary, Santiago states, just as Jesus was resurrected, there is a resurrection when people have love for one another, when they shake hands or collaborate. When you love, Santiago said, there is life. He said he has seen very old people in a wheelchair still clinging to this type of life. The opposite of that is death, when there is selfishness, envy, lack of reciprocity, lack of unity. There is determinism, he said, when we do not know one another, when we do not care for the welfare of others. When we leave a trip and say, “If we don’t see each other here, we’ll see each other in heaven.”

Will we be dissatisfied with this land? Will man be dissatisfied with this? Because I am sure that when there is hope, we choose life and we reinforce that, so that all the vital signs, all the signs of life are given in the human. And that is resurrection, too. And that's what Christ came to give. Therefore, solidarity, love, mutual help, understanding, the affectivity of telling you not only “God bless you” as a goodbye, but like “God continue to bless you, always smile at you, come home, give you a hug.” Sometimes, for cultural reasons, we don't hug each other, we don't get that close. Okay, you can understand there are formalities, there is order. But when you have a feeling for people...I think each of those moments is

resurrection and you have to think about that. You have to think about that, too. God's prophecies are of alternatives; choose life. There is life and death. Choose life. You chose life when you chose to love, you chose the fruit, you chose to forgive. That is life, that is resurrection. I think that if I could transmit to some brothers in the United States, it would be that, determinism is not good. You have to give this life a meaning.

Though greetings may at first seem trivial, like Santiago, scholars throughout history have ascribed deep meanings to the acts and the role they play in building relationships. This may be a particular strength of the Cuban culture, a practice that is less prevalent among North Americans, yet in my observations, they adapt to the practice quickly. North Americans may touch, albeit in more symbolic ways. Much scholarship surrounds the influence of habits in people's lives, both for good and for ill; ancient and modern theory testifies to the development of virtue through momentary micro-interactions. The global experience of COVID has highlighted the importance of physical connection—the human warmth of touching, hugging and greeting one another face to face takes on much deeper meaning. In the case of Campo Amor, these greetings may serve as micro-affirmations, religious rites of inclusion, and gifts of affection.

Micro-Affirmations – Greetings as Messages of Inclusion and Recognition

Rowe (2008) recommends organizational leaders pay attention to small things, in particular in cross-cultural environments where certain groups may feel excluded and inequities exist. Micro-aggressions are brief and commonplace. They communicate hostile and exclusive attitudes through behaviors, words and environments. These aggressions can take place both through committing acts, as well as omitting cultural acts that serve as a welcome. On the contrary, micro-affirmations are “apparently small acts, which are often ephemeral and hard to see, events that are public and private, often unconscious but very effective, which occur wherever people wish to help others to

succeed” (Rowe, 2008, p. 46). They differ from general acts of kindness and empathy as they “recognize and validate individuals in ways that empower them to thrive in an environment where they may feel unwelcome or invisible,” (Molina et al., 2019, p. 786). General kindness or empathy does not necessarily take into account cultural contexts, relationships, social norms and sense of belonging and their effect on the attitudes and behaviors in a certain context. Micro-affirmations recognize these influences and provide appropriately affirming supports. In the context of education, George Kuh described student success as “the product of thousands of small gestures extended on a daily basis by caring, supportive educators sprinkled throughout the institution who enact a talent development philosophy” (Kuh, 2012).

Micro-affirmations may help groups both pursue mutuality and successfully collaborate for several reasons: appropriately affirming a person is likely to help him or her do well, as well as enjoy the process of collaboration; the effect can be widespread, with every micro-affirmation, the culture of micro-affirmation may multiply. This can be particularly true when it is modeled by a host culture, the ones who are looked upon to be cultural guides and authorities.

Micro-affirmations can also create positive, collaborative habits, sometimes called virtues, that can begin to block negative, isolating feelings of fear when in a new culture or interacting with an unknown language. Putting forth a consistent and appropriate effort to develop these may develop neural pathways that subconsciously reinforce themselves and block other detrimental thoughts and behaviors, making each affirming interaction more and more likely. Though micro-affirmation need not always be physical, greetings are particularly suited to this type of habit formation, as they are conducted so frequently,

particularly in Latin America, where an individual hello and goodbye, each time accompanied with a small cheek kiss or embrace is the social norm, for every person, every time they enter or leave the presence of one another. The mechanical acts of affirmation and affection are not trivial in social affairs; in fact, practiced behaviors may shape attitudes about culture as much or more than attitudes will shape behaviors. “When micro-affirmations become frequent, intentional practices, they communicate to others that they are welcome, visible, and capable of performing” (Molina et al., 2019, p. 786).

Holy Kisses – Greetings as Religious Rites Symbolizing Social Boundaries

Another explanation for the greetings at Camp Amor is the idea of greetings as part of a religious ritual. Throughout history, the kiss has been a strong symbol for faith-based communities. Christian communities used rituals like kisses to build familial and friendship roles in Greco-Roman culture. Scholars found that the kiss was among the most prevalent practices of early Christianity. Until around AD 500 Christians regularly kissed one another during a variety of rituals including prayer, baptisms, and the celebration of communion, among others. It was also a common greeting to begin and end social encounters (Penn, 2005).

Like the practices of greeting one another with kisses and hugs at Campo Amor, the early Christians used the ritual of kissing to establish an in-group, both strengthening the bond between themselves, as well as extending a welcome to those who were new, traversing the social boundary. Penn draws from ideas of Mary Douglas regarding boundary formation, Pierre Bourdieu on distinction among groups, and Catherine Bell on ritual formation (Penn, 2005). He states these boundaries regarding who is in and out can be ambiguous, and thus can create conflict. Rituals are used to create, reinforce and re-

create these social boundaries. Doing so establishes a reality unique to the group (Penn, 2005). In some ways, the time North Americans spent in Cuba was filled with constructing networks across social boundaries – everything from the symbolic gift of their presence, to the Cubans’ hospitality and welcome to join them in their community programs, to these small micro-affections and greetings.

Christians consciously or unconsciously may use a kiss as a symbol. Popular thought in Greco-Roman culture was the kiss as the exchange of souls. Christians used this as a pneumatological symbol—the passing of the Holy Spirit between members, reinforcing the concept of Christians together in a spiritual family, as physical families commonly participated in kisses as greetings throughout cultures. It also was used to express solidarity and equal standing before one another and finally a gesture to promote reconciliation with any difficulties and to restore peace where conflict has existed (Kalantzis, 2007; Penn, 2005). This concept, applied to the phenomenon of kisses as a greeting at Campo Amor, both deepen the connection of Cubans to one another, as well as symbolically welcome those from other countries into the group. It may be an expression of equality; we all receive the same welcome, a communication that is simple enough to not be strained through lack of a shared language. The fact that it takes place first, before other interactions, and last, at the end of the daily interactions, brackets all other interactions within the symbol of group cohesion, the level of familiarity with one another notwithstanding.

Non-Material Gifts

Gift exchange theory discusses the importance of maintaining equality in the gift exchange process. Returning to Mauss’ gift exchange theory, he asserts that gifts are

simultaneously free and unconstrained and at the same time binding and self-interested. Any gift, Mauss claims, creates an obligation of reciprocity. Over the years, many have theorized how this exchange occurs (2002). Dovetailing into the conversation, Bryant Myers discusses different forms of poverty. While foreign partners may exhibit symptoms of material poverty, N.A. partners may exhibit relational poverty; they are not engaged in a positive community with those whom they can trust. They feel alone in the world. When partners come together, they both have needs and also something of value to offer (2011). Adler and Offutt refer to direct transnational gift-giving relationships that involve “nonmarket, face-to-face interactions between persons who are otherwise separated by international geographic distance, organized by organizations to transfer material, provide volunteer labor, and develop relationships” (2017, p. 601). It theorizes how these relationships work when they are characterized by distance, loose connection, status difference, and strong mechanisms of obligation. Exchanging gifts binds people together, and the gifts do not have to be material to do so. Without a repertoire that acknowledges non-material gifts, the giving would reify inequalities, loosen ties and weaken their emerging solidarity, creating clientelism instead of solidarity. Instead, participants establish a symbolic equivalence to downplay the material inequality. The warm welcomes from Cubans may serve as a rare gift for N.A. partners, a marked difference from their own cultures. These contribute to, as noted by theorists, the spiritualization of reception, which places great value on the enlightening experiences of being in a foreign country and engaging with co-religionists of a different culture. Many report this is a gift of great value to them and simultaneously balances the indebtedness (Adler & Offutt, 2017). For the Cuban church, this idea plays strongly into their self-

concept, Cubanismo, wherein they are open to participation but eschew dependency as an ideal, even when, from a financial standpoint, there is resource dependence. On the other hand, perhaps an approach to helping that overemphasizes the importance of material gifts could crowd out other gifts of value, despite that they would have been more appropriate in certain contexts—gifts like affection, presence, and empathy.

Examples of Collaboration

While greetings and social aspects may give important symbolic meanings to the partnerships, North American partners who come to visit also engage in a variety of activities, depending on their interests and skills. Raúl spoke of the groups he collaborated with: they participated in church services in his home, visited neighbors for evangelism and prayer, and played baseball. By far, baseball was the main activity; they often hold camps and tournaments collaboratively when groups come. Raúl said there could be 6-8 groups wanting to play baseball per year, coming for about one week. Additionally, at times leaders of the baseball groups would come to see the area and make plans for future trips.

Groups that come do not focus on one sport, however. Most groups partner with a house church somewhere in the city, and discuss what both the community needs as well as what the partners can provide. Many times they will go to “more difficult” areas, as Elsie described them, and share donations with the house pastor to distribute resources, host children’s programs, and share about the Christian faith, inviting people to attend a church service in someone’s home. Contrary to popular U.S. opinion about evangelism, the Cubans are enthusiastic and proud of “sharing” in this way. One house pastor I accompanied walked through an alley surrounded by five-story apartment buildings and

called out, “Does anyone need prayer today?” and two individuals came out onto their balconies, asking for our group to come into their apartment and pray for them. Finally, many groups participate in activities for children. This consists of inviting children to a park or home, then sharing songs, stories of faith, possibly short skits, games, snacks and crafts with the children. Tatiana mentioned that she sees mutuality with the North American partners when they engage in these activities: “When they go out to the streets to evangelize, there you see, or at home, that they see the sick person or any situation, how they pray, how they put themselves in their place, how at that moment they try to help them however they can. They sit down, they put themselves in the place of the person. There you see it, you see a lot.”

The Cultural Intelligence Necessary for Mutuality: ‘Accurate Empathy’

Santiago commented on the challenge of interpreting between two different cultures, both when the groups are talking to one another and presenting to others. The work is not only the technical aspects of translating, but to connect that thought, that line and help that understanding between precisely two different cultures. “In what way does the Cuban think? How does one learn to ‘think North American’ and to reconcile the two?” he asked.

He refers to the experience as a blessing, both for himself and for the N.A. groups. He gave the example of visiting community members in their homes; when they are welcomed, they sit, talk and interact. He described the experience as dynamic, that they talk of religious themes, but also there is woven in a “deeper” measure of their friendship. They take that connection and experience with them when they return to their country, as well. For himself, Santiago said that it has caused him to develop

professionally as one who works in the religious field, and also to “develop a personal attitude that is greater, higher and more social.” Reflecting on the abilities gained by serving as a leader and translator with the groups, Santiago said, “I think it is an experience that cannot be explained in words; I think there is no greater and more eloquent sermon than that [experience].” Learning to work in a team has caused him to develop what he called an affective capacity. He described this as a conscience that is social and broad, to know and understand what is happening around you, knowing the people—their culture and their individual thoughts. Beyond even that, he said, it takes you to the “borders” where you can learn to dialogue intelligently with other beliefs.

You have to develop it a lot because you have to understand people, you have to know how people think. What are their interests, and your motivations? All that you have to learn. It's not just giving a theological conference, it's not about that. In fact, what makes you able to give rich sermons, what enriches you, precisely, in preaching, is the experience you have with people. The experience that you acquire in that empathy, in that affectivity.

As stated throughout this study, mutual intersubjectivity serves as a lens to understand these perspectives and emphasizes the holding of another’s cognitive and emotional state—an ongoing relational orientation that facilitates momentary empathetic responses. In cross-cultural relationships, the growth toward accurate empathy is both particularly important and challenging. As interviewees stated, little by little, as people spend time together and care about one another as if it were themselves, they can learn more about one another and grow more “in tune” together. The cultural greetings and other symbolic rituals serve to bridge social boundaries and provide a safe baseline for potentially building unique and authentic relationships. On the other hand, if over time repeated interactions do not foster more authentic interactions and unique conversations, it becomes increasingly less likely that such accurate empathy will eventually grow.

Instead, the ritualized aspects of the relationships will be all of its substance, and will fossilize into merely ceremonial interactions, or the relationships will eventually be avoided because of the work required to develop understanding across difference.

In his comments, Santiago exemplifies the theory of cultural intelligence (CQ), a theory about human capacity in cross-cultural settings, both between individuals and organizations. CQ is the ability to make sense of unfamiliar contexts and then blend in. It explains how some outsiders have what seems to be a natural ability to fit into unfamiliar cultures. It enables people to grasp what is alike and different about one another. CQ can be an important tool for those seeking to develop mutuality in cross-cultural environments. It consists of three components: Cognitive CQ notices clues to shared cultural understandings, and considers how to bridge the differences. Physical CQ proves its cultural understanding by the ability to mirror the customs and gestures of others. Finally, emotional/motivational CQ involves learning the new cultures, despite setbacks or failures, and often without tangible reward (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015). In the case of Cubans and North Americans relating at Campo Amor, the more that individuals develop CQ, the more they are able to increase their ongoing consciousness of the cognitive and emotional state of those with whom they are collaborating. In short, they are equipped to be more accurately empathic. In my experiences at Campo Amor, I did notice that some members of the communities were more curious, more motivated to learn about the other community. This often began with wanting to be in the room where the guests or hosts were, presenting oneself, and beginning the greeting rituals. It developed with time sought out and spent together, ongoing curiosity, and the ability to recall names and words in one another's languages. From these basic characteristics, individual

relationships blossom or not according to myriad experiences, proclivities and social strata. To name just one example, the hospitality staff at Campo Amor often learned English and became much closer with the visitors than did other house pastors and members of the congregation. They spent more time with the visitors, had the opportunity to learn the language because of the nature of their work, and received social and material rewards for demonstrating a relational, hospitable nature with the N.A. partners. This mutuality-reinforcing engagement simultaneously improved their individual cultural intelligence.

The Cubans emphasized that the N.A. partners did change during their time in Cuba, especially those who came back often. Interviewees commented that when the days go by or they come back many times, they realize “how we are” and they change. After decades of collaboration with hundreds of people, these changes have created an expectation. People who collaborate with Campo Amor expect to change from the experience.

One interviewee said, “They came one way and then leave another.” While another said, “At first they are amazed because they are not used to those greetings from us. Later, they do get to know each other, and they relax. Then, in the end they also greet the same as us. Well, it's nice because they come in one way, and when time passes they leave changed.” They begin to relate more, they begin to say, “Good morning,” to say hello, they enter the kitchen and then they don't want to leave, “because they feel the love that we feel for each other.” There are few cases when guests remain withdrawn, as Norma said. “There is an attraction.”

Cubans, especially leaders of congregations, framed their comments according to mutual collaboration and learning. When they spoke, they often also framed their comments talking to me as a representative of the N.A. partners, not as a neutral interviewer. For example, Raúl said that for him, across many years, it has been a pride and joy to work with those from N.A., because of how much he has learned from them and perhaps them from him. “As in your case, he said to me directly, “one day your son came, he wanted to learn to play ball and it was taught to him. Now he wants to be a baseball player.” Both my husband Andy and son Theo accompanied me on the first trip, and Raúl asked every time I returned when they would come back as well. His comments in this interview reminded me that I was not a neutral collector of information in this project. Rather, I most likely embodied the tensions I was exploring in the study.

Like Raúl, Elsie also said that like in other relationships, the Cuba-N.A. partners help one another. The people from the United States come here with some things to share—often programs. “You do your part and we do our part, as well.” Raúl said he was grateful to the N.A. partners because up until now it had been a good “fraternization,” a word that in itself reflects complex meanings. One defined it as changing people “into brothers” by fostering social relations with those who are in no way close to one another as if they were family or intimate friends and is often used in military terms to describe close association with members of a potentially hostile group (Carter, 1986).

Government and Interpersonal Relations

With only a few exceptions, the Cubans I interviewed were in passionate agreement that the U.S. and Cuban government relations did not block the interpersonal relations. “On the contrary, we bless the people of the United States. We want all of us to

come together, that we be one family as God wants. Let everyone come here, be calm in this country, enjoy it. It is a very beautiful country [crying], and we welcome you with open arms.” However, one interviewee, Julio, who was very new to Campo Amor, was more speculative. There are some Cubans, he said, that do not understand the American people. That is all he wanted to say on the topic. In general, I noted that the Cubans were guarded about what they said, very positive and uncritical, but especially on the point of inter-government relations. Despite my trips there, I was very much a representative of North America to them, and had not earned enough trust for them to open up about matters that could drastically affect their livelihood. As a result, I had to search further as a researcher in order to find some critical perspectives on these relationships, resulting in the historical perspective in chapter three.

Julio said that despite one’s opinions about a country, getting to know people individually can prove whether or not they are a good person, “from their heart.” He told the story of an N.A. partner, David, who was in Cuba and one day had given someone the sock he was wearing because they needed it. This act impressed Julio. “For me, that kind of guy is a special one, because not everybody can do that,” he said.

Others addressed the fact that many N.A.s may be afraid to come to Cuba because of their socialist government, and negative public opinion surrounding their country. “They are coming little by little,” Lucy said, “despite some situations that are happening.” This interview took place during the U.S. embassy scare in 2019, when Cubans were rumored to have sabotaged the U.S. embassy, causing neurological disorders for the staff there. Those who come understand both the love and the needs that Cubans have, she said. “...we don't hurt anyone [laughs].” Prayer for the end of the

embargo and peace between the countries was a common theme in response to this question. Several emphasized the importance of ongoing prayer for peace and resolution, that it was fundamental to the process of restoring relationships between the countries.

Despite the general resistance to talk about government relations, some did suggest that laws should not prevent mutuality. In such cases, Daniel and Ofelia suggested that Christians “look for alternatives.” For example, the pastor recently baptized a young man in his home, as he did not belong to a particular church but wanted to accept the Christian faith. Baptizing without church membership was forbidden in many institutions. She said she thought for a time and came up with the idea “because, after all, Jesus Christ did many things outside the synagogue and why can't I do them outside the synagogue?” She asked the family not to tell so she would not be accused of subversive activities. She advised: “...if you don't look for alternatives for mutuality, the laws kill you. The churches make laws, society makes laws; through the laws authorities control, well...everything.” “Because the church has become an institution,” Daniel added. “An institution, of course, not a movement,” said Ofelia. Daniel said, “It has been institutionalized. It is not the movement of Jesus.”

Daniel and Ofelia’s comments again invoke Venkatesh’s concept of underground societies (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015). While Venkatesh speaks of the materially poor engaging in underground economic systems, Daniel and Ofelia speak to the necessity of at times engaging clandestine religious options. This means they recommend living out one’s religion according to what they interpret as good, even if it means disobeying institutions and operating underground. Their disposition to do so is not surprising, given that the Cuban experience has been ambivalent regarding how well institutions and their

laws serve the people. What is particularly unique, perhaps, about their experiences, is that like many other Cubans in my study, Daniel and Ofelia are also selective in how they synthesize these practices. Their comments demonstrated that at times, in order to pursue mutuality, one should use the agency afforded by institutions. At other times, as necessary, one should act subversively toward those same institutions. For them, the meta-value of mutuality is also at the center of their religion, with other values such as loyalty to institutions further on the periphery.

Perspectives from North American Partners

Experiences and Meanings of Short-term Mission Trips at Campo Amor

Adler and Offutt theorize short-term mission travel as a modern-day gift-exchange economy, a transnational form of civic relationships (2017). The trend was launched with U.S. religious engagement in humanitarian and development practice after World War II (King, 2019). Though a recent phenomenon in U.S. religious history, the trend has become immense. For example, in 2012, 27 percent of all U.S. congregations sponsored a short-term mission trip abroad (Adler & Ruiz, 2018). Gift exchange theory explains such transnational relationships between groups, especially when these relationships are characterized by “loose connection, distance, status difference, and the absence of strong external obligation mechanisms” (Adler & Offutt, 2018, pp. 601-602).

For millions of people across the world, short-term mission trips are the first or only type of international experience they will have. Groups often meet and prepare for the trip months in advance, discussing everything from trip logistics to differences in culture. In the case of N.A. partners coming to Cuba, at times family and friends are not supportive, especially trips to areas of geo-political strife with the United States. One

person described her family as “shocked” at her plans for the trip, but later decided to support the cost of the trip financially after hearing a sermon on the topic. Fundraising is an inherent part of the cross-cultural mission trip process, as travelers often reach out to their community to help underwrite the costs. In some cases, even individuals who can pay for their own trip were required to ask for financial assistance in order to develop a sense of community-wide partnership in the effort.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, many North Americans participate in short term missions’ motivations to accomplish goals, religious or otherwise. “Well, a lot of people come down here with the notion they’re going to bless these people. We’re going to bring them to God. We’re going to bring them some Bibles. We’re going to bring them some shoes,” explained one interviewee. Another said that people couch their desire for international adventure in humanitarian or religious terms. One pastor said he tried to weed out those who were expecting a “church adventure trip” he said. “So if you’re going to come on this trip...we need to be flexible, and leave your expectations at home.” Others described a similar motivation: “I used to bring people and they used to come out here and buy souvenirs and go home and they never come back. So they just didn’t get it.”

Others focused explicitly on the task of evangelism on the trip.

The most effective way that we can help the church here in Cuba is to come and tell people about Jesus because it’s very powerful from those coming from the U.S. to Cuba, and when they’re asked, “Why did you come from the riches of America to the poverty of Cuba?” And the only reason we have to give is because we believe that we have the good news of Jesus, and it’s worth making that trip to share that. That’s very powerful.

While their experience may include these activities, some emphasized that N.A. groups should not be tied to an agenda on their trip. One interviewee called the need to

know the schedule “the worst thing that happens—we always want to know what we’re going to do today.... It doesn’t matter.” They reflect Benjamin’s notion in community engagement that some tasks are organized in order to build relationships (2008).

...I help the guys a little bit just to get to know the guys that do construction. I just run a wheelbarrow and lay tile, and run a shovel. And it was cool, because I made friends with the construction guys, and they look for me every time they come. And I wanted them to see that I’m not some big business American.

Similarly, others see themselves in a support role to the local leaders of Campo Amor.

One thing we talked about, too, is if I’m coming here, everything we do, we want to; when we leave, we don’t care if they think that we’re fools, as long as the church and Eduardo and Campo Amor are seen in a better light.

Some leaders emphasized long-term partnerships with Campo Amor. One said they avoid organizing missions when the philosophy becomes, “We’ve done the Cuba thing. We’ve done the Costa Rica thing. We’ve done the Brazil thing.” Rather, they relationally invest in one place, seeing it as more for the Cubans’ benefit. “And we think that long-term relationships help them. Our benefit is secondary if not tertiary to everything else that’s being done.” N.A. partners interpreted that returning more than once was meaningful to their Cuban friends, stating they said, “You came back. You didn’t just experience where we live and were done with us. You’re taking your time and resources to come back.” In some ways, this can be viewed as a strategic decision, an approach to purposefully develop mutuality.

They emphasized the benefits that the N.A. visitors did receive, stating their goal is for the participants to commune with God in a new way because of their relationships with Campo Amor and experience in a foreign place. The trips were described as a regular spiritual corrective for N.A. participants, a respite from the stresses of work and

normal life. As much as any other theme for the study, I heard N.A. partners say that when they came to Cuba they felt a renewed sense of faith in God after physically being in such a beautiful place and participating in the community of Campo Amor. “My wife says, ‘Ain’t it about time for you to go on a mission trip?’ She knows I’m stressed. All my staff says, ‘When’s your next mission trip, Boss?’ I’m like, ‘I hear you.’” Participants mentioned being surprised by the stark contrast of the material poverty and the evidence of joy. This was a marked difference from their home culture for some.

In our context, it’s a very affluent area. And so it’s almost the opposite. They have all their physical needs taken care of, and we’re always trying to convince them that the joy in Jesus is greater than their physical material possessions.

Pastors also wanted their parishioners to learn about “using their spiritual gifts” abroad in order to also engage with the community at home. One interviewee said her pastor asked the team to write a story of their faith in order to share with the group. “So, he’s stretching us, which is growth, and that’s why church is important.” The same interviewee felt challenged to imitate the hospitality she saw in Cuba back home. “Every time I open my house it’s a blessing. That should be our goal. I want people to come and feel love in my house. That’s what I felt today.”

Perceptions of Cultural Differences

Interviewees described Cubans as laid back, friendly, without expectations of gifts, and curious about life outside of the island. Another pastor mentioned a sense of envy, that Cuban Christians seem to have a very strong faith that is not dependent on their circumstances, saying there was a lot he would like to learn about Cuban approaches to fellowship. Another reinforced the idea of the Cuban nature being inherently valuable. “You just fall in love with the people. You just want to come back and hang out with

them. They have something, even if they're not Christian, they still have something you don't have."

Cubans were known for their greetings. One interviewee mentioned they do this to feel accepted themselves. One interviewee described the hugging and kissing ritual as bizarre. "But," he said, "if it was up to us, we would just be standing awkwardly separate in the room."

The notion of sharing was emphasized regarding the Cuban culture, as well. N.A. partners talked about how Cubans were raised to take comfort in the fact that if they had material lack, their neighbor would share with them. One elderly interviewee reflected that he was raised in a similar culture in the Southern parts of the United States, but that it has disappeared. In Cuban culture, this notion of interdependence pervades the culture. In some cases, it can prevent Cubans from considering converting to the religion, as they have no felt need to trust in a deity to provide for the material needs of their life. One N.A. partner said a Cuban had told them, "'I don't need Jesus because if I need something I just go to my neighbor. My neighbor takes care of me.' And that's the kind of culture they have."

Another reflected on how different this sense of neighbor interdependence was from her culture in Southern California. She said in her community, "You go in your house, you shut your garage, you don't talk to anybody. Unless there's a reason. Before I had kids I would work, I would go in my garage, I shut the car, and you don't talk to neighbors." She described the living units of Cubans in the area, 8- to 12-story-high apartment buildings made of cement block, reminiscent of the Soviet Communist housing blocks. Because of the heat, many left the doors to their apartments open. She said even

this helped them to connect more, saying, “Everyone is in each other’s business,” and noting how multi-generational families live together, and the apartment building itself denotes a sense of community identity.

Similarly, they were impressed with the openness of Cubans to invite people into their home. Participants visited community members in one another’s homes. One N.A. partner stated, “We would never do that.” We would think, “Our house isn’t clean.” In Cuba, she said that when her group participated in this activity with a local leader, she was consistently invited in for coffee. She felt the contrast from her home culture. “We’d be like, ‘Let me put you up in a hotel. Let’s just give you money, a little bit.’”

McAlister (2008) describes current evangelicalism as enthusiastic about Christians outside the United States. She claims it is difficult to understand the religious tradition without its “border-spanning investments” (p. 871). Distinct from other historical periods of missions engagement, U.S. evangelical Christians are increasingly aware of, and enthusiastic about, the influence of global Christians on the faith, and more and more consider Christians outside the U.S. as “us.” She referred to this changed orientation as enchanted internationalism. Calling it a “feeling-practice,” McAlister wrote that enchanted internationalism is marked by “quiet awe, joyful embrace, and presumptive affiliation” (2008, p. 878). In the case of Campo Amor, enchantment is a fitting description. What remains unclear from this study is whether the Christian faith or the Cuban culture is the salient element of the enchantment. N.A. partners were more willing to critically engage in discussions about Cuban government and religion, but almost exclusively glowed with praise about the Cuban Christians they had encountered. On the contrary, Cuban Christians had plenty of positives to share about N.A. Christians,

but also shared negatives regarding their relational practices. With the exception of two leaders, they had little to share about the religion and either government.

Even amid the enchantment, at times the culture differences and lack of shared language created difficulties. Particularly when interpreting theological concepts, one N.A. partner noted there was tension between the Cuban listeners and the interpreter. The N.A. partner was unsure whether the Cubans were having a lively discussion or if they were arguing. Because the conversation was so passionate in those moments, at times the interpreter could just give a summary of what they were saying, but left out some of the nuance, particularly if it was negative. The interviewee described those times as when she most felt a sense of barrier between the groups, times when she thought, “We don’t know what to do with it,” yet trying to move forward with the conversation, unsure of what the Cubans were asking or if their answers violated cultural norms.

There’s that wall because we have no idea. And you want to understand because you want to help. It’s something we’ve said that they’re trying to figure out and wrestle with. Because one of the concepts was—even like the fear of God. What does that mean? And trying to figure out what that cultural difference was to be able to explain to them what it really meant. And so they were going back and forth, back and forth.

Finally, as most quantitative studies of culture note, within-group differences are often times more prevalent than between-group differences (Goodwin et al., 2020).

Though the Cuban culture did have some leading characteristics, there were also differences among the Cubans themselves. Interviewees noted that particularly the house church groups developed distinct personalities. Some had developed a more studious culture, they were interested in understanding and discussing deeply the ideas presented in religious services. Others were more interested in the social aspects of the meetings.

Government and Interpersonal Relations

The political differences between Cuba and the United States were openly mentioned with N.A. partners, in contrast to their Cuban counterparts. One told the story of being given access to Cuba decades ago because of baseball, which he described as “king” in Cuba. He said both countries welcomed the idea, and it just so happened that their delivery service of baseball trainings was through the churches. Some asked him why he helped the Cuban government in this way, to which he responded, “We don’t: we help the people.” He interpreted that many in the Cuban government participated in the system in order to feed their families. Another was surprised about the warm welcome to the country, as she had assumed Cubans didn’t like people from the United States because of what she had seen in the media, only to find out that Cubans were told the exact opposite, that the U.S. population was generally opposed to Cubans. Finally, N.A. partners often mentioned they were bothered by the rule that house churches could only have a certain number of participants, particularly for leaders they perceived as talented.

Becoming Friends

Through the interviews and observations, I gathered that people were trying to make sense of the context of Camp Amor. They realized that the organization was a business of sorts, that there was a central staff who care for aspects such as the kitchen, housekeeping, accounting, donations and others. Yet they attempted to frame the interactions less in terms of the structural/organizational aspects of the partnerships. Instead, interviewees seemed hungry for evidence of sincere friendships between the groups. They wanted to be seen as an insider or accepted in the host culture. One partner, who had been visiting over a period of 18 years, said the best compliment he received

was that he was starting to act like he belonged in Cuba. Even after so many times coming back and forth, his desire was to blend in with this community.

Interviewees highlighted two types of interactions that were important to forming friendships: unstructured time and participating in religious services or “worship” together. Spending unstructured time was a key part of the experience at Campo Amor. One talked of an evening spent together with a Cuban house pastor, smoking cigars and “just enjoying the conversation.” He attributed this to the long-term relationship that was developing. Another spoke on a similar theme, stating he visited three times a year, with this being the eighteenth year. He said he has gotten to be a close friend with Eduardo.

We talk a little bit sometimes about the church. But not much. Most of the time, I don't want to pressure him about anything going on down here. When I'm with him, I want him to relax, we'll go smoke a cigar, just talk about politics, baseball, just relax. Just do guy stuff.

It's not that they avoid any type of practical conversation. He said sometimes Eduardo would ask him questions about the ministry, about what U.S. visitors expect when they come, and he tells him. “He knows I won't judge him on anything.”

Often prayer was mentioned as part of the practices of the friendships. One interviewee said she normally asks, “How can I pray for you?” and that they encourage one another, have coffee and talk. “To me, once you pray with someone, you have a deeper level. It's a spiritual connection.” They were eager to pass along photos from previous trips of the groups together.

N.A. interviewees talked about the shared experiences through the religious services. They enjoyed figuring out songs they knew in English that were being sung, the sharing of personal stories, or testimonies, and favorite verses from the Bible and

everyone dancing at the end of services. “And we don’t dance!” one said. She said that the feeling was that as guests they were treated “with honor.”

Another said...singing in two different languages and worshipping at the same time was amazing to see because you’re on the same playing field. It didn’t matter that you can’t understand each other but the sound in the houses was just phenomenal. It’s hard to describe but I believe that’s what it’s designed to be like.

Later in the interview she stated that despite difficulties understanding one another, “We were still able to be one in singing or prayer.”

Giving and Accepting Gifts

One of the most complex and prevalent aspects of the interpersonal and organizational relationships between Campo Amor and North American partners is gift exchange. Visitors to the organization, in most cases, paid \$80 per day for food, housing, and transportation. This would commonly be considered a fee. But Eduardo repeatedly told me that whether I could pay or not, to please come and stay, instead categorizing the amount for room and board as a gift. Likewise, he pointed out another group (small in number of participants) and made sure to tell me that those people were not paying for their stay in Cuba, that they had been friends for years, and that he was sure this friend would faithfully bring new groups to stay in the future, so Eduardo need not worry about the money. This could be explained as a warm reciprocal business arrangement, or could be explained as the prioritizing of relationships in these partnerships instead of the financial exchange. These explanations are not necessarily exclusive.

When groups came to Campo Amor, most brought supplies or gifts to the organization. In most cases, these supplies and gifts were distributed by the staff of Camp Amor. But some small gifts of hospitality were given individually. Every N.A. interviewee had given guidelines previous to their visit about how to approach giving and

receiving gifts. One large group passed all of their in-kind donations to the Campo Amor staff when they arrived, in order to avoid, “tripping over cultural barriers.” Others wanted to host a clinic with their gifts being given out after a presentation of the Christian story was presented. Still others had suitcases full of items that they passed out little by little throughout the week. From my observations, Eduardo publicly affirmed the first tactic, opposed the second, and ignored the third.

The interviewee who gave out items clandestinely described what his wife purchased online, and what he brought:

Well, I bring shoes. I bring vitamins, I bring glasses, I bring traps, I bring Bibles. Socks. I leave all my clothes. That’s the bulk of it. And any requests they have, special requests. We have a little ministry that if they’ve got a prescription, an eyeglass prescription and they give it to me, I take it home, and then the next time I come, I bring it. My wife helps me order them online, and we only pay...they’re only like, \$40. They can get exams, but they can’t get glasses.

Others talked about how they thought through when and what to give, stating that during the trip they “want to give so much.” But they reasoned it was not necessarily what was needed. At times they decided a small gesture of thanks for hospitality was appropriate, for example, when a church member invited them over for dinner. The financial realities for many N.A. visitors made it difficult not to give. One reflected on her dinner when they visited a restaurant in downtown Havana, which was \$20, realizing it was nearly a month’s rent for some. “But I thought, ‘Wow, how could I be doing this? I’d rather have eaten a banana and given them their month’s rent.’”

Likewise, N.A. partners considered when it was appropriate to accept gifts. One mentioned they were taught to accept a gift offered, no matter what it was, which for this person included drinking water from the Cuban faucet, commonly considered dangerous. Another told of how her daughter was given an embroidered emblem from one of the

church members, and she hesitated to receive it, but then quickly realized that it would be affirming to accept the gift. More than anything else, however, N.A. interviewees mentioned that the affection that Cubans shared was considered a gift.

Adler and Offut theorize that in short-terms missions, the structures and practices around gift exchange are used to manage material inequality. Though partnerships are idealized, the flow of money and persons flow mostly from the United States to foreign communities. In order to balance this, many times the relationship is framed in complementarity – the foreign poor are framed as spiritually superior to the materially superior U.S. visitors. This gift economy satisfies Mauss' assertion that all gifts, though in one sense given freely, in another sense must be reciprocated, or else they will reify inequality and status difference. Adler and Offut state that much of this complementarity is accomplished through on and off-stage exchanges. Payment for any major donations or fees is often conducted via wire transfer to Campo Amor's foundation account in Spain. This could include the cost of stay, or any project the visiting group would like to underwrite. Conducting these transactions off-stage is seen as de-commodifying the relationship. On-stage gifts include the volunteer presence of visitors, the publicly affirmed leadership of the foreign hosts, non-material gifts such as the shared experiences of prayer and worship, and small gifts of hospitality, given by both groups. How these gifts are given is key to determining the nature of the emerging relationship, whether it will be a socially equal partnership, or if material inequality will be reinforced (2017).

Meanings of Mutuality

N.A. partners talked about the cultural aspects of mutuality, that it is something that is built up and gets passed from generation to generation. The concept was described

as having relationships, “like family” finding one’s one joy in the happiness of others. They emphasized that the point of service did not have to be an overly spiritual concept; instead, they have an opportunity to interact with someone and get to know them. Perhaps this person will need something and can be helped. One stated to become their friend isn’t the primary goal, but rather that you can “be there” for whatever purpose fits in that moment.

The bond that was created in a short period of time was noteworthy for several interviewees. They were surprised by the strong emotions they felt upon leaving. Over and over, interviewees mentioned how they felt accepted. Several used words like “embraced” and “loved.” Others talked about creating a bond through the content of their conversations, that they discussed spiritual topics more than usual, and also felt free to acknowledge that they did not have all the answers, even while leading conversations.

N.A. interviewees also described mutuality as “having skin in the game” for someone else’s spiritual well-being. One noticed that a pastor was passionate, borderline confrontational with a young girl who was making unhealthy life choices. In trying to process what that interaction could mean while not knowing the language, he said:

When someone you have discipled along the way, when you see them backslide, it just—it rips you up. And so that’s kind of what I was seeing referenced in that pastor and that granddaughter of the gal in her church. He was so pained by this girl and her choices.

N.A. partners emphasized the contrast between mutuality and greed, that they were at opposite ends of an ideological spectrum. They said it is difficult to find people in America who are not “set on making money.” One saw that business and the flow of money was picking up in Cuba, noticing it was causing greed he hadn’t seen before. Another stated a block to mutuality was insecurity in one’s worth. “You don’t want to be

criticized, and so there's this kind of fear of if you're really known, you might be criticized." He said it was easier to hold back from relationships and let people approach you. For this partner, the experience in Cuba prompted new questions for him. One was, "So how do we...how do we have this live or vibrant approach to relationships where we're actively pursuing others?"

Conclusion

The cross-cultural relationships built at Campo Amor are both practical and affective. Cubans welcome North Americans to their country, and are at the same time aware that many are not accustomed to their orientation toward relationships. The process of learning to relate to one another at Campo Amor is as much a part of the short-term mission experience as is their shared project. Cubans are intrigued by the North Americans themselves, the opportunities to participate in a cross-cultural endeavor, particularly when it means they can find meaningful employment. Enchanted by their Cuban counterparts, North Americans experience mutuality as they learn from the Cuban style of faith, are renewed by being in a beautiful place with time away from their normal commitments, and navigate the complexities of giving and receiving material gifts during their experience. They build relationships with the Cubans primarily during times of prayer and worship, and also in unstructured time together. Some are part of longer-term partnerships, while others have only a week-long experience. Whatever the case, for many the experience at Campo Amor will be their first or maybe only international experience.

As an organization, Campo Amor relies on its partners to visit in order to provide a consistent salary for house church pastors. Like other organizations throughout the

majority of the world, both being friends and being financially interdependent is considered normal. North Americans are more vocal about the influence of government tensions on their interpersonal relationships, but neither group sees the tensions as a serious impediment to their relationships. In varying degrees according to the individual, both groups demonstrate the motivation to develop the cognitive, emotional and motivational elements of cultural intelligence necessary for mutuality to grow.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Relationships are key to individual and organizational well-being, including in partnerships. Emerging science points to healthy relationships as a central factor for overall well-being for individuals. Similar evidence exists for organizations and their impact in communities. On the contrary, organizations that do not create capacity for healthy relationships may exist for noble purposes, but in function they isolate or even damage those who participate in carrying out the mission. The relational turn in nonprofit and philanthropic work may be a response to the professionalization of the 1990s. This concept may be particularly important when considering philanthropic partnerships across cultural differences. Whether domestically or across borders, the relational work inherent in cross-cultural partnerships requires increased relational understanding, patience in translating of values and the ability to span boundaries to create shared goals, trust and culture.

For these reasons and more, the concept of mutuality can serve as a meta-value for organizations. Mutuality ascribes an inherent value to relationships. It is an orientation to relating in which people and organizations attempt to enter into the cognitive and emotional state of the other, and “stay” there. This staying speaks to an ongoing commitment to considering relational values in philanthropic work as primary, something worth prioritizing in funding, strategy, planning, execution, and evaluation. In an age of globalization, never has this relational turn been more important, more urgent, or more complex. Research shows that individuals do not engage in relationships as individuals solely. Rather, they act often out of the collective experiences of their culture. Widespread abuse, trauma and marginalization can block future relationships at the

individual level, particularly with individuals representing the historically oppressive culture. Only through the creation of new growth-fostering human bonds, however, can these wounds be healed. This requires relational resilience and courage unique to the experience. Philanthropic efforts that do not take relational realities into account when partnering will likely do further damage even as they seek to help. Philanthropic partnerships require accurate empathy, cultural intelligence, and psychological safety.

This study took the concept of mutuality in philanthropic partnerships and applied it to World Christianity. Across the world, Christianity is taking on new forms, creating expressions of the faith that bear little resemblance to the Western style of religion that has come to represent it. The manifold expressions of this religion are influencing and being influenced from every corner of the globe. Arguably, in fact, Asia, Africa and parts of Latin American can more accurately be called the geographic centers of Christianity, according to the number of adherents and percentage of growth. In the new age of evangelicalism, there is multi-directional, international influence in the religion, something that, unlike other periods of history, North American Christians increasingly embrace. Missions are not at the center of this change; it is more likely the growth of families and migration that cause the most influence. Yet missions remain a dominant factor. Religious workers and volunteers who cross borders number in the millions. COVID-19 restrictions notwithstanding, in a normal year it is estimated that more than 25% of U.S. congregations plan a foreign mission trip (Adler & Offutt, 2017). This represents millions of volunteers, for many of whom it will be their first or only experience abroad. The way these new internationalists are trained, the foreign co-religionists they meet, and the ongoing approach to these faith-based partnerships, shapes

international philanthropic action in no small way across the world.

With these understandings in mind, this study explored mutuality at a Christian organization called Campo Amor—both mutuality among the Cubans themselves, and between Cubans and their North American partners. The case of Cuba provides an illuminating example for mutuality in World Christianity. Because of the historical and ongoing conflict between the two countries, if mutual, growth-fostering partnerships could happen in Cuba, perhaps they could happen anywhere. Campo Amor was intriguing to me as a research site because it was simultaneously welcoming to visitors and robustly Cuban. I had traveled to other countries in Latin America, but in Cuba, the people impressed me especially by how little impressed they were that I was from the United States. Many of the Cubans I met at Campo Amor were joyful, educated, influential, and confident. They were busy carrying out the work of Campo Amor, which appeared organized and professionally done, and yet they also laughed often, shared meals together, and danced as a pastime. I was intrigued by three aspects: the Cuban culture, Cuban Christian history/theology, and the synergy of interpersonal relationships and organizational performance. Through both the pilot and subsequent study, I found understandings about what is universal and that which is particular about mutuality at Campo Amor.

Limitations

Like all qualitative research, the findings in this project are not generalizable to Cubans, North Americans or even Evangelicals. These were the meanings and experiences of a certain group at a certain place in a certain period of history.

Synthesizing about five times as much data as pages in my findings chapters did provide

saturation, yet I am aware that what I uncovered was just a sliver of the philanthropic and relational culture of Campo Amor. This research did provide in-depth understandings of the relationships between the partners of Campo Amor, information that can be used to develop other types of studies and replicate this one in new surroundings. Additionally the sample size of this study was small (N=35), especially considering that the sample considered two groups to compare and contrast. The sample size was impacted by COVID-19, with a final trip for data collection cancelled in the spring of 2020.

The five criteria I used for interviewee selection helped form the study, while alternate criteria could have yielded different results. In the first criteria, selecting former participants or exit interviews of those involved with Campo Amor would have yielded different results than current partners and members. By the nature of sampling active participants, I sampled success. It is important to recognize this study's survivorship bias, which is the tendency to focus on only what succeeded and ignore what did not survive (Brown et al., 1992). The second criteria, email and Facebook access, was implemented because I was curious to hear how people engaged in mutuality via online means. However, I did not want to exclude anyone if they did not use the internet frequently, as it is quite expensive in Cuba and could have strongly conditioned my results. As this criteria stands, no one was excluded from my study based on their lack of access to the internet. This, in part is due to the fact that Campo Amor lets members use their access to internet at times. The third and fourth criteria of my study may have particularly conditioned the results. These requirements were that interviewees have one friend at Campo Amor, and that they be recommended by a leader. The first criteria was chosen because I wanted interviewees to have personal experiences with North American

partners from which to speak. In retrospect, I believe including this criteria was a mistake. Including examples of those who didn't have cross-cultural friendships as well would have made for a more diverse sample and perhaps a richer understanding of when and how mutuality does and does not form. The leader recommendation requirement was part of the co-creation process with my Cuban colleagues. As part of being a guest in a host environment, I thought a primary ethical concern was to give weight to their suggestions regarding sampling, and being leader recommended was their only criteria. Finally, the demographic aims of my sample were nearly attained. I had balanced participation according to age, ethnicity, and in the end, approached balance in gender. On my third data collection trip, I oversampled male interviewees in order to balance the number of female and male interviewees.

Throughout the analysis and writing process, I was also attentive to potential internal biases. First and foremost, had I the project to design again, I would have included more Cuban theologians in the sample. As originally cast, I wanted my research design to be more inclusive, to include a broader range of education and socio-economic perspectives. While I think this was appropriate for the study, I also would have benefited from hearing more from people who were able to speak not only from their own experience, but also interpret the experiences of their communities and cultures. The use of reflexivity, as well as a record of methodological choices that I made and why helped to generate confirmability or increased trustworthiness in the process. In future research, I will structure this information in one cohesive document instead of across disparate field notes. As much of my study's methodology was co-created with Cuban colleagues, I also thought it appropriate to share drafts of the study and ask them for edits and comments.

This feedback and member checking improved the plausibility of the findings, particularly in chapter three.

My study also ran the risk of confirming that interviewees experienced mutuality in their relationships out of a sense of social desirability. While some did admit that they did experience particular closeness with cross-cultural partners, others may have overestimated their experiences of mutuality, particularly given that mutuality is viewed positively. If this were a research study that involved measurements, this concern would be especially important, as there was no comparison group in my sample.

As it stands, this study was a first exploratory inductive phenomenological approach to understanding mutuality. To do so, it used a purposive, not representative sample. The aim was to expose assumptions about, provides deep explanations for, and illuminates that which was already considered familiar (Sokolowski, 2000). In cross-cultural research, it is particularly important to begin first with an inductive approach such as this study in order to develop theories, concepts, and deep understandings that can later be tested. Generally speaking, researchers use qualitative methodologies to understand why or how a phenomenon occurs, to cultivate a theory, or explain the meanings of an experience. In contrast, quantitative inquiry explores questions about causality, generalizability, or magnitude of effect (Fetters et al., 2013; Tufts University & Berman, 2017). A subsequent quantitative phase to this study will be designed to measure these characteristics and avoid sample bias. The two phases will then be triangulated in order to develop meta-findings.

Major Findings

Cubans experience deep relationship with one another, born out of their experience in a socialist society. Rather than depending on structures for their provisions, they depend on one another. This provides a confidence that their needs will always be met. Beyond reciprocity, many of the Cubans I interviewed mentioned facets of mutuality to describe their relationships. Particularly, spending unstructured time together, enjoying the inherent value of the relationship, trying to understand more about the person, and caring for them as if it were themselves. Their relationships were filled with unstructured or loosely structured time together, though I did notice a change as more Cubans acquired smart phones and the Internet.

Cubans are self-aware of their friendliness and interdependence. This is a source of pride for them. They welcome partners from the United States and include them warmly. At the same time, they notice their relational lack, and comment on it in similar ways to how North Americans comment on Cubans' material poverty.

Some Cubans I interviewed also commented that they participate in a double morality. Because some of the laws that pertain to them are unjust, they must navigate and create alternatives in order to both survive and pursue their understanding of good in their communities. For example, in 2017 the U.S. reduced the maximum dollar amount of remittances allowed from the United States, limiting the funds that families could receive from relatives abroad. Another example, in order to attend a Cuban university, prospective students must sign a variety of documents pledging their loyalty and agreement with the Cuban government and Communist ideals. For this and other reasons, Cuban Christians call themselves the survivor church. In order to navigate these

complexities, and also due to the ongoing partnerships with U.S. organizations, Cuban leaders at Campo Amor selectively synthesize the organizational practices between Cuban Christianity and the N.A. style of the faith, according to what they see as benefiting their purposes, values and culture.

North American partners who come to visit are often enchanted with Campo Amor. They love the hospitable environment that Campo Amor created for them, the warm relationships, and the interchange of faith. There is a mix of motivation for North Americans to partner with Campo Amor. Officially, they eschew missions for the sake of adventure, but they are both attracted to the beauty and intrigue of the country, and inspired by the shared faith. For the Cubans, this is both friendship and good business practices. This intertwining of personal relationships and professional business causes little tension for much of the world, but it can feel ingenuine for the North American middle class. Some North Americans come to Campo Amor with an accomplishment-centered approach—that is, they are motivated to accomplish tasks. Others complete tasks, but with the goal of fostering relationships. Participants consistently cite greetings, unstructured time, conversations, worship sessions and prayer as what fosters relationships. N.A. partners who have returned over several years often exhibit more signs of mutuality in their relationships, particularly respect for the Cuban leadership and cultural approaches to organizing.

North Americans are developing understanding about how and when to give as well as receive. Much is given “off-stage” and distributed by Campo Amor leaders. There is an ongoing enchantment from the Cubans about the riches of the United States. While some Cubans ask for gifts outright, leaders and other more involved members of Campo

Amor have been educated that it is inappropriate to do so, similar to how N.A. partners have learned it is inappropriate to lavish material gifts. Materially, what is most helpful to Campo Amor is the \$80 a day each traveler pays to stay at their guest house, compared to the \$30-\$40 per month the average Cuban worker earns monthly. This provides funding primarily for the pastors of the house churches to earn a full-time salary.

Relationally, N.A. and Cuban partners seem to provide mutual encouragement to one another to both understand and appreciate one another's faith and culture, the opportunity to develop cultural intelligence. They both also encourage in the sense of giving courage to one another to be people of faith in situations where faith is not supported by state or culture. They illustrate what Jordan stated, that encouragement denotes empowerment; it involves enabling the advance and safeguard of a sense of confidence and hope in the face of exasperating circumstances (Jordan, 2018).

Finally, while Cubans and N.A. claim that the government relations do not influence their relationships, it does constitute them. For example, the numbers of visitors who came to Campo Amor declined by more than 100 per year after Trump's 2017 and 2019 executive orders limiting interactions between the countries. These orders had no official bearings on religious travel, but the restrictions were somewhat unclear, and there was widespread negative press surrounding the changes. For grassroots organizations and congregations, this type of uncertainty is enough to cancel plans for a visit. The restrictions during COVID-19 brought the visits to a near halt, but a few (less than 10 at my last interview) had traveled or had upcoming plans to travel. Many of these partners delivered medicines that could not be otherwise accessed in the country.

Critical Drawbacks

As noted in the literature review, there are dark sides and potential drawbacks to mutuality. A tendency toward mutuality without a fuller understanding of the concept can result in the ‘burden of yes,’ insofar as it can be challenging to say no to relational requests. Mutuality is meant to provide a framework where individuals can more confidently state their limitations, disagreements and preferences in a psychologically safe relational space. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that to be in a relationship characterized by mutuality will often include declines to be with or to do something for the other persons or people involved. Beyond these more minor drawbacks, more intense issues with maintaining boundaries can venture into the pathological. For example, boundary maintenance issues are often described as a key aspect of borderline personality disorder, in which people become so chameleon like in changing to fit in with their social contexts that they lose a sense of themselves.

In order to maintain boundaries and also develop relationships of mutuality, participants must be brave, bringing their authentic selves to the relationship, which necessarily includes conflicts, negative feedback, and denials of requests. For these relationships to foster growth, they must be honest. Yet, they must also anticipate the possible impact on the other person, what this report has described as anticipatory empathy. Complete honesty without regard for how it affects the other is not helpful or desirable. As people get to know one another, anticipatory empathy is replaced by accurate empathy (Jordan, 2018).

Future Research and Goals

In the era of globalization, it is no surprise that there has been a surge in global research. Despite the growing quantity of international research, much of this research is based in Western constructs and primarily conducted by Western researchers. While my work certainly fits this category to some degree, it was co-created with practitioners in Cuba, informed by Cuban theory and theology prior to being designed. Future research could place an emphasis on co-creation, emphasizing international diversity in the research topics, theory and concept, design, researchers and the researched.

Likewise, research on international topics often does not find its way to the publication venues that could most help the cultures it studies. Future studies could make a point to translate and publish research in the countries from which the information was gathered, in order to give back the knowledge that was originally provided to the researcher.

Specific to my topic fields, giving and generosity has only begun to be studied internationally in the field of philanthropy. Though over the last decade, many strides have been made, much remains to be done to understand philanthropy both in its formal and informal expressions, throughout the world. In a pilot study exploring the intersection of youth, philanthropy and spirituality across the world, interviewees told me that philanthropy is a contested notion, for many reifying social hierarchies and ignoring structural injustice. Much generosity, I was told, was found in the ways people live their daily lives, and less how they participate in formal organizations. Stating that people do not have highly philanthropic cultures because they do not have NGOs or high levels of formal giving, then, can be misguided. Future research could take a more inductive

qualitative approach to discovering the practices of generosity worldwide, and which factors influence these practices. Particularly, I am interested in the perspectives and expressions of generosity among Christian emerging adults throughout the world. Over and over I have seen the value of justice and generosity expressed through cultural artifacts like music, movies and art. In addition to traditional interviews, qualitative data gathering of these cultural artifacts could advance understanding of generosity and justice worldwide. Many times, these artifacts in a sense curate the cultural moment for millions of individuals. Artists often serve as the prophets for their age.

For myself, this dissertation is the first stage of a mixed-methods research—an exploratory sequential project. Phase 2 of the project will consist of quantitative data collection and analysis, a survey adapted from the validated instrument for pro-social partnerships, the Transformative Relationship Evaluation Scale (Bringle et al., 2012) and other survey items based on the findings of Phase 1. It will be administered to a random selection of members of the ACCORD network, a Christian international relief and development association, representing 150,000 employees worldwide and some of the world's largest organizations, including World Vision, Compassion International and World Relief. Phase 3 will integrate data from the two separate strands into a single analytical matrix to be triangulated and analyzed to distill meta-findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2010; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2008).

Cuba is a particularly illuminating context for this type of research, as it is one of the few countries in modern history to have “stood up” to the United States, establishing Communist ideology and praxes that reject Western notions of civil society and invoke socialist ideologies of solidarity. As a Latin American country, Cuba is also a prime

context to center the relational aspects of philanthropy, as Latin Americans are known for their warm, affectionate cultures, and cultural norms of relational-orientation, as opposed to task-orientation (Hofstede, 1983). Finally, this research fills gaps in a growing body of literature examining the social impacts of World Christianity, looking at not only what people believe, but the implications of those beliefs as people relate to one another.

Practical Applications

This dissertation aims to equip religious practitioners with empirically-derived ideas as they create new futures and implement solutions to our world's biggest problems. Through this dissertation and subsequent research, my aim is to create models and tools that improve relational approaches to the practice of cross-cultural philanthropy. First and foremost, based on these findings, I will develop a "mutuality in partnerships" definition and model. This concept will follow the characteristics of Jordan's definition of interpersonal mutuality. A first iteration states: *Mutuality in partnerships describes a process in which organizations relate to one another based on an interest in each other as whole, complex groups*. In subsequent phases of this research, I will offer a set of practices for organizational leaders to enact in order to improve mutuality within their collaborative relationships.

The initial findings of my research support that mutuality in partnerships will have the following characteristics:

1. They will focus on fostering a culture of sharing for inherent and instrumental goods.
2. They will develop and prioritize institutional habits that welcome the full participation of whole, authentic selves.
3. They will engage in a concerted approach to navigating conflict with both agency and empathy, with particular attention to differences in social and cultural identities.
4. They will be open to both influence and be influenced regarding

approaches to solving problems and creating futures in the communities they collectively serve.

Through the use of my current data and that collected in the future, my goal is to produce: resources for Campo Amor and organizations like it. While I would like to provide resources for all organizations, my primary audience will be small organizations, like Campo Amor, which engage in cross-cultural partnerships as an essential approach to their mission. Secondly, I would like to produce a book, which can be used by scholars and practitioners alike, integrating theories of mutuality and using them to analyze the stories of relationships at Campo Amor. Within these stories, the concepts of underground philanthropy, which speaks of clandestine or illegal approaches to doing good, and micro-affirmations as philanthropic gifts, will make strong article submissions. Finally, I would like to replicate this study in other contexts in order to distill that which is universal and that which is particular about mutuality.

As an assistant professor at the Wheaton College Humanitarian and Disaster Institute, my research and teaching is built on praxis – an approach to learning, acting and reflecting that brings what we do in alignment with what we believe. In a similar way, a scholarly and practice-based praxis around mutuality that develops across my career will advance not only what we know as a philanthropic studies scholarly community but how philanthropic organizations around the world engage in four key relationships: with God, with their environments, with themselves, with one another.

EPILOGUE

Further Reflections on Bias

One of the key limitations of this study was the possible halo effect of studying a religion that I also share. Much empirical data has been published on implicit bias, which, thanks to fellow students at the School of Philanthropy, I studied, considered and noted throughout the research process, systematically analyzing ways I might be wrong. This was pursued through triangulation of methods. I co-created materials with the Cubans, gathered data from Cuban sources both religious and otherwise, and relied on observations in addition to the interviews. The initial drafts of the portions of the study were edited and member checked by two key informants in Cuba. Despite these strategies for fairness, I recognize that the treatment of religion throughout the piece is a positive one, again a view from a certain vantage point that may or may not be shared by many readers. One important note was that I did include more critical aspects in my initial interview protocol, but one of my Cuban co-creators strongly recommended that they be removed, stating that they would be seen as culturally offensive and irrelevant. As a visitor to the country, I judged it my responsibility to adjust accordingly.

Other biases within this study include my identity as a citizen of the United States, studying cross-cultural relationships with a country that is organized around ideological principles very different from the ones with which I am acquainted. While this was in part a focus of my study, it also affected the study in ways of which I was not aware. Advisors at the School of Philanthropy were helpful in this regard. Through conversations, I began to unpack some of these biases and develop more of a capacity to enter into the logics and values of a culture that was not my own. Undoubtedly, biases

still exist, and I look forward to sharing further drafts of this work with my Cuban informants after COVID-19 travel restrictions are lifted.

The final implicit bias in this work is that of selection bias. One of my key informants also selected interviewees for this study. Together we worked to select interviewees based on maximum variation within Campo Amor, yet it is possible that interviewees who were more favorable toward the work of the organization were often chosen, again contributing to the halo effect.

The COVID-19 Disruption

The major disruption to my study, of course, was COVID-19. With an original methodology to interview 50 Campo Amor partners on site, while they were experiencing life at the Cuban organization, COVID-19 made it impossible for me to complete my final data gathering trip. Thus, I was able to complete 37 interviews up to this point, with plans to finish my original interview protocol with an addendum for questions about life at Campo Amor during COVID-19 after travel restrictions are lifted.

APPENDIX A

Sample Items from the TRES II Survey Protocol

TRES II Domains and Items (modified from Clayton et al., 2009).

Instructions: The following survey is focused on a community-campus partnership. There are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate your general impressions about the partnership and select only one alternative that best represents your experience in the partnership. Mark with an “X” the alternative that best characterizes the actual nature of the partnership from your point of view. Mark with an “*” the alternative that best characterizes the desired nature of the partnership from your point of view (if desired is the same as actual, please put “X*” next to your selection).

1. Goals:

- a. _____ The goals of some of the partners are not known and are hampered, and this causes harm.
- b. _____ Only some of the partners’ goals are acted on, but that is not harmful to anybody.
- c. _____ The distinct goals of all the partners are important to and nurtured by the partnership.
- d. _____ We share common, integrated, and expanding goals that are “our” goals (not “mine” and “yours” separately).

2. Conflict:

- a. _____ Conflict remains unacknowledged or is avoided, and this causes harm to the partners.
- b. _____ Conflict is acknowledged and partly managed such that underlying issues are unresolved but neither the partners nor partnership is harmed.
- c. _____ Conflict is successfully resolved by the partners.
- d. _____ Conflict is embraced by the partners as a catalyst to generate new possibilities for the partnership.

3. *Decision-making*:

- a. _____ Some of the partners make decisions in ways that do not involve all of us, and those decisions disadvantage at least one of us.
- b. _____ Decisions are made in isolation but with consideration of the other partners.
- c. _____ Partners make decisions through a means acceptable to all, and the decisions reached serve us individually.
- d. _____ Partners carefully weigh possibilities and determine together how decisions are made, and the decisions we make benefit the partnership as well as the individual partners.

4. Resources (e.g., material goods, time, expertise, money):

- a. _____ Some partners take resources from others and/or there is no consideration of what is appropriate for each to contribute; some partners are harmed as a result.
- b. _____ Some partners contribute resources to and for other partners, who are not thought to have resources to contribute.
- c. _____ Partners exchange existing resources for mutual benefit.
- d. _____ Investment of resources is equitable (even if unequal, our contributions are proportional to our means), new resources are generated, and resources are understood to be collective (not “mine” and “yours”).

5. Role of this partnership in each partner’s work:

- a. _____ The work of some partners is hindered by participating in the partnership.
- b. _____ The partnership advances the distinct work of some partners through the contributions of others
- c. _____ The distinct work of all partners is advanced through the contributions of others.
- d. _____ Partners co-create work that we see as “our” work, and our individual and collective capacity to understand and do the work is enhanced.

6. Role of this partnership in sense of self (for example, confidence, agency, voice):
- _____ The sense of self of one or some partners is weakened by participating in the partnership.
 - _____ The partnership contributes to the distinct sense of self of some partners through the contributions of others.
 - _____ The distinct sense of self of all partners is strengthened through the contributions of others
 - _____ The sense of self of all partners is deepened by developing a joint sense of self (as members of the partnership).
7. Extent and nature of interactions:
- _____ Interactions among partners are negative for some of us.
 - _____ Some partners control the extent and nature of interactions, but the intent is for them to be positive.
 - _____ A range of interactions is decided upon with contributions by all partners.
 - _____ The variety of frequent interactions that partners design goes beyond what any of us would otherwise do on our own and support the growth of partners (and the partnership).
8. Power (in other words, the ability to have influence):
- _____ Some partners are taken advantage of through others' uses of power, and their own power is not recognized.
 - _____ Some partners use their power for the benefit of (some) others as those others have defined it.
 - _____ The power of all partners is combined, and all of us have the power to enhance the equity of power distribution.
 - _____ The joint power of all partners generates new sources of and ways to use power, within each of us and as a partnership.
9. Outcomes:
- _____ This partnership undermines outcomes that matter to some partners.
 - _____ This partnership advances outcomes that matter to some (but not all) partners individually.
 - _____ This partnership enables all partners to attain outcomes that matter to us.
 - _____ This partnership cultivates individual and collective growth while allowing everyone to attain outcomes that are individually and jointly meaningful.
10. Satisfaction:
- _____ Most of us are dissatisfied with this partnership.
 - _____ Most are satisfied with this partnership, but some are dissatisfied.
 - _____ All of us are satisfied with this partnership.
 - _____ Most or all of us are more than satisfied with this partnership; it exceeds our expectations.

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Zurlo, G. A., Johnson, T. M., & Crossing, P. F. (2020). World Christianity and Mission 2020: Ongoing Shift to the Global South. *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 44(1), 8–19.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jamie L. Goodwin

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy Philanthropic Studies (November 2021)
Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, Indianapolis, IN

Master of Arts Philanthropic Studies (2012)
Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, Indianapolis, IN

Bachelor of Arts Journalism (2001)
Franklin College, Franklin, Indiana

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2020- Present Assistant Professor, Humanitarian and Disaster Leadership, Wheaton
College

2017 – 2020 Ilchman-Dickinson-Stone Fellow, Indiana University Lilly Family
School of Philanthropy, Indianapolis, IN

2018-2020 Graduate Assistant, Lake Institute on Faith and Giving, Indiana
University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, Indianapolis, IN

2016-2017 Doctoral Student, Indiana University Lilly Family School of
Philanthropy, Indianapolis, IN

2015-2016 Instructor of Spanish, Indiana University-Purdue University,
Indianapolis, IN

2010-2011 Visiting Lecturer, Department of English Philology, University of
Seville, Seville, Spain

OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND CONSULTANTSHIPS

2019-Present Faculty, The Fundraising School, Indiana University

2014-2016 Consultant, The Language Training Center, Indianapolis, IN

2013-2017 Executive Director, Global Indiana, Indianapolis, IN

2005-2010 Director of Advancement, Covenant Christian High School,
Indianapolis, IN

TEACHING

Graduate Courses

Fall 2020 Monitoring and Evaluation for Nonprofits, Wheaton College

Fall 2020 Transformational Development, Online Course
Spring 2021 Transformational Development Spring
2021 Nonprofit Leadership, Online Course

Undergraduate Courses

2016-2017 P105, Giving and Volunteering in America, IUPUI
2015-2016 SPA120, Introductory Spanish, IUPUI
2011 (spring) Advanced English Discourse, University of Seville
2010-2011 Introductory English, University of Seville
2010 (fall) Comparative Linguistics, University of Seville

Experiential Learning Courses/Trips, Covenant Christian High School

*All courses are language and cultural immersion international experiences

2013 Spanish Language Immersion, Jterm Course, Seville, Spain
2012 Spanish Language Immersion, Jterm Course, Seville, Spain
2010 Spanish Language Immersion, Jterm Course, Manuel Antonio, Costa Rica
2009 Peruvian Culture and History, Jterm Course, Cuzco, Peru
2009 Service Learning, Spring Break Course, Piedras Negras, Mexico
2008 Service Learning, Jterm Course, Piedras Negras, Mexico
2007 Service Learning, Student Internships, Piedras Negras, Mexico
2006 Service Learning, Spring Break Course, Piedras Negras, Mexico
2006 Art and Architecture in Central and Northeastern Spain, Jterm Course,
Madrid and Barcelona, Spain
2004 Service Learning, Jterm Course, Tijuana, Mexico

College Preparatory Courses, Covenant Christian High School

2001-2009 Journalism and Communications
2001-2005 Introductory Spanish

RESEARCH/CREATIVE ACTIVITY

Grants and Contracts

- 2020 Research Contract with Faith to Action: Through a partnership with the Lake Institute on Faith and Giving at Indiana University, this qualitative study explores donor perceptions of residential care for orphans and vulnerable children during COVID19. (\$10,000)
- 2020 Wheaton College Aldeen Grant: Funding to support a research assistant as well as travel to present on cross-cultural mutuality findings at Association of Research on Nonprofits and Voluntary Associations Conference 2021 (ARNOVA). (\$2,500)
- 2020 Lake Institute Research Fellowship: Funding to support a quantitative study to explore perceptions of mutuality between international partners engaged in cross-cultural faith-based humanitarianism. (\$8000)

- 2019 Experiential Education Teaching Guide: Award to develop teaching materials for the Association of Research on Nonprofits and Voluntary Associations (\$800)
- 2019 Dissertation Research: Mutuality in Cross-Cultural Philanthropic Partnerships, Graduate Student Research Grant, Lilly Family School of Philanthropy (\$2,000)
- 2019 Global Youth Project: Studying Cross-Cultural Developments of Religiosity & Philanthropy, International Collaboration Grant, Notre Dame University, Global Research on Religion Initiative, (\$25,000) (Graduate Student)
- 2018 Dissertation Research: Mutuality in Cross-Cultural Philanthropic Partnerships, Graduate Student Research Grant, Lilly Family School of Philanthropy (\$2,000)
- 2017 Pilot Study: Cuban Civil Society, Graduate Student Research Grant, Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, (\$2,000)

Publications

Scholarly Reports

- 2018-2019 National Study of Congregations Economic Practices Executive Report, Lake Institute on Faith and Giving, www.nscep.org
- 2017-2018 Global Philanthropy Environment Index, Latin America and Africa Regional Reports, Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Research Department <https://globalindices.iupui.edu/environment/index.html>
- 2017-2018 Indiana Community Action Agencies Stakeholder and Client Study, Indiana Housing and Community Development Authority and Sagamore Institute <https://incaaimpact.com/>
- 2014-2015 Report on Global Learning in Indiana Schools, Indiana Department of Education and Longview Foundation

Articles

- Kniffin, L., Camo-Biogradlija, J., Price, M.F., Kohl E., Del Conte Dickovick, A., Williams, J., Goodwin, J. Johnson, K.V., Clayton, P.H., Bringle, R.J. (2020) Relationships and Partnerships in Community–Campus Engagement: Evolving Inquiry and Practice. *International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.37333/001c.18586>
- Austin, T. & Goodwin, J. (2020) Philanthropy and Religion, Christianity. In R.A. List, H.K. Anheier, and S. Toepler. (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society* (2nd Edition). Springer. <https://link.springer.com/referencework/10.1007/978-3-319-99675-2>

Goodwin, J., Williams, A., Snell Herzog, P. (2020) Cross-Cultural Values: A Meta-Analysis of Major Quantitative Studies in the Last Decade. *Religions*, 11(8), <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11080396>

Goodwin, J. (2018) The Double Character of U.S. Protestantism and Philanthropy. *Religions*. 9(9), 265; <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9090265>

Book Chapters

Goodwin, J. (2020). Generosity in Action: Benefiting the Collective Good. In Patricia Snell Herzog, *The Science of Generosity: Manifestations, Causes, and Consequences*. Palgrave Macmillan

Herzog, P.S. & Goodwin, J. (2021) Growing Through Philanthropy. In Mary Lederleitner (Ed.) *Emerging Adults: Formation for Mission*. Lexham Press

Electronic Media

Goodwin, J. (2021, April 19). The Mass Shootings Are Too Much. But Don't Push Away the Unimaginable, *Better Samaritan Blog*. <https://www.christianitytoday.com/better-samaritan/2021/april/mass-shootings-are-too-much-but-dont-push-away-unimaginable.html>

Goodwin, J. (2021, February 03). COVID is Changing the Future of Philanthropy, *Better Samaritan Blog*. <https://www.christianitytoday.com/better-samaritan/2021/february/covid-is-changing-future-of-philanthropy.html>

Goodwin, J. (2019, October 03). Frontline Religious Leaders and the National Study on Congregations's Economic Practices, *Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Blog*. <https://blog.philanthropy.iupui.edu/2019/10/03/frontline-religious-leaders-and-the-national-study-on-congregations-economic-practices/>

Goodwin, J. (2018, September 19). Hispanic Philanthropy and the Moral Imagination, *Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Blog*. <https://blog.philanthropy.iupui.edu/2018/09/19/hispanic-philanthropy-and-the-moral-imagination/>

Goodwin, J. (2018, November 30). Crossing the border between helping and being helped: Informal Giving and the U.S. Immigrant Crisis, *HistPhil*. <https://histphil.org/tag/jamie-goodwin/>

Goodwin, J. (2018, November 30). Informal Networks of Generosity are Supporting Asylum Seekers on Both Sides of the Border, *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/informal-networks-of-generosity-are-supporting-asylum-seekers-on-both-sides-of-the-border-108221>

Goodwin, J. (2018, November 30). Benefits of International Exchange Programs, *WFYIAmerican Graduate Blog*. <http://amgrad.wfyi.org/blogs/wfyi-blog/2016/12/07/jamie-goodwin-entry/>

In Progress

"Meaning Making During Emerging Adulthood: Is Developing a Prosocial Orientation Part of Becoming an Adult?" (Coauthors Patricia Snell Herzog, Carolyn McNamara Barry, and Ofra Maysel) Preparing to preregister hypothesis and submit to *Emerging Adulthood*.

Findings from the National Study on Congregations Economic Practices, funded by Lilly Endowment, *various papers anticipated*.

Global Learning and High-Impact Practices in the Philanthropic Studies Classroom, revise and resubmit from the *Journal of Nonprofit and Educational Leadership*

Cuban Civil Society in Comparative Perspective, in progress to submit to *Governar: The Public Policy Journal of Latin America*

CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS AND MEETINGS

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 2021 | Theology Workshop for Faith and Learning, 1st-Year Faculty, Wheaton College |
| 2020 | ARNOVA Annual Conference, convened virtually, https://www.arnova.org/page/2020_conference |
| 2016- Present | Philanthropy Research Workshop, Indiana University, Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN (weekly event during academic year) |
| 2019 | Reconciliation Institute, Duke Seminary and Center for Reconciliation, Durham, NC, Immigration Issues Track |
| 2019 | ISTR Latin America Conference, EAFIT University, Medellín, Colombia |
| 2019 | Leadership Roundtable, The Fundraising School, Indiana University, Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN |
| 2019 | Center for Service and Learning Research Academy, Indiana University, Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN |
| 2018 | Indiana Conference on Citizenship, Sagamore Institute, Indianapolis, IN |
| 2018 | Latino Lectures, Fuller Seminary, Pasadena, CA |
| 2018 | Muslim Philanthropy Symposium, Indiana University, Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN |

- 2017 ARNOVA Annual Conference, Grand Rapids, MI
- 2017 Lilly Endowment Meeting: National Initiative to Address the Economic Challenges Facing Pastors, Indianapolis, IN
- 2017 Nonprofit Academic Center Council Biennial Conference, Indianapolis, IN
- 2017 Women's Philanthropy Institute Annual Conference
- 2017 Lake Institute Thought Leaders' Meeting
- 2016 Indiana Foreign Language Teachers Conference, Indianapolis, IN
- 2016 Global Learning Conference, Indianapolis Mayor's Office of Global and Intercultural Affairs, Indianapolis, IN (Conference Organizer)
- 2014 Global Learning Conference, Indianapolis Mayor's Office of Global and Intercultural Affairs, Indianapolis, IN (Conference Organizer and Presider)
- 2014 Community Engaged Teaching Conference and Research Academy, Center for Service and Learning, Indiana University, Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN
- 2014 Indiana Foreign Language Teacher's Conference, Indianapolis, IN
- 2014 Global MindED Conference, Denver, Colorado

PRESENTATIONS

- 2020 Cross-Cultural Values: A Meta-Analysis of Major Quantitative Studies in the Last Decade, ARNOVA Annual Conference
- 2019 The Double Nature of Cuban Protestantism and Philanthropy, ISTR Latin America Conference
- 2018 There is no "I" in "Team": The effect of teams on fundraising, ISTR bi-annual conference
- 2017 There is no "I" in "Team": The effect of teams on fundraising, ARNOVA annual conference
- 2017 Nonprofit Leadership in the Era of Globalization, invited presentation to Nelson Mandela Fellows, Sagamore Institute
- 2016 Asset-based Global Education Development, Indiana Foreign Language Teachers Association Conference
- 2015 Indiana Foreign Language Annual Meeting: invited panelist
- 2014 Travel: for Professional Development and Personal Transformation, Indiana Foreign Language Teachers Association

2010 Introduction to Major Gifts Fundraising, invited presentation to Casa Hogar Board of Trustees

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations & Voluntary Action International

Society for Third Sector Research

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion

ACCORD Network

VOLUNTARY SERVICE

2016-present India Collective Board Member

2006-present Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Alumni Association

2018-2019 Global Indiana Board Member, Chairwoman of the Board

2012-2014 Global Indiana Board Member

HONORS AND AWARDS

2020 Premiere 50 and Elite 10 Graduate Student, IUPUI

2017-2019 Ilchman-Dickinson Fellowship, Lilly Family School of Philanthropy

2017 Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Study Abroad Scholarship

2016-2017 Graduate Student Assistantship, Indiana University

2001 Cain Award for Religious Leadership, Franklin College

2000 Bridges Travel Award to Study Journalism, Spanish, Franklin College