CROSS-CULTURAL LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE SALVATION ARMY PNG

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PART I: GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ORGANISATION

The Salvation Army is an integral part of the Christian church, although distinctive in government and practice. The movement, founded in 1865, by William Booth, has spread from London to many parts of the world. The rapid deployment of the first Salvationists was aided by the adoption of a quasi-military command structure in 1878, when the title, "The Salvation Army", was brought into use. Members of The Salvation Army are called "soldiers". Full-time officers are usually engaged as pastors, social workers, and administrators. Leadership in The Army is provided by commissioned officers, who are recognised ministers of religion. The Salvation Army is under the authority of the General, based in England. Countries with a strong Salvation Army movement are referred to as Territories, under the authority of a Territorial Commander.

Evangelistic and social enterprises are maintained. Raised to evangelise, The Army spontaneously embarked on schemes for the social betterment of the poor. Such concerns have since developed, wherever they operate (Sutherland).

THE SALVATION ARMY PNG

The Salvation Army officially commenced in Papua New Guinea on August 31, 1956. The work was started by missionaries, and was heavily

supported (financially and by human resources) in the past by the overseas department of the International Headquarters in London, and The Salvation Army Australia. On July 4, 1994, after 38 years as part of The Salvation Army Australia, Papua New Guinea became an independent organisation. In 2000, The Salvation Army PNG changed from a Command to a Territory. Today there are over 130 active officers (husband and wife included) within the organisation, with 18 cadets in the officers' training college. In addition, about 300 employees are working in 31 institutions, such as motels, schools, health centres, community development programs, and counselling centres. The organisation runs 47 churches and 31 outposts, maintaining two training centres for future officers.

The structure of The Salvation Army PNG is army-like. According to Mintzberg, the structure is most likely identical with the machine bureaucracy (Mintzberg, 1979). Important decisions are made at the strategic apex; managers and standardised procedure control day-to-day operations. Authorities block, as well as initiate, change, punish, as well as reward. At the beginning of 2004, The Salvation Army PNG is supported by the following expatriates:

Status	Civil Status	Position	Location
Officer (Rank of Colonel)	Couple	Territorial Commander Territorial President of Women's Ministry	Port Moresby
Officer (Rank of Major)	Couple	Secretary for Social Program (Executive Level) Social Service Coordinator South	Port Moresby
Officer (Rank of Major)	Couple	Secretary for Personnel (Executive Level) *War Cry* editor	Port Moresby
Officer (Rank of Major)	Couple	Secretary for Business Administration (Executive Level) Assistant Secretary for Personnel	Port Moresby
Officer (Rank of Captain)	Couple with 3 children	Training Principal at the Officers' College	Port Moresby
Officer (Rank of Lieutenant)	Single female	Health and Development Adviser	Port Moresby
Lay worker	Couple with 4 children	Education Adviser Administration Manager Boroko Primary School	Port Moresby
Lay worker	Couple with 3 children	Agricultural Adviser	Kainantu

The Organisation

The executive level includes a Territorial Commander (expatriate), a Territorial President for Women's Ministry (expatriate), a Chief Secretary (PNG national), a Secretary for Corps Program (expatriate), a Secretary for Social Program (expatriate), a Secretary for Business and Administration (expatriate), a Secretary for Personnel (expatriate). Expatriates, called reinforcement officers, are usually representatives of the Western culture, and certainly support the organisation in their efforts to comply with the structures, procedures, and administrative, and operational aspects within the organisation. Higher-ranking national officers and staff

are usually exposed to training courses held overseas (ICO, university-degree courses, other administrative courses). In this way, The Salvation Army ensures that Papua New Guinean officers are able to understand the Western worldview, and organisational procedures, and apply it within their position.

PART II: ORGANISATIONAL REVIEW

PURPOSE OF THE REVIEW

The purpose of the review is to analyse The Salvation Army leadership values and culture and compare it with Melanesian or PNG culture. The review shall highlight organisational problems related, in some way, to cultural differences. The review shall also identify key value differences in economic and social relationships, and address the tension occurring between PNG values and culture and The Salvation Army values and culture, which represents a mainly Western-based value and belief system. It shall focus on specific value characteristics for each social environment assessed. From this diagnosis of the social environment and value differences, The Salvation Army leadership shall be able to determine how best to develop the existing ministries to obtain maximum effectiveness, in relationship with Papua New Guineans.

METHOD OF ASSESSMENT

For the purpose of this article, I made a division between The Salvation Army PNG culture and values (The Salvation Army, as an institution, is mainly based on Western culture) and the Papua New Guinea culture and value system. The differences that occur between the two categories are not always a result of a division, but I believe that most of the problems and tensions highlighted in this article have their roots in the different values and belief systems. As a means to analyse the differences, I make use of the grid/group model suggested by Sherwood Lingenfelter (1992, 1996).

Concept of Grid

The concept of grid examines and compares the degree of autonomy given to individuals in diverse social settings. Lingenfelter (1992) says that the grid focuses on how the social system sorts and constrains individuals, by

distinctive role categories. The larger the number of role categories, the greater the number of social distinctions will be, and the more constrained will be the autonomy of individuals in social relations. In other words, the larger the number of rules, the more social relationships are structured, and less autonomy is given to individuals. At the low end of the grid, society has few social distinctions among its members, such as male-female or child-parent. In a low grid social environment, the skills and position of leadership are generally open to the ambitious, and the individuals, who occupy them, are considered best among equals (common among Papua New Guinean tribes). The high grid social environments consist of multiple social distinctions. Such environments generally are hierarchical, with a few role distinctions at the top, and many role distinctions at the middle and bottom areas. Roles at the top have uniquely-defined value and power, and these roles are limited to a small number of individuals within the total social environments (private universities, hospitals, The Salvation Army).

Concept of Group
The second variable in Douglas' model is the concept of group. The group concept is well known from the social literature. Societies that place a high value on group survival are collectivist, while societies that place a low value on group survival are individualist in orientation. Papua New Guinea has a society that is strongly collectivist in orientation. The author would consider The Salvation Army as an organisation with moderate group-focused activities. Most Western societies and organisations would be considered as low-group in orientation.

Social Environments
The model developed by Mary Douglas, 1982, identifies four distinctive types of social environment: A-Individualist, B-Bureaucratic systemic, C-Corporate systemic, and D-Collectivist. At the same time, the model distinguishes between low and high grid and low and high group. Low grid refers to the unique value of an individual, with an open competitive environment. High grid means that individuals are judged on the basis of their role performance, and are rewarded for achieving role expectations. Low group social environment results in little pressure for group-focused

activity, and individuals cooperate with one another, primarily for instrumental goals. High group social environment considers high pressure for group-related activities and individuals must continually evaluate collective, as well as personal, interests.

Personal observation and involvement, as well as informal interviews and conversations, provided the data for measuring each of the six social environment grid/group variables.

High grid	**B** Bureaucratic systemic	**C** Corporate systemic
Low grid	Individualist **A**	Collectivist **D**
	Low group	High group

Figure 1: Types of Social Environment, Lingenfelter (1992), p. 32

THE AUTHOR'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE SALVATION ARMY

From 1997 to 2004, the author worked for The Salvation Army PNG (SAPNG). From 1988 to 1990, the author worked for The Salvation Army Sri Lanka. Much of the information for this review was acquired through personal observation, and informal conversations with Salvation Army leadership personnel (national staff and expatriates), mainly in Papua New Guinea. Information was also gathered through analysing board minutes, Salvation Army statements and strategy papers, as well as other documents of the organisation.

In personal interviews with personnel at executive level (Secretary for Personnel and Territorial Commander), the author was able to learn about organisational culture, and the human resource situation, within SAPNG.

The author was involved in middle management of SAPNG for six years. In his position as Agricultural Adviser and Project Manager, he was responsible for eight employees. He was affected directly by management decisions done at executive level, and by his national coordinator. For

three years, his direct supervisor was firstly a national officer, and then a national employee. He experienced the influence of national leadership directly, but he also experienced the impact of his own management/leadership decisions on the human resources available to him.

PART III: SUMMARY OF ASSESSMENT FOR SIX SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT 1: PROPERTY INTEREST AND CULTURAL BIAS

Narrative Summary of Findings

The SAPNG holds a variety of properties. Officers and staff, with higher positions, are provided with housing. Executive level staff have access to a personal vehicle. The Salvation Army Social Services North (SSN) uses an office with computers, desks, furnishings, copy machines, and other office equipment, six vehicles, and several store rooms.

Access to the available resources (housing, vehicles, computers, telephones), maintenance of the property (housing, office, vehicles), and "misappropriation" are major issues of conflicts between the officers and the administration. A lot of time is spent in meetings, at the administrative level, to solve property-related issues. Regular complaints by staff and officers are the daily business of people at the management level, and the frustration level of the administrative personnel is high. Property often confers personal prestige, and, to keep it, becomes a high value. The Salvation Army operates in a bureaucratic, social environment, in which there is a strong emphasis on hierarchy. Property goes along with a certain position or section of the organisation, and it is expected that each person or section preserves their holdings, and maintains them carefully, as they represent a significant dimension for the organisation. Traditionally, PNG people give priority to people over property, and their primary concern is to maintain the group interests. They spend little effort and time on preservation and maintenance of houses, vehicles, and other equipment, which are primarily utilitarian in value. However, men and women spend considerable effort in preparation of fields, and the cultivation of food resources that support the extended family. PNG society puts a strong emphasis on group ownership of economic resources.

The Grid and Group Dimension

The Salvation Army holds a moderate grid perspective (+1) on property. The appearance and maintenance of the facilities suggests identity. Property is mainly functional, but needs to be properly maintained and used, to preserve resources. However, property-related decisions, such as the purchase or sale of land or housing, needs approval of the International Headquarters. PNG people hold a moderate grid perspective on property as well (-1.5). Property has a strong symbolic value for them, and officers usually emphasise the right for appropriate housing and reward of their role. Property is linked to the allocation of status, and not so much on the efficient use of it.

Property variables: The Salvation Army PNG (SAPNG) versus Papua New Guineans (PNGs)				
High grid		Low grid	SAPNG	PNGs
Property held for symbolic value		Estate held for value transaction	SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Reward for right behaviour	-1	Outcome of individual effort	1/-0.5	0/-1
+1	Attributed with symbolic value	-1	Utilitarian value only	0.5/-0.5	1/-0.5
+1	Secured for protection in crisis	-1	Invested at risk	0.5/0	0/-1
+1	Right of occupation/class identity	-1	Right of labour/resources invested	1/-0.5	0/-0.5
+1	Self-esteem = possession/preservation	-1	Self-esteem = management/exploitation	0.5/-0.5	0.5/0
	Sum of grid variables			1	-1.5

Strong group		Weak group		SAPNG	PNGs
Corporate interests emphasised		Individual interests emphasised		SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Corporate title of ownership	-1	Individual title of ownership	0/-1	1/0
+1	Group dispersed use rights	-1	Owner allocated use rights	0/-0.5	1/0
+1	Corporate rights to produce	-1	Individual rights to produce	0/-0.5	1/0
+1	Collective obligation – maintenance, security	-1	Individual maintenance, security	0/-0.5	0.5/0
+1	Collective control of disposal	-1	Individual decision to dispose	0/-0.5	1/0
	Sum of grid variables			-3	4.5

Table 1: Grid and group dimension of property and assets values/interests

Concerning the group dimension, I would like to mention that The Salvation Army and the PNG people understand property as shared ownership. However, The Salvation Army considers property as an asset owned by The Salvation Army, while the Papua New Guineans would

consider this asset as part of The Salvation Army, but also would feel obligated to share it with their extended family/clan. The Salvation Army has strict rules about the use of property/assets, and is more concerned about maintenance, loaning of vehicles or homes, shared with other extended family members. Papua New Guineans feel less obligated to maintain corporate property, and would often loan vehicles and homes to extended family members, risking their resources.
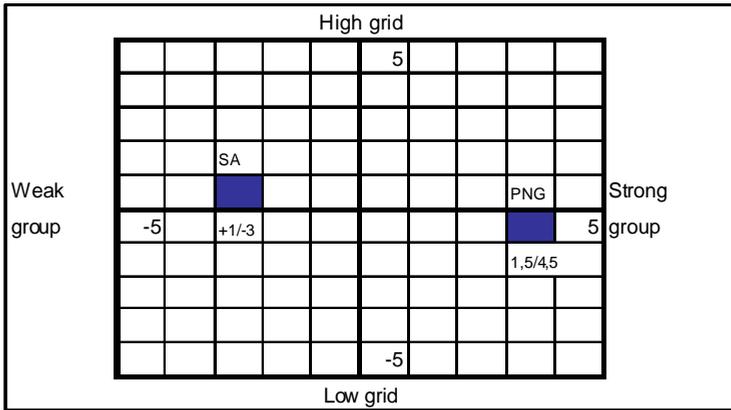

Figure 2: Chart indicating grid and group dimension for property values/interests for The Salvation Army and Papua New Guineans. The first number stands for the grid dimension, the second number represents the group dimension.

Effectiveness Scale

The Salvation Army PNG struggles with making sure that organisational assets are used according to their purposes, and are maintained. The allocation of resources (property, vehicle, office space), the use of these resources, and their maintenance, are a permanent challenge for the administrative levels and board meetings. Papua New Guineans feel obligated to share the resources belonging to The Salvation Army with their extended families and clan members. Resources/assets are seen as highly utilitarian, and personal ownership is an alien concept for Papua New Guineans. The management of property and assets within The Salvation Army PNG is moderately effective.

Recommendations to Increase Effectiveness

1. Seek and implement new ways of communicating ownership of property and assets within The Salvation Army. Tribe and clan ownership of church property and buildings should be encouraged and emphasised. This is, maybe, a long and painful exercise, but, finally, the only sustainable way to make sure that property is maintained by church members.

2. The less property/assets The Salvation Army owns the less energy is needed to prevent disorder, misappropriation, and maintenance.

3. The Salvation Army must become more dependent on the Papua New Guineans. The provision of property and assets leads to high expectations among the officers and staff, believing that, only with the appropriate allocation of resources, can the gospel be shared with the people on the streets, and in the villages.

4. There will always be tension and conflicting values about property in PNG. The Salvation Army owns several business-oriented institutions, such as motels, schools, and a printing press. The main purpose of these institutions is to make money to support the church work. These institutions depend on property and assets, and run most effectively under a Western-based business system.

5. "The biblical message is that we are freed from the bondage of property, regardless of the social environment we find ourselves in" (S. Lingenfelter, 1992, p.55). The issue is not having wealth or property, but, rather, the values that are behind our attitudes toward property and ministry. In other words, property/assets shall not become the centre of our personal lives, or the centre for organisations like The Salvation Army.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT 2: LABOR, PRODUCTIVITY, AND CULTURAL BIAS

Narrative Summary of Findings

"The simplest types of goals found in society are the goals of subsistence" (Lingenfelter, 1992, p.64). Quite a few Papua New Guinean tribes are motivated primarily by goals of subsistence. In most societies of the world, people are engaged in activities that go beyond subsistence for their daily lives. Many people seek to obtain surplus. Most Papua New Guineans can be described as collectivists: scheduled by goals and group interests, they work according to their individual and group interests, they work together in small groups. People may work on personal projects as long as the demands of the group do not interfere. Leadership is identified on the basis of group service, and submission to the group leadership. Papua New Guineans believe that maintaining good relationship (with people, spirits, and the environment), and doing the right things for their relatives and friends, is much more important than having the reputation as a hard worker.

The Salvation Army is a fairly typical example of a bureaucratic, social environment. Each position has its job description, and specific assignments. Work is always by role assignments, and follows specific rules. Productivity in this work environment is defined in relationship to time and product. To do hard work has a high value within the organisation, and there is a strong belief that hard work will be rewarded. In The Salvation Army, officers and staff are expected to be at their work from 8 am to 5 pm. Labor is regulated, and rewarded with wages.

The Grid and Group Dimension

The Salvation Army PNG represents, in general, a high-grid social environment. The division of labor is increasingly specialised. The system has clear outlines of positions, rules, and procedures. The organisation has a clear hierarchy of who regulates the workers'/officers' schedules, productivity (activity), and relationships, and compensates for the labor process. On the other hand, SAPNG has a moderate, low-group dimension. This is certainly influenced by the PNG culture. But there are also many procedures in place that make it hard for The Salvation Army

officers or workers to act independently. Most activities need to be conducted as a team, and are corporately organised, and they are interdependent. However, it is possible for individuals to become very powerful, so that they are able to manipulate resources independently, regardless of the constraints of others in the organisation.

I would consider the Papua New Guineans as low-grid and strong group-oriented. Individuals are measured in terms of commitment to serve the group. Senior men are rewarded with leadership roles, in recognition for their group contribution. The people focus on goals and activities that are defined by the group interests. I heard a few times that people were referring to working in the office, or even general working, according to set rules, as *kalabus*, which means "prison".

Labour interest variables: The Salvation Army PNG (SAPNG) versus Papua New Guineans (PNGs)					
High grid		Low grid			
Labour by rule and role		Labour by goal, task		SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Organised by rule, role assignment	-1	Organised by task/goal	1/0	0/-1
+1	Scheduled by standard and routine	-1	Schedule by goal consideration	1-0.5	0/-1
+1	Productivity = time and product rule	-1	Productivity = effort and goals achieved	1/-0.5	0/-1
+1	Motivation = role and reward	-1	Motivation = self-defined interest	1/-0.5	0.5/-1
+1	Objectives are authority directed	-1	Objectives are self-directed	1/0	0.5/-1
	Sum of grid variables			3.5	-4

Strong group		Weak group			
Corporately directed		Individual directed		SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Group initiated, planned work projects	-1	Individual-initiated planned work projects	0/-1	1/0
+1	Corporately organised cooperation	-1	Activity-focused cooperation	0.5/-0.5	1/-0.5
+1	Interaction/work comingled	-1	Interaction/work separated	0.5/-0.5	1/0
+1	Integration of labour by symbol (food/ritual)	-1	Integration of labour by functional utility	0.5/-0.5	0-5/0
+1	Group-focused celebration and reward	-1	Individual-focused reward payment	0.5/-0.5	1/0
	Sum of grid variables			-1	4

Table 2: Grid and group dimension of labor values/interests

Figure 3: Chart indicating grid and group dimension for labor interests/values for The Salvation Army and Papua New Guineans. The first number stands for the grid dimension, the second number represents the group dimension.

Effectiveness Scale

Papua New Guineans find it difficult to work in a role- and rule-dominated environment. The Salvation Army "Western" concept of rules, time, procedures, position, orientation towards the future, and the high action path, is a difficult concept for most Papua New Guineans. "The Papua New Guineans are far more concerned about what others in the group think of them than they are about measuring their achievements by some objective standards" (Loving, 1994). If Papua New Guineans would be able to work just long enough to get money for school fees, clothing, and store goods, they would be happy after that to quit, and relax in the village, without being bound to a five-days-a-week work commitment. In other words, they want progress, without giving up the benefits of their traditional lifestyle, called the "Melanesian way" (Narokobi, 1980). This is an area of conflict, as people see it is usually not possible to get the best of both worlds. Loving mentions that even one of Papua New Guinea's prime ministers stated once publicly that there is no "Melanesian way" to fly an aeroplane. The management of labor within The Salvation Army PNG is moderately effective.

Recommendations to Increase Effectiveness

1. The Salvation Army must be careful not to give production a higher priority than relationships. Papua New Guineans are relationship-centred, and there should always be the time and the willingness to be interrupted. Especially for Western missionaries (officers), who are usually high achievers, this priority will not be easy to set, and it may be necessary for such people to make sure that they do not overload their work schedule so that there is always enough time for people.

2. The Salvation Army could plan event-oriented, rather than by scheduled activities, organised by time, rules, and procedures. It is amazing how motivated PNG people and The Salvation Army staff can get if they can plan and organise an event.

3. The Salvation Army tends to equate time with money. To waste time as an employee of The Salvation Army is to waste money of The Salvation Army. People in PNG live the kind of relax-and-enjoy-it mentality, and take life as it comes. This may require The Salvation Army to review the way it employs people. Some of the staff may be better off with 50 percent-60 percent employment, which would give them enough time for keeping up social obligations and interaction with their group environment.

4. I believe it would be helpful for The Salvation Army to review its rules and procedures. The Salvation Army has been working now for almost 40 years in PNG, and each leadership has added some additional rules and procedures. Many rules and procedures may be outdated, or not really relevant. In a review, the rules would need to stand up to questions like: "Does this rule help or prevent the institution from running effectively, in the PNG context?" and "Does it contribute to saving souls?"

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT 3: GENEROSITY AND EXCHANGE

Narrative Summary of Findings

Generosity and exchange are important concepts in a society dealing with reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. In the Western world, independence is quite an important value, and people feel reluctant to share and exchange with another. To ask for tools to borrow, for example, is somehow embarrassing. Among Papua New Guineans, borrowing is an ordinary part of everyday life. This is especially true among the same kin group. People in Papua New Guinea are generally willing to share what they have with others. One is not under obligation to return a borrowed object until the person, who needs it, calls for it. For example, I was asked by one of my staff to lend him K100 for his wife's airfare from Port Moresby to Lae. He said he would pay it back. He paid me back K50 the next month, but he never paid the left-over K50. Unless I ask him to return the money, he will not feel obligated to do so.

The Grid and Group Dimension

In a high-grid society, asking is humiliating. The one who asks is always lower than the one who gives. Repayment restores the equality between the people involved. Unless there is a proper contract or agreement in place about the borrowed object, and the agreement is followed up, people would feel uneasy, and would avoid contact, if possible.

In a low-grid social environment, asking is permitted, and even encouraged. Each one is struggling to gain advantage, as individual autonomy is highly valued. Asking and giving is part of a negotiating process, with the aim to make long-term individual gain.

In a high-group social environment, asking is seen as putting the group at risk. Within the group, asking is no problem, and is even encouraged, to strengthen group interdependence. However, it is risky to ask assistance from outside of the group, as the request could be denied, and leaders and the group could be exposed to shame. In a low-group social environment, the person asking is only risking a specific relationship. Therefore, asking is advantageous.

Exchange variables: The Salvation Army PNG (SAPNG) versus Papua New Guineans (PNGs)					
High grid		Low grid			
Superior/inferior, prescribed		Instrumental, negotiated		SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Superior/inferior relationships	-1	Instrumental relationship	1/-1	1/-1
+1	Asking is humiliating	-1	Asking is negotiating	1/0	1/0
+1	Giving is structured by duty and role	-1	Giving is structured for profit/honour	1/-0.5	0/-0.5
+1	Repaying includes service, respect, kind	-1	Repaying in kind, with interest	1/-1	1/-0.5
+1	Exchange value is prescribed	-1	Exchange value is negotiated	0.5/-1	0/-1
	Sum of grid variables			1	0

Strong group		Weak group			
Corporate regulated		Individually regulated		SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Calculate social gain/debt	-1	Calculated economic gain/cost	0.5/-0.5	1/0
+1	Minimise group debt	-1	Maximise personal debt	0.5/-0.5	1/0.5
+1	Exchange is public, symbolic	-1	Exchange is private, material	0.5/-0.5	1/0
+1	Negotiate privately for parity	-1	Negotiated openly for profit	0.5/-0.5	1/0
+1	Sharing/generosity highly valued	-1	Self-interest is expected	1/0	1/0
	Sum of grid variables			1	4.5

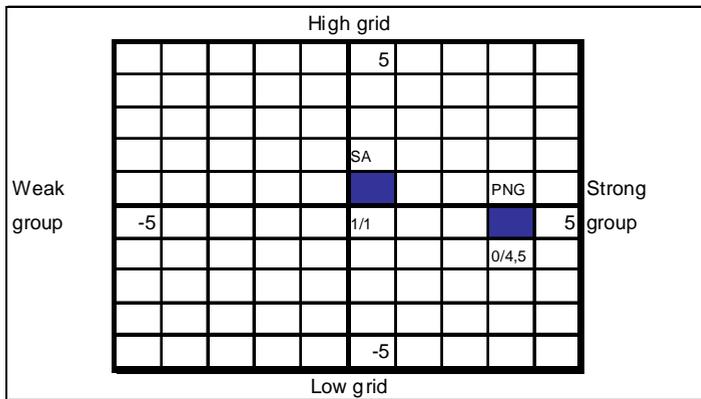Table 3: Grid and group dimension of exchange values/interests

Figure 4: Chart indicating grid and group dimensions for exchange interests/values for The Salvation Army and Papua New Guineans. The first number stands for the grid dimension, the second number represents the group dimension.

For The Salvation Army PNG, and Papua New Guineans, sharing and exchange are very important values. While some differences do exist, they are largely due to the fact that, for Papua New Guineans, giving has a lot to do with social prestige, honour, and political power, or the risk of loss of social status, if they do not share within their clan. Therefore, they show a high-group/clan pressure to give, for the good of the group/clan.

Effectiveness Scale

The Salvation Army is in a difficult position. Christian ethics puts high emphasis on sharing and giving. Part of The Salvation Army core values and strengths is serving the poor. Papua New Guineans understand sharing, mainly within their own group. The *wantok* system is very strong, and obligates national Salvation Army leaders to give special attention to their own clan or tribe. As most of the Papua New Guineans fear that someone out of their group will get ahead of them in the competition of resources and wealth, individuals are pressed to give for the good of the clan or tribe. In conversation with the present Territorial Commander, I learned that most Salvation Army churches in PNG show very poor tithing (giving the "tenth"). This could be founded in the fear of the Papua New Guineans that no return is assured. Giving to outsiders is risky, as one could be exposed to economic loss. The same is true for probably most missionaries in PNG. Economic resources are seen as something that is short, and should be conserved, and well used. The Salvation Army believes that God entrusted resources to them, and, therefore, these need to be carefully managed. What they will give away must be used wisely, and the person asking The Salvation Army is expected not to exploit them, or their resources.

Recommendations to Increase Effectiveness

1.	Sherwood Lingenfelter writes: "Because the social systems are designed to protect public values of good, and to control deviating behaviour of individuals within the social environment, the standard within the culture usually addresses human fear of loss and exploitation (Lingenfelter, 1992, p. 100). To increase effectiveness, we need to address our fears.

Many people knock at The Salvation Army door and ask for cargo, money, and other material help. Instead of seeing him or her as an annoyance, we should view every person who comes as an opportunity for relationship, and for sharing the gospel. Sharing money or cargo should never be a brief transaction (Lingenfelter, 1992, p. 104).

2.   The Salvation Army needs to learn to ask for things they do. The welfare or handout mentality leads to a relationship that becomes one of a dominant and subordinates. If we ask for reciprocal giving, we honour PNG culture, and the dignity of the people.

3.   Papua New Guineans need to address their fear that someone will get ahead of them in the competition for resources and wealth.

4.   The Salvation Army soldiers in Papua New Guinea also will need to learn to give without expecting that anything will come back. Especially with giving the tenth to the church, there is no visible return assured.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT 5: AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY

Narrative Summary of Findings

To understand authority, we need to look at the issue of power, and how power is allocated to individuals. In every society, the question of where power is allocated illustrates the authority dimension of relationships between individuals and groups (Lingenfelter, 1992, p. 140). Richard Adams (1975) identified four ways in which power can be distributed: independent power (one person holds control), granted power (one person is giving decision-making power to another), allocated power (majority support from members of a group), and delegated power (authority delegated to subordinates). The Salvation Army is probably a typical example of collective allocation of power. Soldiers allocate power to the officers (contributions and attendance). At the same time, power is delegated back to certain people. In a high-grid social environment – like

The Salvation Army, as an organisation – centralisation of power is a critical issue of power relationship. In a low-grid social environment, like PNG, there is a greater presence of independent power, and only limited power is granted and allocated to others within the group or community. Power relationships are decentralised, and maintaining independence is more important than the motivation to share power.

The Grid and Group Dimension

Assessing the grid dimension:

- The Salvation Army power is organised in a hierarchy. In PNG, men form temporary alliances. Alliances may shift and change quickly, as other issues become important, such as, conflicts, cargo, competition, and political aspirations.

- The Salvation Army makes their decisions through a central authority. In PNG, decision-making is a very complex, public process, involving, usually, the whole village in the discussion. The process may take days of debate and negotiations.

- The Salvation Army leadership delegates power, because a single leader at the top is unable to coordinate all the power decisions. In PNG, the "big man" gains allies through the distribution of his own wealth, to create reciprocal obligations from the receiver. The power of a leader is built and sustained by generosity, and by the number of people who are indebted to him.

- In The Salvation Army, leaders exercise power, mainly independently. In PNG, the members retain independent power. People in PNG usually build alliances to several "big men", to keep social independence.

● In The Salvation Army, the soldiers allocate power to those over them. In PNG, people prefer to manage power through reciprocal exchange.

Assessing the group dimension:

● The Salvation Army puts great emphasis on her heritage, and the organisation gains a lot of strength from her affirmation of doctrines, and belief systems. The same is true for Papua New Guineans. They share a strong emphasis on "*tumbuna*" (ancestor) stories, and belief systems, that are passed on from one generation to another.

● Powerful rituals and symbols reaffirm the unity and strength of a group. This is true for both The Salvation Army, as an organisation, and for the tribes in PNG.

● In regard to the decision-making process The Salvation Army tends towards a weak-group social environment that allows individuals in hierarchical positions to seize power. Papua New Guineans, rather, use consensus decision-making as an ideal for strong group situations. Majority rule is less desirable.

● Papua New Guineans and The Salvation Army generally put a strong group value on members to support leaders and decisions. They form a consensus power bloc to support one another, in opposition to outsiders, or to members who fail to conform.

Community authority variables: The Salvation Army PNG (SAPNG) versus Papua New Guineans (PNGs)					
High grid		Low grid			
	Centralisation		Aggregation	SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Hierarchy of power units	-1	Aggregate interest cluster	1/0	0/-1
+1	Central unit decisions	-1	Decisions negotiated situationally	1/0	0/-1
+1	Leader delegates power	-1	Leader's power is aggregate	1/0	0/-1
+1	Leader exercises power independently	-1	Members retain independent power	1/-0.5	0.5/-1
+1	Members allocate power centrally	-1	Power granted only reciprocally	1/0	0/-1
	Sum of grid variables			4.5	-4.5

Strong group		Weak group			
	Coordination		Fragmentation	SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Heritage of common faith/beliefs	-1	Variant faith/belief	1/0	1/0
+1	Affirmation of unity by ritual/symbol	-1	Brittle, isolating structure, identify relations	1/0	1/0
+1	Group decision by majority/consensus	-1	Segmented personal power decisions	0/-1	1/-0.5
+1	Obligation of reciprocity among members	-1	Support conditional upon interest	0.5/-0.5	1/0
+1	Social links reinforce authority (kin/class)	-1	Social links are means to ends	0.5/-0.5	1/0
	Sum of grid variables			1	4.5

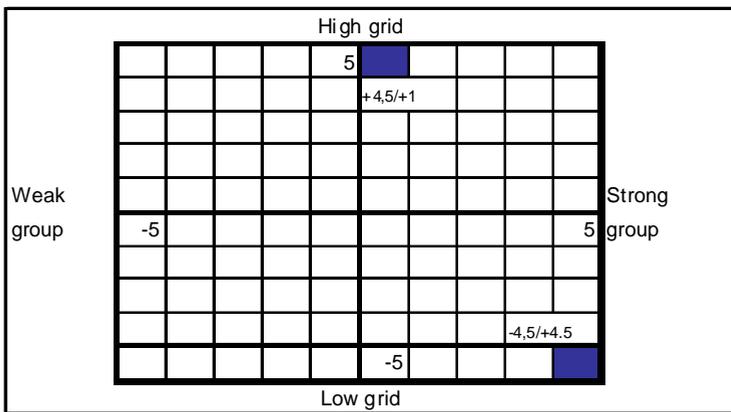Table 4: Grid and group dimension of community authority/values

Figure 5: Chart indicating grid and group dimension for community authority/values for The Salvation Army and Papua New Guineans. The first number stands for the grid dimension, the second number represents the group dimension.

Effectiveness Scale

The Salvation Army is moderately effective in using her values and patterns of authority in Papua New Guinea. There is a strong discrepancy in the grid dimension between The Salvation Army and Papua New Guineans. However, they match generally well in the group dimension. Both place a high value on group heritage, rituals, and symbols.

Recommendations to Increase Effectiveness

Recommendations are difficult as there is no "correct" structure of authority taught in the Bible. No single organisational model is mandated or taught in the Bible. On the contrary, the organisational structure of the early church adapted to changing social needs. Therefore, it is may be worthwhile to think about how The Salvation Army can adjust its structure of authority to match the social environment of Papua New Guinea. Sherwood Lingenfelter writes: "Obviously church leaders must exercise authority in the church. However there are many different forms, in which authority may be exercised. The critical issue regarding authority in the church is not the form that that authority takes, but, rather, the manner and the motivation, by which the leader exercises that responsibility" (Lingenfelter, 1992, p. 155).

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT 6: DISPUTES, CONFLICTS, AND COMMUNICATION

Narrative Summary of Findings

The book, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures* (Augsburger, 1992), provided me with new insights of how high-context cultures, like PNG, are dealing with conflicts. The experience and reflection of my own culture, mirrored in PNG culture over the last five years, was a very enriching process.

Today, I am aware of the highly-individual culture I come from, and how it affects my thinking, my behaviour, and my values. From 1993 until 1996, I did my bachelor degree in social work in Switzerland. The studies focused on being skilled to confront people, and to be able to manage conflicts on a one-to-one basis. We were taught to use a direct mode,

looking for a solution-oriented strategy, and to verbalise emotions directly. In the background, is the emphasis of the "I-identity", of self-face concern, autonomy, and self-reliance.

Confronted with PNG culture, I had to rethink my conflict skills completely. I felt insecure, and experienced frustration in dealing with people and disagreements. Communication is highly indirect, hidden, other-concerned with obliging, or avoiding confrontation style. Confrontation never happens directly – even asking a simple question is usually relayed by a third person. Also, emotions are usually expressed indirectly.

In The Salvation Army, I hold the position of a project manager. Early in 2001, The Salvation Army appointed a national superior as Director for Development Services, based in Port Moresby. My projects in Kainantu (one- hour flight from the capital) came under his portfolio. At our yearly planning meeting, we decided to use a certain strategy to approach the involved communities. However, the Director for Development Services must have changed his mind, and started to communicate and advise my staff about the project activities and project implementation. After a while, I started to lose control about the movements of my staff, and I sent a fax, questioning his approach. This made the situation worse, and communication with the Director came almost to a standstill. Now, I realise that the confrontation nearly two years ago had produced an enemy, and stimulated significant animosity and hostility towards me. Even though I felt that I was 100 percent right, my behaviour, in the PNG setting, had not been appropriate, and had generated strong negative feelings towards me. Only now, after reading some books about conflict management, I begin to understand the inappropriateness of my behaviour. The manner, in which Papua New Guineans settle disputes, and the manner, in which they conduct themselves in conflict with one another, are extremely different from that of my own social environment. My behaviour on that occasion, no matter how justified in my own eyes, was completely inappropriate and unacceptable to the Director for Development Services.

The Grid and Group Dimension

The Salvation Army is typical, for a high-grid organisation. The hierarchy is conceptualised as a "chain of command". Soldiers and officers are expected to "follow", and to be highly loyal. Formal confrontation, and an authority that has to arbitrate conflicts, is frequently the case in high-grid organisations. Usually a win/lose decision is the result of conflicts in hierarchical conflict settings.

The characteristics of low-grid dispute settlement are its informality, and its lack of social structure. Lingenfelter argues that the informality, and the lack of institutional support, accompanied by the autonomy of individuals, produce a very different kind of dispute management (Lingenfelter, 1996, p. 150).

In a high-group social environment, a lot of indirect discussions and communication is used to settle conflicts. People will not confront directly. Instead, they will talk to relatives, or to a friend, that they have been injured.

In a low-group context, individuals gain support for personal goals and interest through the relationship with others. Regular social and economic exchange leads to support of one another during situations of conflict.

Conflict and cultural bias: The Salvation Army PNG (SAPNG) versus Papua New Guineans (PNGs)				
High grid		Low grid		
Going through channels		Working the network	SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Formal, institutional channels	-1 Informal channels	1/0	0/-1
+1	Powering the outcome	-1 Finessing the outcome	0.5/0	0/-1
+1	Legitimising dominance	-1 Equalising power	1/0	0/-1
+1	Institutional process	-1 Personally direct process	1/-0.5	0.5/-0.5
+1	Institutional time/agenda	-1 Personal time/agenda	1/0	0/-1
	Sum of grid variables		4	-4

Strong group		Weak group		
Preserving the relationship		Preserving resources	SAPNG	PNGs
+1	Multiplex network of relations	-1 Aggregate factions	0.5/-0.5	1/-0.5
+1	Consensus decision-making	-1 Independent decision-making	0.5/-1	1/0
+1	Protecting vulnerability	-1 Exposing vulnerability	1/0	1/0
+1	Broker/mediation	-1 Display of personal power	0.5/-0.5	1/0
+1	Confrontation avoidance	-1 Open confrontation with equals	0.5/-0.5	1/0
	Sum of grid variables		0.5	4.5

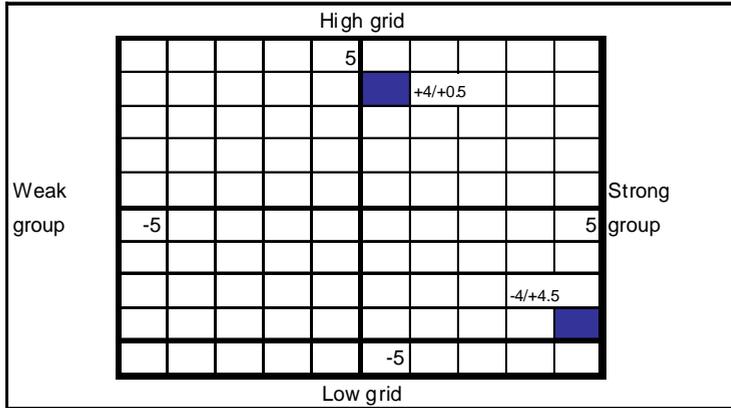Table 5: Grid and group dimension of conflict and cultural values

Figure 6: Chart indicating grid and group dimension for conflict values for The Salvation Army PNG and Papua New Guineans. The first number stands for the grid dimension, the second number represents the group dimension.

Effectiveness Scale

The Salvation Army is moderately effective, preferring to use authoritarian and hierarchical ways to settle disputes. Western missionaries within SAPNG probably also prefer private face-to-face negotiations. Papua New Guineans are very careful to avoid offending others, or saying anything that leads to facing loss or shame. Conflicts within the group are avoided as much as possible, and, when they occur, recognised and skilled mediators deal with it. The person, who feels hurt or shamed, approaches the mediator, and he or she is asked to assist in the dispute, and to help in the negotiations. The mediator then has to make sure that there is no winner and loser in the dispute. David Augsburger (1992, p. 99) calls it the "neither-nor approach" that sees both claims as mixed, with both truth and falsehood. Life is a mystery, appearances are always deceiving, and harmony, unity, and balance are essential things, not truth, perfection, and absoluteness. Unity and good relationships must be restored. The Western worldview, predominant in The Salvation Army, uses an either-or approach that assumes that both claims cannot be equally true. One must be true, the other false. "Objective" criteria are used to choose the one most true. Augsburger writes: "The decision is not seen as THE TRUTH, but is measured by it, and must conform to it."

Recommendations to Increase Effectiveness

1. The Salvation Army PNG should embark on a mediator concept of conflict solution. Officers and staff would be able to tell the leadership which people have the best mediator skills and experience within the organisation. These people could be officially selected, nominated, and empowered by the organisation to assist in conflict situations. Officers and staff could directly require assistance by the mediator in a specific situation.

2. Mediators could be specifically trained in settling disputes within PNG culture. Their skills could be officially recognised. They would serve the organisation at first, but, on request, they could also be sent to families, villages,

communities, squatters, tribes, and other organisations, to help with conflict resolution. I, personally, believe that such a ministry is urgently needed within the *wantok*, and strong tribal system, of PNG.

3. Forgiveness and reconciliation are at the heart of the gospel. This needs to be encouraged and practised as much as possible, and, especially, at leadership level. The importance of the role model cannot be emphasised enough in the PNG context, as people learn mainly by copying from others.

PART IV: INTERVENTION PLAN

CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING

Becoming aware of the worldview, value system, cultural distinctiveness, and leadership styles of Papua New Guineans enables Westerners to have a more effective cross-cultural role in PNG (Loving, 1994, p. 30). The Salvation Army officers and lay-workers from Western countries need to understand PNG culture to better function in this culture, and to make culturally-sensitive decisions. Western missionaries usually assume that the Bible confirms their leadership approach, and they do not realise how strongly they are culturally conditioned to feel that way.

The Salvation Army, as a worldwide organisation, is tempted to use similar, and mainly Western-oriented, leadership styles and values to manage its organisation and activities. Western officers and lay workers, in leadership positions, are usually asked to resume office, make decisions, and run their department, the day after they have arrived here from their home countries.

The author, therefore, recommends that all overseas personnel, who form the rank and positions within the organisation, be asked to take part in a cultural-integration course, at the beginning of their ministry in PNG. It would also be helpful for the person/family arriving from overseas to have a "watch-family" assigned to them, to help them get familiar with the culture. A "watch-family" would also help them to establish relationships with other nationals. Relationships are at the heart of PNG culture and

value system, and Westerners should make it a priority to learn, and to establish, satisfying and reciprocal relationships with the nationals they serve, and among whom they live. Production should not have a higher priority than relationships. Overseas personnel must be willing to be interrupted in their work by nationals. For many of The Salvation Army officers and lay workers from overseas this will not be easy. The author considers himself an achiever type of person, and, for some time, he had to set time aside, when we, as a family, visited neighbours or national staff members at their home. Especially with the children growing older, they often found it boring, and difficult to play, and sit around with the national counterparts.

TIME FOR STUDIES

Learning and using the language that Papua New Guineans are most comfortable with is important. The Salvation Army officers and lay workers from overseas live, work, and travel around Port Moresby, and in small towns around the country. In the majority of these places, most people would speak or understand Pidgin English. Learning a language is always connected with interaction, and learning more about a culture (Nida, 1986). But language studies are not enough. The author believes that reading anthropological notes, such as the *Point* series, published by the Melanesian Institute, are excellent eye-openers for Westerners to understand the culture of Papua New Guinea, and should be part of the missionary's regular reading. Again, discipline is needed, and time has to be set apart for it.

REFLECTION ON CULTURAL BIAS

Reflection on cultural bias is important. We should become aware of them. To identify our bias and fear is the first step. The second step would be to start to practise surrendering them to the Lord Jesus Christ (Lingenfelter, 1996, p. 242). Spiritual disciplines, such as fasting, solitude, sacrifice, study, service, confession, etc., are useful practices to surrender our fears, such as material resources, property, exchange, authority, power, rights, security, individualism, etc. Lingenfelter argues that, if we sustain or promote our own Western values, we will certainly be agents of social

cultural change in the community in which we live. If we plan and promote projects, whose primary objective is better health, more material goods, and higher standard of living, our message of mercy is no different from any other secular relief and development organisation. He urges missionaries to become agents of transformation. If God is able to transform missionaries into His likeness, they will be able to promote kingdom values for the transformation of human life.

The author, therefore, recommends that The Salvation Army organise yearly retreats for overseas personnel in PNG, with the goal of reflecting on their ministry, leadership, cultural bias, and transformation. The author believes that such a time of deep sharing, member care, and exchange would set a new dimension in the work and ministry of The Salvation Army PNG, and would embark upon a new venture in the relationship to national officers and staff.

CONCLUSION

The Salvation Army, as an organisation, is based on Western values and leadership principles. The relationship of the organisation towards property, labor, exchange, generosity, authority, and conflict is sometimes in strong contrast to the values of PNG cultures. The values and principles of The Salvation Army, as an organisation, lead to moderate effectiveness of her ministry in Papua New Guinea. The author, therefore, suggests that The Salvation Army leadership should:

- Ensure that all overseas personnel take part in a cultural integration training course.

- Request overseas personnel to set time aside for cultural studies.

- Organise retreats on a yearly basis for missionaries to reflect cultural bias.

- Nominate a group of people to look at the organisational conflicts, related to cultural bias, and formulate recommendations to the executive board to increase ministry effectiveness.

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