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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE PROCESSES OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION BETWEEN A PROTESTANT MISSION AND SELECTED NATIONAL CHURCHES OVERSEAS

By

Gerald E. Bates

Four cross-cultural conflict situations between a protestant mission board and three autonomous churches in the Third World (specifically, in Burundi, two interlocking cases in Brazil and in India) are examined with a view to identifying and describing probable causalities operating in the encounters. The interactions are explored using the case study method with an emphasis on processes and analytic description achieved through a correlation of (1) respondent material from participants and observers related to the situations; (2) archival sources; and (3) research into the respective sociohistorical environments. The cases are selected from the time period 1960 to the present on the basis of three major criteria:

1. Each case involves an issue important to both parties.

- 2. The conflict is <u>inter-organizational</u>, i.e. at least between two organized groups.
- 3. The interaction is cross-cultural.

Concepts from the fields of conflict resolution, values studies and multinational management are used as basic guides in analysis and reporting. The application of relevant models (Pondy's Conflict Episode Model and the Bachrach/Baratz Political System Model in the organization and analysis of the material in the individual cases makes possible the elevation of the insights provided by the normal case study approach into a larger design which is essentially a comparative study.

Two very fundamental assumptions of the study are that (1) cross-cultural conflicts may nearly always be conceptualized as functions of value differentiations and (2) that values may be inferred from organizational behavior. On this basis Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the denominational value system which is shown to be originally a product of the parent church but which, through processes of organizational modification begun in the early 1960s, is becoming increasingly a shared value system. The issues of the conflict interactions are therefore seen as being generated from two kinds of sources—the "shared" value system and the extra-church environment.

The study confirmed the special importance of values studies and mutual values communication for crosscultural conflict resolution. This conclusion is supported in the cases by evidence of shifts by the respective parties in the rank-ordering of values within the shared value system of which the opposing party was unaware. The kind and extent of values involvement in conflict is also found to be highly determinative in choosing appropriate methods for resolving conflict. The importance of external environmental factors in cross-cultural conflict is demonstrated in each of the cases. The influence on policy of major structural modification within the organization is noted as well as the problem of "image-lag" which occurs when one important sub-unit of a world system undergoes major changes either in structure or in value-ordering. In the organization studied the position of General Missionary Secretary was shown to be very person-determined rather than role-determined. This observation points up a major source of "image change" as antecedent to "image-lag."

Methodologically, this study appeared to confirm the worth of the case study method for handling complex cross-cultural interactions where an emphasis on processes is essential. Recommendations for further investigation include the desirability of developing a taxonomy for more accurate classification of cultures on a

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traditional-complex (or differentiated) continuum. Other suggested areas for further study with respect to cross-cultural conflict are (1) investigation of the influence of economic differentials on value selection, (2) a more systematic analysis of individual participants in a conflict encounter--i.e. by educational level, age, sex, experience, or by a composite measure of "third-culture-ness," (3) an analysis of managerial style of principal actors in cross-cultural encounters, (4) confirmation of empirical values deductions with respect to a particular organization by use of survey methods, and (5) refinement and combination of current conflict models into a more comprehensive model.

Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2 (September, 1969), 296-320.

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty, Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 54.

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Ву

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Administration and Higher Education

:

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wants to express appreciation to the members of his guidance committee--Drs. David Heenan, Walter Johnson and Ted Ward--for each of them has contributed in individual and substantial ways to the realization of this study. Special recognition is due to Dr. Archibald Shaw, the committee chairman, whose patience and availability were an encouragement over the hard spots and whose high professional sense and judicious alternate use of fear and confidence gave the extra urge to try for a better result when that urge was needed most.

Missionary Board of the Free Methodist Church of North America without whose approval and support the project would have been impossible. The full cooperation of Dr. Charles Kirkpatrick, General Missionary Secretary, has been a source of inspiration and a continuing vote of confidence all along the way. I want to thank Bishop Emeritus Leslie R. Marston and Dr. Byron S. Lamson for reading and commenting on portions of the manuscript.

And then, to my wife Marlene and children David, Bill and Beth Ann, I owe a very special thank you for tolerating and supporting a husband and father who disappeared day after long day into a world of books and ideas. Without their constant understanding and love this project would never have been realized.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

From Wendell Willkie's announcement of One World in 1943 to the present there has been an increasing appreciation of the finite nature of planet Earth and the consequent interdependence of its inhabitants. Along with these realizations, technological advance has brought widely dispersed peoples into direct contact with and awareness of one another. Anthropology, the newest, in a formal sense, of the social sciences, occupied itself for many years mainly with investigation of the exotic. As a result of three decades of reflection under the shadow of the "bomb" and as the ecological limits of the environment come into view attention in the social sciences seems to be turning to the search for universals and shared elements and away from the former enchantment with variety for National Geographic's sake. Concurrently with these historical trends generic man is experiencing an ever-increasing institutionalization of his life. Many would say that under the pressure of population increase this is the only way to long-term

survival. Amitai Etzioni characterizes our modern society as

. . . an organizational society where, in fact, it has been necessary to create organizations to regulate and supervise organizations and where organizations are taking over a larger segment of its citizens' lives.

A prominent example of institutionalization on the international scene is the emergence of multinational business corporations.

Another factor to be reckoned with, a counterforce with respect to the internationalizing of resources encouraged by the multinational firms, is the assertiveness of relatively new nation states symbolized most recently by the politicization of scarce resources and the willingness to use these resources as political and economic levers of influence in the international community. Out of this complex picture come certain key words which characterize to a large extent man's position in relation to his neighbor earth-dwellers: awareness, interdependence, institutionalization, interaction and conflict. Most of these factors involving relations between peoples of diverse cultures will be expressed and experienced at the institutional level through governments, international business, philanthropic organizations and other smaller institutions. The contemporary situation certainly makes

Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 1, 2.

it clear that, in the broadest sense, there is need for exploration of cross-cultural institutional interactions. Such investigations are necessary precursors to eventual theory building. John Fayerweather, Professor of International Business at New York University, reflects something of the tentative state of present theory when he observes as recently as 1972: "We will hopefully develop systematic concepts and principles to guide negotiations as time goes on."²

The late nineteenth and twentieth century missionary expansionism of protestant Christianity gave protestant missionaries a new exposure to other cultures with a broad spectrum of involvements not specifically religious. The change agent role of missionaries is attested to by a long service record in almost every corner of the globe. George Cressey, Maxwell Professor of Geography at Syracuse University, goes so far as to describe the missionary movement in this way:

In other words, the missionary movement represents the projection of American culture and its diffusion abroad. In a sense, it seeks to internationalize the world.

²John Fayerweather in the Foreword to International Business Negotiation: A Study in India by Ashod Kapoor (New York: New York University Press, 1972), pp. XXII, XXIII.

³Elmer S. Miller, "The Christian Missionary: Agent of Secularization," Missiology, An International Revue, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January, 1973), pp. 99-107.

The function of the missionary is often defined as seeking to establish "indigenous, self-propagating, self-supporting, independent, national Churches."
Where these did not originally exist, and today where they are weak, the traditional assignment of the missionary was spiritual conversion. This is seldom regarded as enough, for to create a Christian society also means to improve health, education and economic standards.

The point is that, while missionaries would not be altogether comfortable with such an absolute identification of their role with western culture, they were in the vanguard of change, dealing with basic issues in cultures other than their own, and in most cases, with very few of the theoretical tools available to us today. Along with their philanthropic activities the missionaries did plant churches which are independent and national and which are now largely autonomous segments of the worldwide Christian community. It is this situation which provides the specific setting for this study. The area of mission/national church relations represents a relatively new and unexplored field in terms of crosscultural interaction. This area of activity has become vastly more important over the past fifteen years because, coinciding with the political emergence of a host of new nation states in the early 1960s, there has been a

George B. Cressey, "Mission to Everywhere: The Religious Agencies," The Art of Overseamanship, eds. Harlan Cleveland and Gerard J. Mangone (Syracuse University Press, 1957), p. 54.

parallel acceleration in the creation of autonomous denominational churches overseas. Even where these existed before 1960 the new spirit of nationalism and ethnic pride has given rise to many of the same critical issues in relations with the older churches in the United States or Europe. Up to the present these mission/church relations have been regulated mainly at the intuitive ad hoc level. For these reasons there is need for systematic study of the variables operating in the mission/national church conflict interactions.

THE PROBLEM

tematic investigation of conflict situations in policy determination between a protestant mission board and related national churches in the Third World, focusing on the time period from 1960 to the present. In examining these situations an attempt will be made by means of selected case studies to identify and describe probable causalities relevant to an understanding of the crosscultural interactions of religious organizations such as missions or churches. 5 In this study the mission board

In most cases parent church bodies in this country relate to their counterparts overseas through a missions department or commission so the generic term "mission" is used here as designating the organizational representative of a parent body with respect to the overseas churches.

to be examined is the General Missionary Board, the overseas mission arm of the Free Methodist Church of North America, (75,000 members in United States and Canada and 175 missionaries in twenty-three overseas fields). National churches are conferences in the Third World bearing the denominational name. Conflict situations in policy determination are defined as interactions with critical possibilities generating substantial commitment on the part of the participants. Examples of these are: issues of property ownership, institutional control, proportional representation on committees or institutional boards, and negotiations of cooperating agreements.

It should be mentioned at this point that the situations to be studied do not occur altogether arbitrarily but that there is built into the denominational structure periodic reviews of the mission/church relationship as conferences of mission origin move through successive stages of increased autonomy from "mission" conference to "provisional" conference to "full" conference. The last level has ecclesiastical status in the organization equivalent to American conferences. The importance of these levels of status for this study is that, at rationally determined times, the situation is thrown open for re-negotiation of contract and a

review of the major issues governing the relationship between the two organizations.

Importance of the Study

Most major segments of the worldwide Christian community feel themselves committed ideologically to some expression of Christian unity. This has its source directly in the words on Jesus on several occasions (see The Gospel of John, 10:16; "There shall be one fold and one shepherd, and 17:11 "That they [the disciples] may be one as we are"). The same constraints toward unity operate within a denomination (Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian) with respect to its autonomous national branches spread around the world. On the basis of the Church's scriptural chapter, therefore, it is desirable to maintain the unity of the faith for there is "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." 6 The joining of Jews and Gentiles in the New Testament Church is symbolic of the bringing together of different cultures and national groups as fellow citizens of the household of God (see Ephesians 2:14, 19). For these reasons the matter of conflict resolution is very basic to the religious integrity of a Christian community's self-image. As a result the greatest anticipated value of this study will be for those involved in cross-cultural religious work.

⁶Ephesians 4:5.

The study also has implications for model building and testing in regard to other cross-cultural organizational interactions. This will be brought out most
clearly through the use of various models in the ordering
and analysis of the case study material.

A third area of importance or applicability for the outcome of this study has to do with international development efforts. Alexander Leighton has observed: "When someone writes a history of efforts by great nations to aid in the development of smaller nations, he will be tempted to call it how to back wrong horses." Leighton goes on to observe that this is not a reflection on motivation but on the problems encountered in selecting procedures which lead to success. Studies in the field of diffusion of innovations have pointed out the resistance characteristics of receiving cultures which in turn underscore the importance of understanding conflict in its cross-cultural manifestations. A more specific application of this study concerns efforts at cross-cultural human resource development through education. Not only have missions maintained a deep commitment to education as an instrument of development but it may be stated that the experience of missions is perhaps the closest analogue

Alexander H. Leighton in the Preface of Cooperation and Change, ed. Ward H. Goodenough (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963).

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to the total educational problem in relation to Third World cultures.

The treatment of the cases in this investigation reflects a comparative dimension in its cross-cultural concern and awareness of differing environments. This emphasis relates directly to current management theory, particularly to such comparative models as the Farmer-Richman approach which emphasizes the effects of environmental constraints on the management situation. Their model is treated in more detail in the second chapter in the review of the literature.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENT AND RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH MODEL

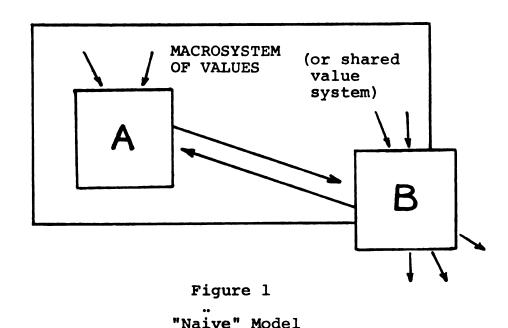
The purpose of this section is to discuss the theoretical framework underlying the study. Reference has already been made to the fact that the Christian community in its most inclusive sense furnishes in some general way a value framework for conflict resolution. For research purposes this larger value system is considered too amorphous and internally differentiated to be useful. For this study, therefore, since the subject matter has to do with interactions within the formal

Richard N. Farmer and Barry M. Richman, "A Model for Research in Comparative Management," International Management, ed. Richard N. Farmer (Belmont, California: Dickenson Publishing Co. Inc., 1968), pp. 76ff.

bounds of a single denomination (The Free Methodist Church), the relevant value system is considered to be that of the denomination. It is further assumed that the parties on either end of the conflict situations to be studied are related in some way to this shared value system however differently it may be perceived via the respective cultural screens. For convenience this value system may be called the macrosystem of values.

The rationale for the major outlines of the study may be best understood through a series of simple models. ⁹

If the mission board is labeled "A" and the national church overseas "B" then one kind of interaction structure could be visualized as follows:

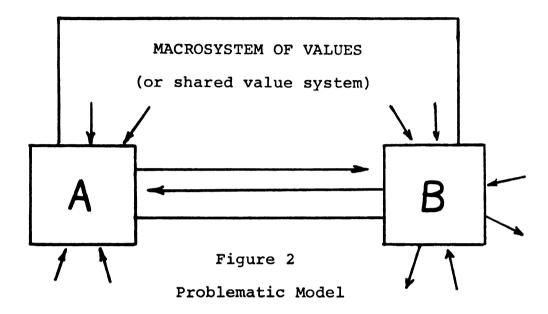


⁹This series of models is owed in large part to Ted Ward, Professor in the Institute for International Studies and a member of the Guidance Committee for this study.

In this <u>ideal</u> or "naive" model, A is completely contained in the macrosystem of values drawing all of its value inputs from that system. B also receives all of its value inputs from the system while exposed at the perimeter for purposes of expansion through conversions from the non-Christian community (which may be seen as a form of innovation diffusion).

The actual situation is substantially different from the ideal model. Mission boards, however organized, function as para-church entities which act administratively on behalf of the church but do not necessarily reflect the full range of the church's value system. It is also true that the constraints bearing on the mission board are not necessarily filtered through the macrosystem as an intermediary. On the other end of the interaction, in the Third World environment, the contact point is generally a set of elites who act on behalf of the national church but who are, to some extent atypical by virtue of their being elites and therefore more exposed to inputs from a more extended environment. Most are inhabitants of the third culture area between traditional and modern cultures described as " . . . the behavior patterns created, shared, and learned by men of different societies who are in process of relating their

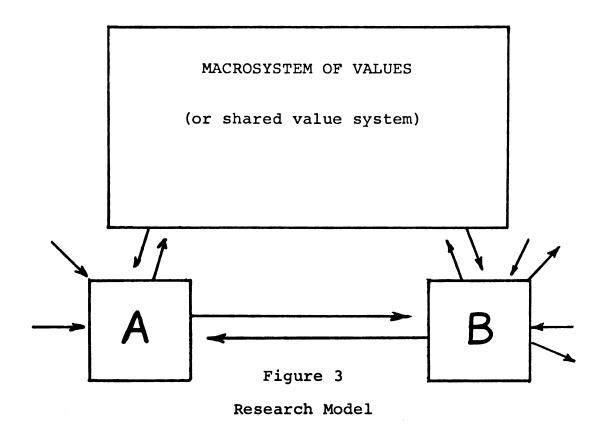
societies, or sections thereof, to each other." By incorporating these considerations into the model a "problematic" diagram emerges:



In the problematic model both A and B extend further beyond the perimeter of the macrosystem representing the fact that they are more vulnerable to extrasystemic inputs than the ideal model indicates. On the A side, extraneous inputs may include such elements as nonchurch management theory or other influences such as western individualism. On the B side such forces as nationalism, tribalism or elitist ambitions may impinge on the group's decision-making.

¹⁰ John and Ruth Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Role of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Human Organization, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Fall, 1963), p. 169.

In order to further clarify the relationships and processes postulated as a basic framework for this study a third model is suggested which is called, for convenient reference, the research model:



In this model A and B are extracted conceptually and placed outside the macrosystem. This tends to sharpen several dimensions of the problem:

- The interaction is carried outside the macro system which now operates as a referent group, a constituency.
- 2. The A/B interaction can now be looked at as an organizational interaction rather than an

intramural dispute. The inter-organizational approach to conflict situations is assumed to be more appropriate where considerable cultural distance is involved.

- 3. Both A and B relate to selected sets of values in the macrosystem which are perceived as most meaningful to them at a particular point in history. This does not necessarily mean unawareness of wider value areas of the system.
- 4. Both A and B have increased their vulnerability to external inputs reflecting a greater sensitivity to extraneous environmental influences.

Viewing the problem in this way helps to classify probable causalities into two categories, those for each party in the conflict situation which are generated from the shared value system and those entering as inputs from the separate environments. While this general model integrates the major elements of the study as a whole, two models from conflict theory will be utilized in the specific case presentations and in the analyses of the respective cases: The Pondy model deals with conflict episodes and defines five stages in a conflict cycle; (1) latent conflict, (2) perceived conflict, (3) felt conflict, (4) manifest conflict, and (5) conflict

aftermath. 11 The second model which is particularly useful in the analysis of protracted formal negotiations is the Bachrach/Baratz Political System model dealing with power-authority-influence flow in the conflict process. 12 These models will be presented more fully in connection with the respective cases.

Definitions

The following operational terms are defined as they will be used in this study:

Conflict: This concept is defined in terms of Schmidt and Kochan's model. These authors state that the potential for conflict depends on the extent to which required resources are shared, the degree of interdependence and the perceived incompatibility of goals. Potential conflict becomes actual conflict when there is interference, passive (e.g. noncooperation) or active, which advances the interests of the actor unit toward its goals at the expense of the other party. 13

Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2 (September, 1967), p. 300.

¹² Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty, Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 54.

¹³ Stuart M. Schmidt and Thomas A. Kochan, "Conflict: Toward Conceptual Clarity," Administrative Science Quarterly, September, 1972, pp. 359-70.

Culture: In simplest terms culture is defined as the learned and shared behavior of a community of interacting human beings. A two-part expansion of this definition by Useem, Useem and Donoghue as it applies to traditional and modern societies is useful at some points in this study: 14 (a) Culture for comparatively stable, isolated, small, nonliterate societies comprises a style of life woven into the fabric of the entire group and generally passed on by oral tradition and a system of roles. Conflicts and decision-making call for applications of appropriate patterns for specific situations. There is a generally nonreflective attitude toward the underlying themes. (b) For complex, changing, accessible, large-scale literate societies, cultural themes, while still stored, learned and shared, are much more abstract and explicit, more systematic and elaborated due to the cumulative effects of written In complex societies culture norms are more records. debated, discussed and reassessed. There is greater latitude as to how basic themes are interpreted and applied.

¹⁴ Useem, Useem, and Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture," pp. 169, 170.

: : ----. :: ... Organizations: Etzioni's definition is accepted here as "... planned units, deliberately structured for the purpose of attaining specific goals." 15

Value: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of actions." This definition includes elements further elaborated in Rokeach's work on instrumental and terminal values, i.e. preferable modes of conduct (means) and preferable end states (ends). 17

METHODOLOGY

The general objectives of this research involve investigation of negotiation processes occurring in conflict situations between a protestant mission board and committees of leaders in autonomous national churches overseas. Although both parties in the interactions

¹⁵ Etzioni, Modern Organizations, p. 2.

¹⁶ Clyde Kluckholn and others, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," Toward a General Theory of Action, eds. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 395.

¹⁷ Milton Rokeach, "A Theory of Organization and Change Within Value Attitude Systems," The Journal of Social Issues, XXIV, No. 1 (January, 1968), 17.

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studied are bearers of a common denominational name the method of analysis followed assumes that the situations more closely resemble an inter-organizational conflict pattern since each party represents referent constituencies. These are, respectively, the American denomination and its counterpart churches in the Third World. In this research effort three case studies are presented which include four conflict episodes.

The rationale for the case study approach is modeled somewhat on the plan of a more ambitious study carried out by Ashok Kapoor and reported in his book International Business Negotiations: A Study in India in which he analyzed the process of interaction between a business consortium based in the United States and the Government of India. Dr. Kapoor comments on his method:

The study touches on all aspects of the matter-economic, political, behavioral. Primary emphasis is not placed on any one of these dimensions; rather I have tried to demonstrate their interaction and the impossibility of understanding the process of negotiations without taking all of them into account as the participants in the negotiation were obliged to do.

This study does not claim to offer a new theory or set of precise measurements of the multitude of variables which characterize the international business negotiation process However the study is useful because it provides specific

¹⁸ Ashok Kapoor, International Business Negotiations: A Study in India (New York: New York University Press, 1970).

evidence which can help to develop a sharper recognition and awareness of factors that may have been taken for granted heretofore. 19

With respect to Kapoor's study John Fayerweather observes:

A detailed case study such as Dr. Kapoor has provided is of great help to individuals on both sides in broadening their skill in analyzing the attitudes and interests of those with whom they are negotiating. 20

In another context, in a critique of a paper

"Case Studies of Managerial Behavior" Fayerweather out
lines the peculiar values of the case study method. His

comments are so germane to the characteristics of this

investigation that they are reproduced at length here:

At the root of this matter is the variety of facets of managerial behavior and of the cultural factors bearing on them. Davis makes very well the point that case studies alone can convey the complexity of this reality. In stating that cases are useful before and after quantitative studies—for hypothesis formation and interpretive application of results respectively—I think he understates the independent value of the case studies. They are in fact the only means we have today for analyzing the full complexity of managerial behavior, and they are apparently still the most effective means for studying many individual aspects such as interaction processes.

I think it is true that the greater portion of our knowledge of comparative management is the result of various types of case studies, along with depth interview and observation methods which lie somewhere between cases and surveys. The value of "hard" data surveys . . . lies more in the

¹⁹Ibid., pp. X, XI.

²⁰In Ibid., pp. XXII, XXIII.

provision of solid bodies of evidence to back up already fairly well established knowledge. Only to a limited degree have they provided new knowledge.

It seems to me that too often in academia the criterion of "hardness of data" is overstressed, losing sight of the ultimate criterion of advancement of knowledge.²¹

Fayerweather's emphasis on the utility of the case study method in dealing with complex cultural variables and interaction processes applies very directly to the concerns of this study. While it cannot be claimed that what follows in the case presentations surmounts the ordinary limitations of the case-study method it is hoped that the construction of the cases will reach the level of analytic description through the correlating of various kinds of data. According to McCall and Simmons,

An analytic description (1) employs the concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as the basic guides in analysis and reporting, (2) employs thorough and systematic collection, classification and reporting of facts, and (3) generates new empirical generalizations (and perhaps concepts and propositions as well) based on these data.²²

²¹ John Fayerweather, critique of a paper "Case Studies of Managerial Behavior" by Stanley M. Davis in Comparative Management, Proceedings of the Comparative Management Workshop (New York: New York University Press, 1970), pp. 135, 136.

²²George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons in the introduction to the book of which they are editors, Issues in Participant Observation (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), p. 3.

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In very concise terms these characteristics describe the basic operational guidelines of this study. A fundamental assumption of this approach is that many aspects of the cross-cultural interactions to be studied are "latent," that is not apparent to or describable by laymen including the participants. It is therefore important to classify and compare various kinds of data in order to arrive at an adequate understanding of the Toward this end the cases in this paper will be constructed from the observations of informants, records and documents, and from interpretive material from participants or observers. In view of the prominent cultural dimensions of the cases presented, respondent interviewing is particularly important in making possible comparison of differing individual or group perspectives on any given situation and in achieving a feeling for the zeitgeist, the climate of the encounter. Specific information on data sources will be given in the opening sections of the individual cases.

Having defined the major purposes of the study and the method of investigation it is now appropriate to relate the larger parts of the study to each other and to the concluding chapter. The research model developed on pages thirteen and fourteen of this chapter indicates the importance attached to values and the shared value system with respect to the case studies.

A basic assumption is that, in cross-cultural relationships, the differences in values are highly dynamic.

In fact, most forms of conflict may be conceptualized
as values encounters. An important epistemological
corollary to this approach is that values may be
inferred from organizational behavior. In accord with
these assumptions Chapter 3 is devoted to an analysis
of the value system of the parent church body with
respect to its overseas branches. The analysis is based
on the official documents of the church and on an
examination of the extensive restructuring carried
out in the early 1960s. Chapter 3 fulfills two functions
in the organization of the study as a whole:

- It contains much material necessary to an understanding of the structures and variables operating in the individual cases.
- 2. It also gives a base line of comparison for analyzing in terms of values some of the actions taken by the interacting parties in the conflict episodes.

It is clear at this point that the cases and their analyses may serve as correctives, confirmations or supplements to the material in Chapter 3. In this regard the synthesis and interpretation of findings in the concluding chapter involves an alternation, a

weighing of values between those deduced in Chapter 3 and those found to be operating in the individual cases. Extraneous inputs into the generation of issues are summarized from the cases as they vary from case to case according to the respective environments. Out of the correlating of these two classes of variables come the empirical generalizations which form the findings of this research effort.

Criteria for the Selection of Cases

In order to select the cases appropriate to the general demands of this study, certain criteria were established. Before these were considered, however, a preliminary determination was made as to whether each case under consideration met the basic conditions of the conflict definition and offered reasonable promise of availability of data sufficient to make a meaningful assessment. Where these preliminary conditions were met the following more stringent criteria were applied:

1. The case must involve an interaction important to both parties. The varying nature of the issues makes a rigid definition of "importance" difficult in terms of finding suitable measures.

Bachrach and Baratz have considered this problem and they conclude:

The distinction between important and unimportant issues, we believe, cannot be made intelligently in the absence of an analysis of the "mobilization of bias" in the community; of the dominant values and political myths, rituals and institutional practices which tend to favor the vested interests of one or more groups relative to others. Armed with this knowledge one could conclude that any challenge to the predominant values of the established "rules of the game" would constitute an "important" issue; all else unimportant.²³

This statement repeats essentially the rationale for Chapter 3 of this study for which the purpose was to map the relevant portion of that "mobilization of bias," the organizational value system of the parent body insofar as it applies to relations with its overseas branches. Use of these data plus behavioral clues such as sustained interest on both sides, a substantial commitment of time, energy or resources to the solution, and manifest attachment to the respective points of view will be considered sufficient evidence for empirical identification of issues which are important.

2. The second criterion is that the conflict must be <u>inter-organizational</u> in the sense that it must be between two organizations or (more precisely in these cases) between two distinctly organized groups. This requirement refers back

²³ Bachrach and Baratz, Power and Poverty, p. 11.

to the research model of this study. It is so defined as to rule out not only situations involving solely interpersonal conflict but also those in which individuals of greater or lesser power may be aligned against an organization or group.

3. The interaction must also be <u>cross-cultural</u>, i.e. between parties not sharing a common culture. This eliminates consideration of conflict situations where the North American mission agency could be involved in a conflict situation with a group of its own missionaries overseas. The obverse of this where groups of nationals within a given country might be found in conflict is also ruled out.

Procedures of Selection

The initial search for cases was begun by consulting with the General Missionary Secretary followed by an extensive perusal of the archives of the General Missionary Board. As a result of this preliminary investigation seven situations were discovered which offered promise of meeting the requirements of the study. In some cases the extent of the involvement of nationals was obscured by the fact that, linguistically, the correspondence was filtered through the field mission

zational involvement was not clear. The situations
initially chosen to be considered were these:

- Taiwan--a jurisdictional dispute over the use of funds from a property sale.
- 2. Hong Kong--an attempt by the mission to settle a factional power struggle in the provisional conference.
- 3. India--conflict over the institution of a selfsupport plan for the conference ministers and workers.
- 4. Burundi--conflict over ratification of a new constitution involving issues of property control and deployment of missionary personnel.
- 5. Zaire--a constitutional dispute containing many of the same elements as that of Burundi.
- South Africa--clarification of mission/church relationships and jurisdiction of funds from property sales.
- 7. Brazil--conflict over institutional control, specifically the appointment of a seminary president.

Investigation of material in the archives

yielded sufficient information to construct a preliminary

précis of each situation in which an attempt was made to give a skeletal description of what took place as it appeared from the documents. In some cases this information was supplemented by interviews with informed individuals who were available (missionaries on furlough, headquarters staff, bishops). The summaries were submitted to leading actors in the interactions or to those who had first-hand knowledge as far as these could be determined. Generally three classes of individuals were queried: missionaries with direct exposure to the problem, the General Missionary Secretary, and national leaders. In some cases bishops were also included where they had had a close association with The résumés were accompanied by a brief the situation. explanation of the purpose of the research and a set of six questions which were generally uniform across all cases:

- 1. Are you aware of other important dimensions of the interaction which are not included in the summary? Were there other issues? Are there errors of fact or emphasis?
- 2. To what extent do you think external factors influenced this interaction (political or economic factors, other groups or examples, time or distance)?
- 3. Were you aware of cross-cultural communication problems?
- 4. How would you evaluate the outcome of the problem? How was the solution accepted?

- 5. How did the missionary liaison person function in all this? What was his contribution?
- 6. At any time during this exchange did you feel there was a possibility of complete breakdown of relationships?

In addressing nationals the format was changed to conform to educational level as well as linguistic style and the cultural requirements of polite address in the respective languages (French, Swahili and Kirundi) but the same general information and inquiries were included. Information generated by this method was tabulated by question and individual on one large table for each prospective case in order to facilitate easy reference and comparison. Missionary responses were grouped as were those of the headquarters executives and nationals. This procedure made comparison of responses on any question easy, either across one group or across all groups. In some cases follow-up letters were sent to clarify certain points. Occasionally the replies named other individuals involved in which case those named were also sent the summary and questions.

The primary purpose of this stage of the investigation was to collect sufficient data on all the proposed cases to make possible a rational selection through application of the criteria listed above. A complementary contribution of this exercise was that it furnished valuable information on those cases chosen to be studied in greater depth. In nearly every case

correctives and elaborations were received in the responses which rounded out the description and pointed to other fertile areas of investigation with respect to that case.

As a result of the preliminary inquiries three cases were selected which met the conditions established; the Burundi case, the Brazil case (containing two related conflict episodes), and the India case. The cases rejected were so treated for the following reasons:

- Taiwan--This proved to be a problem between the missionary board and its missionary staff on the field and was therefore ruled out on the cross-cultural condition.
- 2. Hong Kong--The national church was so fragmented and weak that a conflict situation could not be defined.
- Zaire--The lack of replies by national respondents made this case impractical.
- 4. South Africa--What first appeared as a conflict situation proved to be mainly organizational re-structuring on the field.

The motivations, definitions and procedures outlined in this chapter are what give form and impetus to the study. For reasons similar to the rules for the classical detective story substantial amounts of the raw data are reproduced in the text. This is done with a view to giving the reader a fair opportunity to evaluate the conclusions drawn as a result of the study—or to add or substitute his own.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The investigation of specific conflict situations between a mission board and committees of elites representing national churches overseas deals with an area in which very little has been done in terms of systematic description and analysis. For this reason the study cannot replicate earlier research efforts nor can it build directly upon other similar studies in the ecclesiastical field. For the same reason this survey of the literature will be broader than is sometimes encountered in a research study. This chapter, in reviewing relevant literature, will have for its purpose, therefore, the orientation of the study to related theory in various fields. This has been done, to some extent, in the section discussing the importance of the problem in Chapter 1; but it is necessary to add a more comprehensive discussion of some of these concepts in order to facilitate understanding of how the data of this study are interpreted. In this review of the literature important fields of research and theory to be considered are the following:

- 1. Diffusion of innovations
- 2. Comparative management theory
- 3. Conflict definition and resolution
- 4. Values studies
- 5. Specific work on mission/church tensions.

DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS

Increased social contacts brought about by modern technology have encouraged a developing interest in the processes of social change. Gradually this area of investigation has broadened to include not only the emergence of invention through the interaction of a society with its changing environment but, also, the diffusion of innovations as they spread and permeate society as a whole. Historically, the development of models for the purposeful diffusion of innovations has moved through a sequence of three principal stages which correspond roughly to steps of development in mission practice and theory:

David A. Schon, Beyond the Stable State (London: Temple Smith, 1971), p. 80. The material on page thirty-three is adapted from Schon with the exception of section 3 where I differ from Schon on the matter of his "movement" (which encompasses the Black Panthers, NAACP and the UAW) which I consider too amorphous and undefined to qualify as a unified system. I have, therefore, only accepted the formal element of his outline, the systems firm. The "missions" column is mine.

1. The center-periphery model which includes (1) an innovation or message, defined in its essence at the center, (2) movement from center to clients, and (3) management and resources from the center (example: agricultural extension agent).

pioneer missionary dispatched with his message to penetrate another culture.

2. Proliferation of centers-a modification of the center-periphery model in that secondary centers engage in the diffusion of innovations. Primary centers support and manage secondary centers (example: Roman army, colonial models).

institutional
missions
overseas

3. The network or business system firm (a true multinational organization).

a global network of autonomous churches.

Everett Rogers defines the essence of the diffusion of innovations process as a human interaction by
which one person communicates a new idea to one or
several other persons. This process includes (1) a new
idea, (2) an individual with knowledge of the innovation,
(3) an individual not yet aware of the new idea and,
(4) some sort of communication channel. The process,
according to Rogers, is modified by homophily (alikeness)
or its antithesis heterophily which affects the crosscultural transfer of innovations. 3

²Everett M. Rogers with F. Floyd Shoemaker, <u>Communication of Innovations</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 24.

³Ibid., p. 15.

Schon criticizes Rogers' elaboration of the communication process as being inadequate in scope to account for what actually happens when the unit of diffusion is larger than simple products or techniques. 4

Schon feels that Rogers greatly underestimates the conservative environment into which more complex innovations are introduced, the major systemic disruptions they cause, and the battle which ensues at their introduction. The interaction is, therefore, much more than a dissemination of information. In actual fact, under the pressures of interaction the innovation often evolves significantly within the process.

The relevance of this discussion for this study may be summarized as follows:

- Schon's historical outline, applying to the general development of theory in the diffusion of innovations, helps in establishing a sequential relationship between missions theory and management models, both past and present.
- 2. At the institutional level, Schon's critique of Rogers' work is highly pertinent on the points of: (a) cultural conservatism and resistance to change, (b) the struggle involved in systemic change, and (c) the creative possibilities of the interaction process.

⁴Schon, Stable State, pp. 95-107.

The consideration of larger units of change diffusion leads naturally into the next section concerned with multinational firms and comparative management theory.

COMPARATIVE MANAGEMENT THEORY

Currently, there is a great amount of activity in the area of comparative management studies and the result has been a mind-boggling mass of theories, approaches, typologies and models. This is not to say that the effort has been unproductive but simply that, at this point in its development, the state of comparative management theory is rather fluid and uncoordinated. Hans Schöllhammer ventures to call the situation a "comparative management theory jungle." Most studies have focused on two broad categories of problems:

(1) multinational comparison of interrelationships of management variables within given national domains and (2) multinational comparisons of management-relevant phenomena in different countries. This means that it is difficult to find theorizing efforts in the

⁵Hans Schöllhammer, "Strategies in Comparative Management Theorizing," Comparative Management, Proceedings of the Comparative Management Workshop, 1970 (New York: Graduate School of Business Administration, New York University), p. 16.

⁶Ibid., p. 17.

comparative management field which apply directly to institutional <u>interactions</u> and <u>processes</u> across national or cultural boundaries. Kapoor's study has been cited in Chapter 1 (p. 18) as a nearly unique exception in this regard. This does not mean, however, that there have not been substantial advances in comparative theory out of which relevant segments may be selected which contribute substantially to various dimensions of this study.

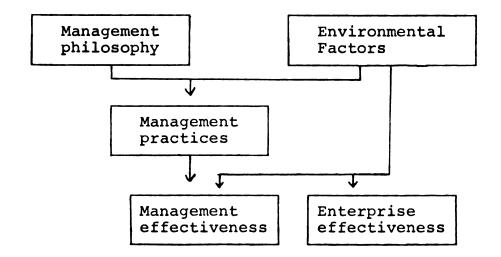
The major areas of interest in the comparative management field may be grouped under three heads: (1) organizational characteristics, (2) managerial style, and (3) environmental factors. Each of these aspects will be included in the course of this study but the most important insights relating to the crosscultural aspect seem to be those efforts focusing on the dynamic nature of the environmental matrix within which the management process takes place. A number of efforts have been made to analyze and systematize the environmental restraints. Reference was made in Chapter 1 (p. 9) to the benchmark model in this area of theory, the Farmer-Richman ecological model. and Richman contend that there has been insufficient attention to the external constraints on management, particularly as they vary from nation to nation. make the point that management theory has tended to hold the external environment as constant but that comparisons between internal management problems in differing cultures may prove useless unless the external environment is also studied carefully. As a correction to this situation Farmer and Richman offer a taxonomy of external constraints under four heads—economic, sociological, educational, and legal-political—which they have attempted to weight and quantify in order to make comparative evaluations possible. Without entering into the details of this model the applicability of its general emphasis to the present study can readily be seen in relation to the dynamic inputs from the environment impinging on the negotiation process.

A significant complement to the Farmer-Richman model is contributed by Negandhi and Estafen⁸ in their emphasis on management philosophy. Negandhi later expanded this framework to include environmental factors in much the same way as Farmer and Richman. The major outline of his model appears as follows: 9

⁷Richard N. Farmer and Barry M. Richman, <u>Comparative Management and Economic Progress</u> (Irwin, 1965), p. 33ff.

Anant R. Negandhi with Bernard D. Estafen, "A Research Model to Determine the Applicability of American Management Know-How in Differing Cultures and/or Environments," Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 8, No. 4 (December, 1965), pp. 309-18.

⁹A. R. Negandhi, "A Model for Analyzing Organizations in Cross-Cultural Settings: A Conceptual Scheme



A reasonable addition to the Negandhi model would be to point out that environmental factors may also be a force in defining management philosophy.

Two years afterward, Estafen further attempted to sharpen the management philosophy variable emphasized by Negandhi by subsuming it under a more general term, "system transfer characteristics," defined as the flow of men money, materials and information across each facet of the firm/environment interface. 10 According to Estafen management philosophy contributes to, rather than determines, the system transfer characteristics

and Some Research Findings," Proceedings of the Comparative Administration and Management Conference (Kent, Ohio: College of Business Administration, Kent State University, 1968), pp. 55-87.

¹⁰ Bernard D. Estafen, "System Transfer Characteristics: An Experimental Model for Comparative Management Research," Management International, Vol. 10, No. 2/3 (1970), pp. 21-34.

working alongside other factors such as historical accident or chance. The system transfer characteristics describe the kinds of transactions occurring between the management process and its external environment.

While these models are designed to assist empirical research in comparative management and do not apply directly to the cross-cultural interaction link, the insights provided in regard to environmental constraints, the influence of management philosophy, and the system transfer characteristics have their analogous elements in the conceptualization of this study.

CONFLICT DEFINITION AND RESOLUTION

Kenneth Boulding has observed that conflict is not merely a phenomenon common to organizations or societies but that it actually constitutes in itself a system subject to laws and principles which permit it to be explained and controlled to a degree wherever it may occur. On this basis a substantial body of theory has been developed. This section will review briefly those areas of conflict theory which bear most directly on this study.

¹¹ Robert L. Kahn's summary comment on Boulding's chapter "A Pure Theory of Conflict Applied to Organizations," Power and Conflict in Organizations, eds. Robert L. Kahn and Elise Boulding (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 154.

In Chapter 1 (p. 15) organizational conflict is defined as requiring three conditions: sharing of required resources, a degree of interdependence, and perceived incompatibility of goals. Potential conflict is actualized when there is interference, advancing the interests of one actor at the expense of the other party. This definition combines two kinds of conflict, the conflict of interest and the conflict of values. Aubert states that a conflict of interest assumes a situation of scarcity while a conflict of value is based upon a dissensus concerning the normative status of a social object. 12 He adds that value conflict behavior is almost always accompanied by conflict of interest where the scarcity may be of the order of power or authority. 13 Following this explanation the distinction seems to be mainly as to where the weight of a given situation falls on the Schmidt/Kochan model accepted as definitive for this study--on "scarcity" or on "goals," depending upon the relative dominance of interest or value respectively.

Apart from the definition of conflict, the body of theory surrounding this subject appears to contribute to the present investigation under the following

Vilhelm Aubert, "Competition and Dissensus:
Two Types of Conflict and of Conflict Resolution," Conflict Resolution, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March, 1963), pp. 27, 29.

¹³Ibid., p. 29.

heads: (1) stages of conflict episodes, (2) underlying sources of organizational conflict, and (3) the relative desirability of conflict.

Stages of Conflict Episodes

Louis R. Pondy charts the passage of conflict situations through a cycle of escalation and de-escalation or, in other terms, equilibrium-disequilibrium-equilibrium. He states that the chronology of a typical conflict event passes through five stages: (1) latent conflict (conditions), (2) perceived conflict (cognition), (3) felt conflict (affect), (4) manifest conflict (behavior), and (5) conflict aftermath (conditions).

This construct provides a tidy model for looking at the cross-cultural interactions examined in this study, particularly if Pondy's other observations are charted onto the conflict episode model (page 42).

Sources of Conflict and Appropriate Treatments

In trying to organize the underlying sources of organizational conflict Pondy cites three basic types: 15
(1) competition for scarce resources, (2) drives for

¹⁴ Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2 (September, 1967), p. 300.

¹⁵ Ibid.

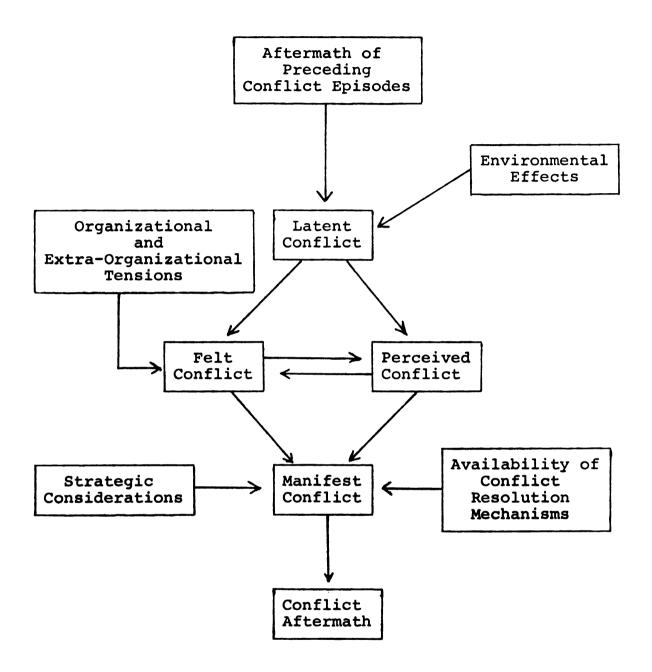


Figure 4

A Charting of Pondy's Conflict Episode
Model with Contributing Variables

autonomy, and (3) divergence of subunit goals. According to Pondy, these sources may be correlated with appropriate conflict-resolution models. The competition for scarce resources tends to a <u>bargaining model</u>. The superior-subordinate (autonomy drives) conflicts are dealt with on the vertical dimensions of the <u>bureaucratic model</u>. Goal differentiation is treated on a <u>systems model</u> by manipulation of variables to reduce tension (perhaps selection of leadership more congenial in goals, perhaps by training programs designed to modify goal perceptions, or by reducing pressures for consensus).

The three elements of this analysis with their corresponding models provide a useful tool for the analysis of cross-cultural organizational conflict because in almost any conceivable conflict situation of that kind they are all to some extent present. The specific question of goal divergence will be treated at greater length in the section below devoted to values studies.

Bachrach and Baratz make an important contribution to conflict theory with their work in charting the flow of political power in situations where groups seeking re-allocation of values challenge groups committed to existing values. Their political system model is referred to in Chapter 1 (p. 15, footnote 12). Their terms "mobilization of bias" and "non-decision making"

correspond roughly to organizational value system and pre-emptive action in the decision-making process respectively. A fuller discussion of this model will be given in the analysis of the Burundi case.

Conflict--Desirable or Not?

There has been a continuing debate among organizational theorists as to the character of conflict in terms of social value. March and Simon define organizational conflict as a breakdown in the standard mechanisms of decision-making, i.e. as a malfunction of the system. Corwin, in an extensive review of the literature on conflict, points to the wide range of valuations that may be placed on conflict:

Coser sees conflict as a "disease," Thompson is concerned with prevention of conflict in its organizational context, Weber sees it as integral to social life itself, Simmel indicates that groups require it to function effectively over time; Small, Park, Ross and others view conflict as a central and integrating process; and Dalton among others has suggested that it is inherent in leadership positions and a source of flexibility and creativity within organizations. 17

¹⁶ James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1958), p. 112.

¹⁷ Ronald G. Corwin, The Development of an Instrument for Examining Staff Conflict in the Public Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The Ohio State University, 1963), pp. 14-15.

Recent writers have tended toward accepting conflict as an inescapable fact of organizational life and some have begun to write appreciatively of it 18 as a lever for progress.

Kubly is representative of a certain type of conceptual approach when he defines two kinds of conflict:

The first is destructive and wasteful. It has its origins in the frailties of human nature, and thus it is hard to eradicate. You all have observed it—the smoldering resentment one group feels toward another, the excessively jealous guarding of one's prerogatives, the denigration of others in order to build up one's importance, the quiet sabotage of the work of others, and that sort of thing.

The second form of conflict is basically constructive. It is the clash of opinions of men of good will. It is the warfare of viewpoints carefully prepared, capably stated, and stoutly defended. Its value lies in bringing differences out into the light of day where there is a chance for sober evaluation. 19

This passage illustrates the fact that much of the debate over the value of conflict seems to result from a lack of definition in that the different value judgments apply more to its manifestations and outcomes than to the total conflict system. The position of this

¹⁸ Henry Assael, "Constructive Role of Inter-organizational Conflict," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December, 1969), pp. 573-82.

¹⁹ Harold E. Kubly, "One Way to Resolve Organizational Conflict" (Madison, Wisconsin: Bureau of Business Research and Service, School of Commerce, University of Wisconsin, 1964), p. 8.

study will be closer to that of Boulding who holds that conflict is an intrinsically neutral phenomenon. It may, however, be assigned value by an applied value system just as Kubly's evaluation is a pragmatic one based on two forms of expression conflict may take.

Value judgments may not necessarily be confined to the forms of conflict, however, as some value systems may label it as categorically undesirable. A survey of the literature seems to point up the necessity for defining carefully the conflict system underlying the behavioral aspects. It is equally important to relate value judgments to an explicit value system.

This section would be incomplete without including some comments on utopian structures. The utopian attitude holds a close kinship to certain aspects of the Christian value system which in turn makes it interesting to this study. Allen C. Filley²⁰ describes an ideal system in which status is displaced by function, where there is social and economic equality and where conflict would be resolved by consensus.

Filley sets consensus over against fiat or compromise which he characterizes as win/lose and lose/lose solutions respectively. He sees the emergence of new

Allen C. Filley, "Some Major Issues in the Future of Management: Practice and Teaching," Academy of Management Proceedings, Thirtieth Annual Meeting, August 23-26, 1970, pp. 24ff.

patterns in values as requiring an adjustment of the system to persons rather than fitting persons to the system. The consensus solutions to conflict situations would come about through articulation of values on both sides and a search for positions which include the desired ends for both parties.

VALUES STUDIES

At various points in the preceding sections the importance of values for questions of organizational conflict and cross-cultural relations have been emphasized. The research design of this study calls for study of a religious value system as it may shed light on interorganizational conflict situations. In Chapter 1 (p. 17) reference was made to the means/ends distinction in the consideration of values. These categories refer to preferable modes of conduct and preferable end states, respectively. From the writings of Kluckholn and Rokeach certain key observations relating to the dynamic character of values may be derived, particularly as they apply to cross-cultural conflict situations:

 Values determine not only the subject's (or group's) own actions but also his (their) judgments on the actions of significant others.²¹

²¹Rokeach, "A Theory of Organization" (Chapter 1,
p. 17, footnote 17), p. 16.

- 2. Both Kluckholn and Rokeach mention the affective attachment that exists with respect to values.
 A corollary to this is that the affective attachment usually includes an effort to propagate the values held among at least some others (for example, children).
- 3. Kluckholn emphasizes the interdependence that pertains between instrumental (or modal) values and end values in that the use of certain means will inevitably negate the ends sought.
- 4. Kluckholn further asserts that values are, for the most part, cultural products and defines group values as those

. . . which define the common elements in the situations in which the actors repeatedly find themselves, and they must make some kind of sense in terms of a group's special history, present social structure, and environmental situation.²³

Lundberg sees general agreement among masses of men on the broad goals of human life but states that the major differences of opinion arise about the means, the costs and consequences of different possible courses of action. Often the approved modes of action and

²²Kluckholn, "Values and Value-Orientations,"
p. 413.

²³Ibid., p. 417.

George A. Lundberg, Can Science Save Us? (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1961), p. 99.

the permissible costs are delineated in formal codes or standards which attempt to reflect the total action system. These standards often call for differentiated responses. These may include preferential values (which could be illustrated by policy guidelines), categorical or non-negotiable values (articles of faith), and utopian values which set a general direction but are recognized as being beyond immediate attainment (true world peace, for example). 25

Since all relationships between groups or organizations involve exchanges of tangibles or intangibles, 26 the above categories assume real importance for understanding conflict situations, particularly with regard to recognizing some items as intrinsically nonnegotiable. Eisenstadt states that:

The most important illustrations of such non-exchangeable commodities are the symbols and situations of basic cultural, societal, and personal identity, such as those of personal honor and virtue, of the limits, nature and belongingness to different collectivities.²⁷

²⁵Kluckholn, "Values and Value-Orientations,"
p. 413.

²⁶ Edmund R. Leach, Rethinking Anthropology (London: University of London, The Athbone Press, 1961), Pp. 101-03.

²⁷S. N. Eisenstadt, Essays on Comparative Institutions (New York: Wiley, 1965), p. 33.

Aubert points out that negotiation in the values area is a very sensitive thing for several reasons:

- 1. A scent of the illicit clings to such dealings
 and is represented by folk proverbs such as
 "one cannot trade in values" or "no bargain
 with the truth."
- 2. It is hard to define an exchange or compromise in the value area. Values are difficult to quantify and weigh.
- There is no private ownership of values. They are communally owned.

All of these considerations treated so far in this section illustrate forcefully the necessity for appreciating the critical importance of values studies in cross-cultural relationships and particularly so with respect to religious organizations which are by definition concerned with maintaining and propagating their own value systems.

Up to this point the treatment of values has dealt largely with operational definitions and observations in the area of values studies. It is also desirable to examine briefly some of the more fundamental theoretical work which underlies this area of intercultural exchange.

²⁸Aubert, "Competition and Dissensus," p. 29.

Malinowski (d. 1942) examined the relationships between Europeans and Africans in Africa in the 1930s and came to conclusions strikingly similar to those found today under the "third culture" label. advocated a "three column" approach to studies of culture change--white hinterland, black hinterland and a middle column of culture contact. 29 Malinowski saw the situation in terms of institutional interaction with contributions of organizational charter, materials and practices entering from both sides and issuing in the product of a new amalgam of culture. His concept of "common factor" 30 rested on the corollary that human institutions are roughly commensurate across cultural dividing lines and that elements of common interest exist, however differently they may be structured in their respective cultures. The common factors provide contact points across which communications may pass from one culture to another. The basic importance of these insights for cross-cultural relationships lies in the emphasis on discovering corresponding values and goals, a substantial part of the understanding necessary in the resolution of conflict.

²⁹ Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 18.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 72.

Maslow's work with the prepotency of human needs does not appear to have been adequately appreciated in its implications for cross-cultural relationships.

Maslow himself was preoccupied with the upper extremities of his scale and particularly the self-actualizing persons who constituted for him his most fascinating subject matter. Maslow must, however, be credited with struggling to return the study of values to science:

I am convinced that the value-free, value-neutral, value-avoiding model of science that we inherited from physics, chemistry, and astronomy, where it was necessary and desirable to keep the data clean and also to keep the church out of scientific affairs is quite unsuitable . . . for human questions, where personal values, purposes and goals, intentions and plans are absolutely crucial for the understanding of any person . . . 31

Maslow saw that the higher reaches of his scale must be built on the prior satisfaction of basic needs. His discussion of the cultural implications of his work holds that metamotivation (motivation toward the highest levels of human self-actualization) is species-wide and therefore supracultural. But he also recognized that cultures may fail to provide a congenial environment for human maximization (and he observes pessimistically that they most often do). 32 He suggests that on this

³¹ Abraham H. Maslow, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), p. 5.

³²Ibid., pp. 325, 326.

basis (i.e. of a supracultural factor) cultures may be judged. Maslow's thought raises questions important to this study in regard to how cultures existing at generally different levels on the need-satisfaction scale may communicate in terms of values and goals and what problems may be generated specifically as a result of this dissonance.

Boulding points out, somewhat in contrast to what might be concluded from Maslow's need satisfaction scale applying to cultures operating under serious need deficiencies, that the value structure of a society may act dynamically in a way quite independent of accidental conditions of scarcity or plenty. That is, something may be assigned a high value either because it holds a high value in the overall preference structure or because it is scarce. These insights point up the extreme complexity of cross-cultural interchanges and the multiple possibilities for conflict.

Two more recent areas of research relate to the Malinowski/Maslow studies and provide some refinements in this general area. These are the Third Culture concept introduced and made common currency by Useem, Useem and Donoghue and the investigations of the stages of moral development carried out by Lawrence Kohlberg

³³Kenneth E. Boulding, Conflict and Defense (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), pp. 297, 298.

and his associates. They are presented briefly here more for the stimulating questions they raise than for the answers they provide.

Useem, Useem and Donoghue call the complex of patterns generic to the intersections of societies the third culture. 34 (A resemblance to Malinowski's three column approach can readily be seen.) The "third culture" concept is broadened to envisage this intersectional area as a more or less permanent cultural home for individuals from both sides of a cultural interchange involved in the task of relating their respective societies to each other. The Useems and Donoghue assume a behaviorist point of view speaking mainly of patterns, themes and norms rather than reaching for the underlying They describe the arena of activity but do not probe into the underlying area of values -- to what extent the values of the respective home cultures are suspended by those individuals operating in the third culture (perhaps only for the duration of their stay) and to what extent values are permanently modified by the dynamics of the third culture situation. These are questions beyond the scope of this research but which

³⁴ John and Ruth Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Role of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Human Organization, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Fall, 1963), p. 169.

should be investigated by empirical means. For those with cross-cultural experience the third culture concept and its elaboration corresponds remarkably well with what is encountered where cultures meet. It will be referred to in this study as a useful construct.

The second area of current values research with relevance for this study is that of Lawrence Kohlberg 35 on the stages of moral development. Kohlberg attempts to chart a universal sequence of stages of moral development on which the moral decision level of any individual in whatever culture may be charted. The relevance of this work for value-laden cross-cultural negotiations can hardly be challenged. It is disturbing because, in a way analogous to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it raises a number of questions about value-communications between mismatched cultures operating predominantly on different levels of the scale of moral development. Kohlberg's research seems to indicate such disparities exist, presumably because all cultures do not provide equal occasions for moral decision-making.

On the helpful side Kohlberg asserts the existence of a universally shared set of moral forms and further

³⁵Kohlberg's thought is quite thoroughly represented in his chapter, "From Is to Ought: How to Commit the Naturalistic Fallacy and Get Away with It in the Study of Moral Development," Cognitive Development and Epistemology, ed. Mischel (New York: Academic Press, 1971), pp. 151-235.

contends that the basic content, the principles of morality, are universal as well. These contentions along with the fact that each stage on his six-stage scale must be reached by passing in sequence through each of the stages below it offer promise for facilitating resolution of certain aspects of cross-cultural conflict, particularly in that the passage through the sequence of stages confers a memory and therefore an understanding of the subordinate stages.

Kohlberg has been attacked by such writers as Alston and Simpson for ethnocentrism and cultural bias. 36 A weakness in the empirical findings has been that the more advanced stages of his model do not appear in certain cultures (at a significant level) and to which he has replied (as noted above on page 55) that certain cultures are limited in the range of conflict situations which call forth stage advancement and the opportunities for assuming new roles. 37 At the very least Kohlberg faces serious charges of naïveté in the handling

³⁶William P. Alston, "Comments on Kohlberg's 'From Is to Ought,'" Mischel, Cognitive Development, pp. 269-84; Elizabeth Leonie Simpson, "Moral Development Research, A Case Study of Scientific Cultural Bias," Human Development, Vol. 17 (1974), pp. 81-106.

³⁷ Dorothy C. Adkins, Frank D. Payne, and J. Michael O'Malley, "Moral Development," Review of Research in Education, ed. Fred N. Kerlinger (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 109.

of his cross-cultural material which, in itself, invites some of the criticism directed at his work.

SPECIFIC WRITINGS ON MISSION/CHURCH TENSIONS

In order to understand the literature on mission/ church tensions it is necessary, first, to look at the two major divisions in American protestantism and their differing solutions to the mission/church problem. may be called the conciliar approach belongs mainly to the larger denominations affiliated with the National Council of Churches, in the United States, and with the World Council of Churches. These groups have favored integration or fusion of mission agencies into the church structures. Over against this group stands the more conservative segment of protestantism, often identifying itself by the term "evangelical," incorporating more biblically centered groups and often carrying out their missionary mandate in relationship with such umbrella agencies as the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA) and the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association (IFMA). To give perspective to the magnitude of this division it may be cited that, in the United States, the conciliar group through the Division of Overseas Ministries supports approximately 10,500 missionaries while EFMA/IFMA affiliates

send 11,500. The Free Methodist Church of North America, through its missions arm, is a member of EFMA. For this reason major attention in this review of the literature will be confined to this side's discussion of the mission/church relationship.

In order to understand properly the evangelical position and its history, it is essential to review some of the strong attacks upon the mere existence of separate mission agencies in today's world. These attacks have come from various spokesmen, both western and Third World, of the conciliar group.

- 1. Arend Th. van Leeuwen, Dutch theologian, calls for a radical transformation of the missionary enterprise and its replacement by a mission by the whole church throughout the world. 38
- 2. Keith Bridston, American Lutheran, advocates death of the old forms in order that the church may fulfill its mission today and tomorrow.

³⁸ Arend Th. van Leeuwen, Christianity in World History (London: Edinburgh House, 1964), pp. 16-21, 430.

New York: Friendship Press, 1965), pp. 15-18.

- 3. Fr. Paul Verghese, Syrian Orthodox, speaks of western missions (both Protestant and Catholic) as economic imperialism and neo-colonialism.
- 4. E. P. Nacpil, Dean of Union Theological Seminary, Manila, states that the present structure of modern missions is dead and ought promptly to be eulogized and buried.
- 5. The Bangkok Conference sponsored by the World Council of Churches' Commission on World Mission and Evangelism declared:

"Partnership in mission" remains an empty slogan. Even where autonomy and equal partnership have been achieved in a formal sense, the actual dynamics are such as to perpetuate relationships of domination and dependence. [These] . . . reflect the economic inequalities between the nations concerned. 42

The appeal of radical statements like these to nationalistic sentiments and the attractive neatness of the fusion solution to mission/church relationships has tended to put the evangelical groups on the defensive.

⁴⁰ Paul Verghese, "A Sacramental Humanism," The Christian Century, September 23, 1970, pp. 1118, 1119.

⁴¹E. P. Nacpil, "Mission but not Missionaries,"
International Review of Mission, July 1971, pp. 359, 360.

⁴²E. Luther Copeland, "Wanted! Radical Reform of Missionary Structures," <u>International Review of Mission</u>, Vol. 62, No. 248 (October, 1973), p. 402.

They have been forced to justify, first of all, the very existence of mission agencies and then to spell out as well as possible the relationships between them and their related overseas churches. It is the latter area of structural definition which is of particular interest to this study. Without the background given above, much of the discussion and many of the issues would be difficult to understand.

In the past decade evangelicals have sponsored three large conferences in an attempt to define various aspects of the task of world evangelization.

The first of these conferences, the Congress on the Church's Worldwide Mission, was held at Wheaton, Illinois, April 9-16, 1966, and endorsed in the "Wheaton Declaration" the principle of cooperative partnership:

" . . . we recognize a continuing distinction between the church established on the field and the missionary agency."

In 1971 EFMA/IFMA convened Green Lake '71 at Green Lake, Wisconsin. The principal papers of this meeting were published under the title Missions in Creative Tension. 44 Recurring themes in the published papers are:

No. 220 (October, 1966), p. 470.

⁴⁴Dr. Vergil Gerber, ed. (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1971).

- 1. Reiteration of mission/church dichotomy. This theme was supported on mainly pragmatic grounds as it was affirmed that scripture does not prescribe specific organizational structures. Structures must not, however, violate the church's integrity defined on scriptural grounds.
- 2. The mission/church relationship was therefore recognized as an organizational (not theological) relationship and potentially vulnerable to destructive tensions.
- 3. There seemed to be an affirmation of a certain inevitability of tensions and of constructive possibilities inherent in their proper management.

The major concern, as the title indicates, was to determine the best structures to manage relationships between the mission agencies and the younger churches. It seems a bit unusual that churchmen should give such a large proportion of their attention to structure and relatively little to processes.

At Green Lake, a major address on mission/church relations overseas was given by George W. Peters of

⁴⁵ Raymond Davis, paper in Missions in Creative Tension, Green Lake, Wisconsin, 1971, p. 24.

⁴⁶ George W. Peters, paper in Missions, p. 49.

Dallas Theological Seminary in which he presented a structural plan entitled "Partnership of Equality and Mutuality." This plan is of special interest for the present study because it has been adopted as a working model by the General Missionary Secretary of the Free Methodist Church. It is reproduced on page 63 and will be referred to from time to time. 47

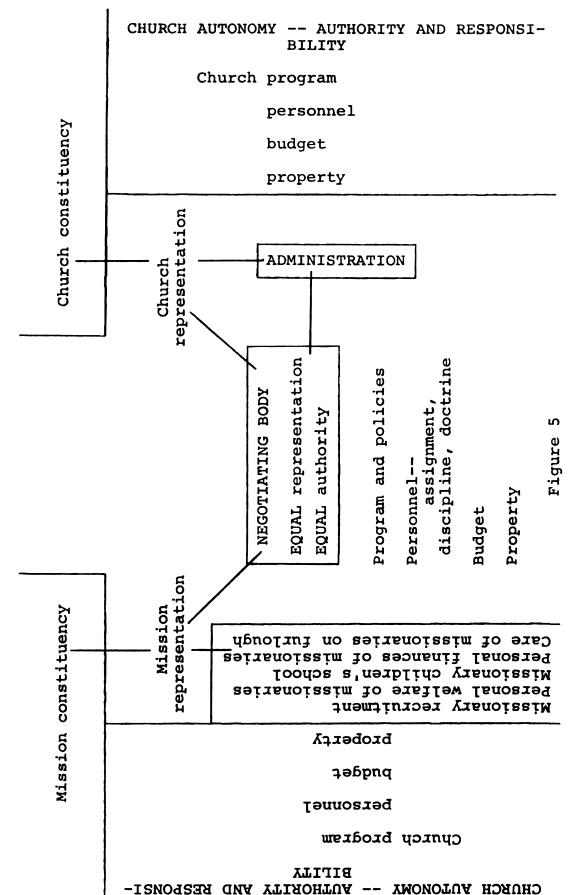
In the Lausanne Covenant, the public document of the Congress on World Evangelization (Lausanne, July, 1974) convening 3,000 church leaders from 150 nations, there is little that addresses itself directly to the structures governing relations between the younger churches and missionary agencies. Re-evaluation of structures is called for and "a growing partnership of churches" is anticipated. 48

Gerber observed in 1972 that evangelical leaders had not written much on mission/church relations 49 and, even with the stimulation of workshops and conferences, not much new thought has been produced. Integration of current anthropological and sociological insights,

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 229.

⁴⁸ Evangelical Missions Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 4 (October, 1974), pp. 313-20.

⁴⁹ Gerber in Church/Mission Tensions Today, ed. C. Peter Wagner (Chicago: Moody Press, 1972), p. 15.



Pattern of Mutuality and Equality

although reported in missions publications, is generally left to the individual at the operational level rather than making an attempt to work them into the organizational picture.

In closing this section, reference should be made to a paper, "Mission/Church Tension in Africa as a Function of Goal Discrepancy," which represents an effort to do what is advocated above. Bates uses Malinowski's model of cross-cultural institutional interaction and applies Maslow's hierarchy of values and the prepotency of needs to the interface of culture contact. He contends that the differential of goal orientations brought about by a situation where the interacting cultures are at different levels on the Maslow scale explains much of the friction at the contact interface.

Summary

surveyed in this chapter which help to orient the study
with respect to the current state of knowledge in related
areas. These areas of investigation also provide some
of the basic insights and models which are utilized
throughout the study. From the section on diffusion of
innovations it may be seen that the stages of missions

⁵⁰ Gerald E. Bates, Practical Anthropology,
18, No. 6 (November-December, 1971), pp. 269-78.

organizational development overseas corresponds remarkably well with the developmental sequence followed by other organizations of disparate kinds. This observation suggests, of course, the applicability of general theory to the missionary enterprise. The resistance factor in receptor cultures is pertinent to discussion of conflict situations. In the comparative management area the major finding appears to be that very little has been done on cross-cultural comparative studies. Relatively recent efforts are addressed to the assessment of environmental factors but, to the present, little attention has been directed to the cross-cultural interaction and processes. The study of conflict as a system is producing a number of models and a substantial amount of theory which can be applied with profit to the kinds of cross-cultural interactions treated in this study. The involvement of values in conflict theory and cross-cultural research of any kind is inescapable. Much useful work in values studies is being done but overall attempts at synthesis are lacking. Perhaps the greatest benefit to be derived from a survey of this area of research and reflection is an appreciation of the complexity of the problem, especially when **Cross-cultural** dimensions are added to an already complex and idiosyncratic field. There has been little systematic effort at defining and describing the variables

operating in the mission/national church field of relationships. Most of the efforts at solutions in this area have been developed from the top down by borrowing from western secular management theory. This would suggest the necessity for working toward a theory from a base of analysis of the factors operating in the cross-cultural arena.

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Chapter 3

THE ORGANIZATION

The research model and the general research design of this study presented in Chapter 1 emphasize the importance of the macro system of values delimited for study purposes as the denominational value system. A basic assumption of the study is that the interacting parties in the conflict situations, in each case the mission and a national church group overseas, receive two kinds of value inputs, one set from the nonchurch environment and another set from the shared church value In terms of Pondy's model (Figure 4, p. 42) the church's value system will be seen (alongside other extraneous environmental factors) as a contributor to the generation of issues as a special kind of "environmental effect." At the advanced levels of the conflict cycle the church's value system and the resultant structures will contribute to the definition and resolution of conflict. On this basis Chapter 3 explores the set of denominational values which define relationships with the overseas churches.

A second purpose of the chapter derives from the need, in a specialized study of this kind, for an orientation to the terminology and structure of the organization in order for the reader to follow the discussion of the cases.

In accord with the dual purposes cited above the intention of this chapter is to give (1) an overview of the system of formal roles and functions which constitute the organizational profile of the Free Methodist Church and (2) a description of the processes of structural modification during a period when the organization was engaged in defining new relationships with its overseas The theoretical framework of the chapter is built around the assumption that the organization is operating in an open system and that it has two major dimensions--structural and process--both of which are dynamic and interacting. On this basis it is further assumed that the kinds of organizational behavior and structural modification, particularly in times of crisis or great change, are highly indicative of its underlying value system. A number of writers in management and values studies have commented on the relationship between

Richard J. Selfridge and Stanley L. Sokolik,
"A Comprehensive View of Organization Development," in
MSU Business Topics, ed. Dole A. Anderson, Vol. 23, No. 1
(East Lansing, Mich.: Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University, Winter 1975), pp. 48-50.

structure and/or behavior and values discovery at the organizational level. Kenneth Boulding sees the whole structure of an organization as a system for decision-making:

The very structure of an organization can be regarded as a "constitution," a constitution being defined as a previously agreed method of resolving conflicts which have not yet arisen. We can go further and argue that virtually all organizational decisions are the end product of a process of conflict resolution between the points of view of the various sections and departments.²

Boulding's statement relates structure to "means" values in the emphasis on preferred methods and possibly intermediate "ends" values in the varying points of view held by different parts of the organization on issues to be decided. Lundberg asserts that:

It is possible to infer the values of groups from the way in which they habitually spend their time, money and energy. This means that values may be inferred from historic documents of all times . . .

Lundberg's position may be extended logically from the emphasis on distribution of resources (time, money, energy) to the structures groups establish for themselves in order to organize the kinds of activities he mentions.

²Kenneth Boulding, "A Pure Theory of Conflict Applied to Organizations," in Conflict Management in Organizations (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Foundation for Research On Human Behavior, 1961), p. 50.

³George Lundberg, "Human Values--A Research Program," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, 1950.

Kluckholn underscores the importance of studying the dynamics of decision-making:

"Real" values, then, can be discerned by careful analysis of selections made in "choice" situations.
. . The observations and investigation of behavior in crisis situations is particularly rewarding.

With this theoretical background the plan of this chapter is to describe and analyze the value system of the organization, particularly those elements which have bearing on the overseas branches, working by inference from organizational behavior. By centering attention on those actions of the Free Methodist Church which define relationships between the North American body and its overseas branches, it is assumed that the elements of the overall value system which have bearing on the cases considered in this study will be identified. The second important purpose mentioned above is to furnish the information necessary to an adequate understanding of the cases which form the data base of this research.

The presentation of this material will be made under three heads: (1) the general church organization, (2) the World Fellowship, and (3) the General Missionary Board.

Clyde Kluckholn and others, "Values and Value-Orientation in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in Toward a General Theory of Action, eds. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), P. 408.

THE GENERAL CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The articles of organization and government of the North American General Conference give the following levels of church government: (1) pastoral charges, (2) districts, (3) annual conferences, (4) the General Conference. 5

- The lay membership of the church is divided into local societies, one or more of which constitutes a pastoral charge.
- 2. The pastoral charges within an annual conference may be grouped into <u>districts</u>. An annual conference may choose to have only one district with boundaries corresponding to those of the annual conference.
- 3. The General Conference organizes the work at large into annual conferences of which the ministers are permanent members. At the sessions of the annual conferences lay delegates are admitted having been chosen by the pastoral charges thus effecting an approximate balance

The information in this section is based on the Book of Discipline of the Free Methodist Church of North America, 1969 edition (Winona Lake, Indiana: The Free Methodist Publishing House). The Book of Discipline is organized by numbered paragraphs. Due to frequency of references to this source the symbol D and the paragraph numbers will be used throughout this chapter.

between ministerial and lay delegates. This principle of lay representation is an important element in the democratic organization of the denomination.

4. The General Conference is composed of the bishops and ministerial and lay delegates chosen by the annual conferences. Whenever an annual conference reaches an aggregate church membership of 800, it is entitled to two ministerial delegates and to an additional ministerial delegate for every additional 600 full members. A like number of lay delegates are chosen from each annual conference. The ministerial delegates are elected by the ministers and the lay representatives are chosen by the lay delegates to the annual conference.

The General Conference is the only legislative body in the church. Two or more ordained elders are elected by the General Conference as bishops. The General Conference convenes every five years. (Prior the 1964 conference, with the exception of the Centenary conference in 1960, this was generally four Years.)

Organization of the General Conference of North America

bishops, the executive secretary of the Board of Bishops, eighteen ministerial and eighteen lay members, one each from the respective administrative districts. This Board has general organizational and supervisory powers over all the activities of the church during the interim between General Conference sessions. Currently the Board of Administration is organized into four commissions:

- The Administrative Commission which acts as a court of appeals, directs the departments of finance and stewardship, and acts as Board of Directors for the Publishing House;
- 2. The Commission on Missions;
- 3. The Commission on Christian Education including the departments of Higher Education, Christian Education and Servicemen;
- 4. The Commission on Evangelistic Outreach.

Each of the four commissions is chaired by one of the bishops.

General Church Relationships Involving Overseas Churches

Rather extensive explanations are necessary to derstand the complex and overlapping matrix of

relationships which characterize the global aspect of

Free Methodism. The more formal and structural dimensions

of these ties are described with a minimum of historical

background in the numbered sections immediately following.

1. World Free Methodism. In 1960 the Free Methodist Church of North America took two important new steps in formally recognizing its emerging international character. The first of these was the granting of authority to the overseas areas to develop general conferences with powers equal to its own. The action and rationale are clearly stated in the Book of Discipline, 1969 edition, page 6:

It seemed that the time had come to provide for the more speedy evangelization of the world and the extension of scriptural holiness and its fruits through the Free Methodist Church by the firm establishment of general conferences other than the North America General Conference on a basis preserving in each the essentials of Free Methodism. (D, para. 16.5)

The second decision in 1960 was the authorization

conganize a world fellowship of Free Methodist Churches

which was subsequently recognized by the North American

General Conference. The World Fellowship is formally

recognized in the section of the Discipline called

"Principles of Free Methodism" which must be ratified

by all general conferences:

The General Conference shall recognize the World Fellowship of Free Methodist Churches as a means of promoting evangelistic outreach through

fellowship, understanding, and cooperative planning among all areas of Free Methodism, according to the constitution and bylaws of said organization. (D, para. 64)

(These actions were initiated in 1960 and fully elaborated in the Discipline of 1964.)

2. Annual conferences of mission origin. The full annual conferences overseas related to the North American General Conference have the right to send delegates to the General Conference. (It is necessary to specify the general conference by name because there are two other general conferences outside of North America, the Japan General Conference and the Egypt General Conference.) The overseas conferences constitute as a group one of the administrative districts and, by virtue of this, have two members on the Board of Administration of the General Conference.

It is interesting to note that this representation was nearly lost in the 1974 General Conference where there was feeling, particularly among the bishops, that the matters treated by the Board of Administration were largely pertinent only to North America. A second reason for suppressing the overseas district was that these conferences do not contribute to the operating budget of the General Conference. The attempt to suppress this district was defeated informally on the basis of three arguments:

- The protocol effect on the overseas churches of recalling a privilege extended to them;
- The training aspect of their participating, even marginally, in the highest councils of the church; and,
- 3. An appeal to the historic principle (and related to the "free" in Free Methodist) in regard to budgetary contributions—that to remove this representation on the basis of nonparticipation in the budget would be a violation of the "free seat" (as against pew rent) stand of the church.

These arguments prevailed and the representation was retained.

harmony with the request of the Asia Fellowship Conference, the North American General Conference of 1960

extended the supervisory mandate of the bishops to cover

the full conferences of mission origin overseas. This

decision is recorded in the <u>Discipline</u>, paragraph 330.2d.

A further assignment of the bishops is to assist the

area fellowships in the development of national leadership

and in achieving the level indicated in the disciplinary

standards for new general conferences (D, para. 331.9a).

Provision for the organization of new annual conferences

for special cultural or language groups is made in

paragraph 331.9c even where these conferences may overlap the boundaries of existent annual conferences.

4. The Constitutional Council. Until 1960 the Free Methodist Church worldwide was related in one way or another to the North American General Conference. In 1960, under the impetus of World Fellowship thinking which will be described in a later section, the two other General Conferences were recognized, Japan and Egypt. Since general conferences are defined by the Polity of the church as the highest legislative body, the multiplication of these conferences presented the need for developing the organizational structure upward **Provide** an integrating echelon to hold things together. Much debate in the period 1958-1960 surrounded the question of whether to create some kind of "world-church" bureaucracy or to stop short of that with some kind of coordinating or constitutional body. The precise powers and functions of the Constitutional Council are described below but it is significant to note that the integrating factor which holds the international aspect of the Free Methodist Church together is not organizational but COnfessional, hinging on voluntary attachment to the "Principles of Free Methodism" contained in paragraphs 1-16 and 20-73 of the Discipline which must be identical all general conference constitutions.

The Constitutional Council is composed of
representatives from all general conferences of Free
Methodism on a basis proportionate to membership. The
representatives are the bishops (or equivalent officers)
with an equal number of other representatives, giving
due attention to the principle of lay representation
(D. paragraphs 62 and 70). The Council acts as a board
of review for all legislation passed by the general
conferences in order to determine if there are any
points in conflict with the provisions of the "Principles
of Free Methodism." It must be clearly understood that
the Constitutional Council is in no way a legislative
or governing body; its power is only by arbitration and
referencement.

5. The Commission on Missions. Until 1960 no statement of objectives or purpose appeared in the section of the Discipline regulating the Commission on Missions. In 1960 the following introductory paragraph was inserted and has remained in all subsequent editions:

The Free Methodist Church by the Board of Administration and through the Commission on Missions seeks to carry the gospel of Christ to the world. By education, medical service, and evangelism, the church, in obedience to the teachings of Christ, attempts to share the blessings of the gospel as widely as possible in the lives of individual persons and in society. (D. para. 140.1)

In general the Commission on Missions is to

General Conference which includes fund raising and disbursement, recruiting and sending of missionary personnel, and opening of new work. The more detailed instructions to the Commission with respect to the overseas work are contained in the following paragraphs: (D. 141.9, a. and b.)

- a. The commission shall have the following relationship to new work:

 (1) Until the church which is established on any field develops to full conference status, the work shall be under the jurisdiction of the Commission on Missions.
- b. The commission shall have the following relationship to full conferences and general conferences of mission origin:
 - (1) Full conferences and general conferences of mission origin are related to the commission through the field mission. The mission consists of the missionaries under regular appointment by the commission and serving the conference or general conference.
 - (2) A liaison committee composed of missionaries and national church leaders may submit requests for needed personnel and finance together with full explanatory matter to the Commission on Missions through the Missionary Secretary.

paragraph 141.10 a. and b. criteria for the organization of conferences on the mission fields are given:

- a. Provisional Conferences. When an annual conference on the field is in a preparatory stage, it shall adopt in principle the DISCIPLINE of the Free Methodist Church together with a constitution adapted to its local situation and peculiar needs, the same to be approved by the Commission on Missions.
- b. Full conferences. When provisional conferences have made marked advancement in national leadership, evangelistic outreach, self-government and self-support, and have reached the stage where they are able to operate satisfactorily under the DISCIPLINE of the Free Methodist Church, and a constitution

approved by the General Conference, the Commission on Missions shall recommend such conferences to the area bishop to be organized as a full conference as outlined in Paragraph 331, Section 9.

Any changes in constitutions of full conferences of mission origin shall be considered by the Commission on Missions for recommendation to the Board of Administration or General Conference for approval.

In the preceding sections the relationships established by the North American General Conference with respect to the overseas areas of the denomination have been described. The Book of Discipline, a book 0£ 334 pages, is concerned primarily with the administration of the North American church and, for this reason, the actions with international implications appear relatively few and brief. They do, however, have important and far-reaching consequences. It is this reason and for the purpose of presenting some the dynamics in the development of these relation-Ships that extended treatment must be devoted to two important agencies described briefly above--the World Fe llowship, initially chartered in 1960, and the Commission on Missions, missionary agency of the General Church.

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP

In order to understand the structural response and, eventually, the value system of the Free Methodist Church as it applies to relationships with the overseas

branches, it is necessary to investigate thoroughly the background and development of the Free Methodist World Fellowship.

of creative thinking and purposeful activity in the leadership of the Free Methodist Church as attempts were made to assess and respond to the international implications brought about by the success of its foreign mission effort. The selection of material in this section will attempt to present not only the organizational dimensions but something of the affective content as well in order to convey as far as possible a feeling of the excitement reflected in the documents of the period.

In October 1958 the Commission on Missions
recommended to the Board of Administration that provision be made for consultation with overseas leaders
through a World Planning Council. Initiative was to be
Placed with the North American Panel. It was determined
that the World Planning Council would not represent
simply the Commission on Missions but all departments
of the church. The proposal was accepted by the
Board of Administration and the North American Panel

⁶Frank J. Kline, ed., <u>Asia Fellowship Conference</u> (Winona Lake, Indiana: The Continuing Committee of the Free Methodist World Fellowship, North American Division, April 19-28, 1960), p. 6.

met the same day to organize. The language of the request addressed to the Board of Administration is noteworthy:

. . . it has become clear to the Commission on Missions that the Free Methodist Church of North America is approaching the time when it must think in terms of a world church of related national churches, and plan with representatives of national Free Methodist groups looking toward the organization of largely autonomous national churches within the various countries now controlled in large measure by mission extensions of the home church.

The mandate to the North American Panel included "creating

a new type of world church relationship" and a "comprehensive plan for the structure of world Free Methodism."

According to Byron S. Lamson, then General

Missionary Secretary, the major motivating factors for

a world organization were:

- 1. Nationalism.
- Maturation of mission churches and leadership, and
- 3. The challenge of the unevangelized areas of the world, i.e. a need for mobilization of the worldwide forces of the church for evangelization and service.

^{7&}quot;Report of the North American Panel," The Free Methodist, November 24, 1959.

Byron S. Lamson, Venture (Winona Lake, Indiana: Light and Life Press, 1960), p. 236.

⁹Byron S. Lamson, <u>To Catch the Tide</u> (Winona Lake, Indiana: General Missionary Board, 1963), pp. 29-33.

Lamson illustrates the awareness of the pressures of nationalism by responding in an interview published in 1957 in the denominational paper:

Independent nations look with suspicion upon the missionaries coming from the Western world. They are trying to free themselves of foreign influence. They feel that the Christian church is a foreign import. If there is to be a Christian church in these countries it must be truly indigenous, without paternalistic pressure from the older churches of the West. 10

In his book written five years later, Lamson reflects back on this period asserting that nationalism helped provide impetus for organizing the world fellowship and, furthermore, that it helped nationals to have a feeling of adequacy for the responsibilities of leadership. 11 It is significant that in the one year, 1960 alone, the roster of the United Nations swelled by twenty-two new members, fifteen of these from Africa, a continent in which Free Methodist missions has traditionally held a large missions investment. 12

In commenting on the maturity of the overseas Churches, Lamson makes the value-laden statement that:

The Free Methodist, the denominational magazine, October 29, 1957.

¹¹ Lamson, Tide, p. 32.

¹² Yearbook of the United Nations-1971 (Vol. 25).

It has been increasingly felt that overseas churches Were as truly the churches of Jesus Christ as was the church in North America and that our polity should somehow be adjusted to recognize this fact. 13

In proceeding toward the world organization it was decided that a series of regional consultations should be held in different parts of the world. Bishop Marston in his report of the North American Panel to the Board of Administration outlined the purposes of the area conferences as finding the essential elements of Free Methodism in the respective countries through (1) Christian fellowship, (2) group worship, and (3) full discussion of national and common problems. 14 The main concern seemed to be to conserve the essential heritage and spirit of Free Methodism, not only in the historic western sense but in relation to its development in the diverse national contexts. Combined with this concern was a determination to give each area of the church maximum freedom in organizational matters. 15 A subsidiary but real concern attached to the sense of urgency in world evangelization was the hope that by transferring responsibilities to national leaders

¹³Lamson, Tide, p. 32.

^{14 &}quot;Report of the North American Panel."

¹⁵ Lamson, Tide, p. 33.

the missionary force could be released for new fields or new types of service. 16

scheduled for the Asia area, in Japan, April 19-28,
1960. In preparation for this meeting Lamson tells of
the deliberate selection of a transcendent goal, the
need for evangelization of the whole world, in preference
to a strictly organizational one: "To place the conference emphasis on organization rather than evangelism
would have resulted in a failure to achieve the highest
values."
Thus the major question for the consultation
became "How can we best harness all our resources for a
worldwide evangelistic advance?"
18

The specific objectives for the Asia conference were set as "united prayer, fellowship, communication between the churches, strategy for world evangelism, strengthening and defining our mutual faith, and consideration of the relationship between the younger churches themselves, and between the younger churches and the mother church. Analysis of these objectives

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 32; "Report on the World Fellowship Conference," in The Free Methodist, March 20, 1962.

¹⁷ Lamson, <u>Tide.</u>, p. 35.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 36.

shows a balanced combination of high idealism and practical organizational concerns.

At this point there was an awareness of two

possible alternatives as to the form the organization

might take--a loose federation of completely autonomous

churches or a closely integrated organization with one

general conference.²⁰

National study panels were formed in the countries participating in the Asia conference. Questions for study on doctrinal, denominational and strategy matters were submitted to the national panels and responses were circulated to the participants. It was felt, however, that "there is no alternative for face-to-face contact. We can learn from each other."

The Asia Fellowship Conference convened at Osaka, Japan, April 19-28, 1960. Delegates came from Philippines, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Egypt and India-generally two nationals and a missionary from each--plus the six North American representatives. The style of language used in the report issuing from the conference could best be described as "eloquent Christian hyperbole"--hyperbole in the sense that the experience of fellowship and shared concern seemed to over-tax the vehicle of language.

²⁰Ibid., p. 41.

²¹Ibid., p. 40.

In the introduction to the report of the conference, Lamson cites some of the peak experiences shared by the delegates:²²

V. B. Samudre in speaking of the first Pentecost

asked: "Will all the Free Methodists around the world

find themselves in one room?"

Rev. Karam Mina of Egypt prayed, "O God, Egypt for Christ, India for Christ, Hong Kong for Christ,

Japan for Christ--the whole world for Christ." The

report goes on to say that it was more tears and groans
than words as he concluded, "O God, you see us. Give

us a word for our situation."

There were more concrete expressions of mutual concern. A Japanese member used his entire savings to purchase two drums for street-meeting work in Hong Kong. Another furnished two organs for Taiwan while a third volunteered the freight expense. Japanese students purchased a motorcycle for India.

Dr. Frank Kline, missionary from India and secretary of the conference, spoke of attendance for the members as "one of the highest privileges of their lives."

The organizational recommendations of the conference may be listed briefly as follows:

Six for the complete reference).

- That similar conferences be convened for the Africa and Latin American areas.
- 2. That a World Fellowship be organized including among its members proposed general conferences, overseas and national annual conferences.
- That the bishops undertake to supervise the overseas conferences on the same basis as those in North America.
- 4. That provisional conferences put forth efforts to become full conferences.
- 5. That national conferences be given the right to organize general conferences under conditions to be determined later.
- 6. That a World Assembly be created subsequent to the Africa and Latin American consultations.
- 7. That a continuing committee with representation from Asia, Africa, South and North America be organized with a view to drafting a constitution for a world assembly.
- 8. A number of specific suggestions were made relating to the powers and functions of the World Assembly. These are detailed in pages 27-29 of the <u>Asia Fellowship Conference</u> report. It is noteworthy that the World Fellowship was

first conceived of as an interim body until the World Assembly would be organized. Among the responsibilities of the World Assembly would be that of liaison between mission boards and national churches.²³

The dual order of objectives--transcendental/
religious and organizational--was visible throughout
the conference and was reflected in nearly every part
of the report. A typical statement is that:

Christian fellowship was remarkably close, group worship melted us together in the oneness of Christ, discussion led us to significant agreement on principles that should provide an effective basis of world fellowship and an over-arching, unifying organization.²⁴

Lamson characterized what he saw of Free Methodism in the conference by saying:

. . . Free Methodists are not ivory tower metaphysicians. For them holiness is "love in action" expressing itself in works of love and mercy, social action and worldwide missionary endeavor. 25

While it is clear that certain leaders were highly involved in the development of the fellowship program, efforts were made to inform the general constituency of the church through published reports and through articles in the denominational magazine. On

p. 100. Report,

November 24, 1959 a full-page report of the North American Panel was published in the Free Methodist giving the rationale for the Asia conference. On April 12, 1960, just before the conference, another full-page presentation of the program with pictures of the delegates was given in the Free Methodist specifying the concern of the conference as world-wide church advance and calling for prayer in all the churches. On June 7, 1960 a page with pictures, again in the Free Methodist, outlined the events and actions of the conference and called for 100,000 Free Methodists to join in nothing less than an all-out crusade, with suffering if need be, for the more speedy evangelization of the whole world. This task was to include every geographical, cultural, interest and problem area of life. All must be brought under the rule of Christ. Analogy was made to the first Pentecost and the sending out of witnesses into all the known world.

The actions of the 25th session of the General Conference of North America (which was, significantly, the centenary of the denomination) held in June 1960 are reported in the Free Methodist of July 5, 1960.

The proposal for a World Assembly including authorization for the formation of other general conferences came to the floor on June 18. The proposal is met with silence until veteran missionary James H. Taylor of Taiwan

rises to oppose recognition of national churches and the granting of general conference status to Egypt and Japan. A vigorous debate ensued and finally a hearing outside the general session was arranged. On June 22 the secretary of the North American Panel resumed the stand. The issue as reported was: "Will North American Free Methodists share their sovereignty with the Free Methodists of other nations?" After a hot debate the issue was again postponed to the afternoon session. A new motion was then brought in modified to include only authorization for the establishment of a World Fellowship of Free Methodist Churches with a continuing committee to study further the structure of a World Council of Free Methodism. The motion passed and the General Conference reporter commented:

Free Methodists have made history today, repudiating Western supremacy, giving mature mission fields the right to petition for membership in a world organization and the privilege of managing their own internal affairs.²⁶

In successive motions Japan and Egypt are granted general conference status.

Dr. Kaneo Oda, Japan Conference president, responds: "You have been helping us for the last sixty

The Free Methodist, July 5, 1960, p. 10.

years. Now we can vote by ourselves--self-control,
self-support, self-propagation."27

Norman Cooke, mission superintendent in Egypt, congratulates the conference, "This is the ultimate in missions. Unless we are willing to take this position, we should not open another mission field." 28

On August 9, 1960 a report in the <u>Free Methodist</u> entitled "Our World Church, One Family--One Room" reviewed the recent decisions on Japan and Egypt and closed with a reference to Samudre's speech at the Asia conference where he said:

. . . may the Free Methodist family around the world find themselves in one room; may they join hands across the seas as a family would do in one room; and may the spirit of the family dwell in our Free Methodist Church.²⁹

In accordance with the plan and as authorized by the 1960 General Conference, area fellowship conferences were held in Africa (September 12-17, 1961) and in Lake Placid, Florida for the Latin American area (January 2-7, 1962), a change of location from the Dominican Republic due to troubled conditions there.

The African conference was held in very uneasy conditions at Lundi station, Rhodesia. Delegates from

²⁷ The Free Methodist, July 5, 1960, p. 10.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ The Free Methodist, August 9, 1960, p. 10.

Rwanda came out of a situation of tribal fighting and traversed the Congo just before Tshombe and UN forces began open battle over the Katanga secession. These conditions, along with an acute consciousness of newly independent and about to be independent nations, served to underline the precariousness of foreign presence in Africa. In contrast to the Asia conference the African delegates were more concerned with strategy and methods. For many African participants this was a first experience of sharing internationally as Africans and there seemed to be a new appreciation of the international dimension and the shared heritage of the Free Methodist Church. 30

Lamson characterized the Latin American conference as more concerned with economic and political problems. There were traces of anti-North Americanism, criticism of past missionary methods and a feeling that such a conference was long overdue. In spite of these sentiments, however, there was an intense experience of sharing and unity. The Spanish secretary recorded at one point: "The following moments were indescribable in that missionaries and pastors, Latins and North Americans were melted into the same spirit of joy in the presence of their Lord." The minutes go on to record

³⁰ Lamson, Tide, pp. 68-79.

³¹ Ibid., p. 77.

³²Ibid., p. 72.

that this close communion marks a new beginning in the historic evolution of Free Methodism, particularly in the Latin American zone.

On January 9-21, 1962 the organizing conference of the World Fellowship was convened at Greenville, Illinois. There were four co-chairmen--Joao Mizuki from Brazil, Isaac Shembe from South Africa, Bishop L. R. Marston from North America, and Bishop Kaneo Oda from Japan. In much of the literature surrounding the event there was mention of the fact that this was a "first," a step for which there were no precedents. The stated objective of the conference was mobilization for the more speedy evangelization of the world. The purpose stated in the World Fellowship constitution adopted on January 12, 1962 (the sense of history is underscored by noting the time--7:32 P.M.) reads as follows:

The Free Methodist World Fellowship is an organization for the coordination of the world-wide activities of the denomination. In harmony with this purpose it shall endeavor to promote closer fellowship and mutual understanding among all branches of the Free Methodist Church, serve as an agent for joint planning and cooperative action, carry forward studies helpful to the member conferences and perform such other services as may be required by the members. 34

³³ The Free Methodist, March 20, 1966, p. 14.

³⁴ Article II, Purpose, Constitution of the World Fellowship.

The constitution provides for representation from general conferences, full conferences of mission origin and provisional conferences thus tying together all organizational units of the Free Methodist Church.

National delegates from the different areas of the world expressed themselves as impressed by the sense of family, of unity, of acceptance, of openness, of expanded horizons with respect to the church around the world:

Joao Mizuki of Brazil: "... we talked together like members of one family." A gift from Rhodesia, a wooden bowl, came with the greeting, "They who eat in the same bowl are friends." Another delegate expressed it: "We are undergoing a change in the relationship between the mother church and the national churches—moving from paternalistic attitudes to fraternalistic.
... The World Fellowship came just in time"
A delegate from Africa reported, "They came up, put their arms around me just as though I were their brother.
They didn't seem to have any feeling that I was a black man. This is a great thing. This is the way it is in Africa now among our African brethren and among the missionaries. They are one ... I forgot that I was

black." A Latin American spoke of new understanding of the problems of churches in America.³⁵

The point in recording all of this here is to catch the impact these conferences had, not only in organizational terms, but affectively on the participants from the various parts of the world.

In preparation for the 1964 General Conference to which the major proposals of the World Fellowship in regard to church organization would need to be submitted a number of articles were published in the Free
Methodist. In the issue of March 20, 1962 the editor
Dr. Gregory wrote in an editorial entitled "A Revolution in Church Fellowship":

We are passing through one of the greatest periods of revolutionary ferment since human history began.

There is a revolution going on in church fellowship and administration within our own church itself.

Under God's guidance we unite in a new way as Free Methodists of many nations to make Christ known. 36

On May 12, 1964, very close to the time of General Conference, the Executive Secretary of the World Fellowship, in an article in the Free Methodist, reflects the concern of the constituency in North

³⁵ This paragraph is summarized from Lamson, Tide, pp. 80-123.

³⁶ Free Methodist, March 20, 1962, p. 3.

America through a list of questions to which answers may be had by writing to the World Fellowship office:

- 1. Why do we need a separate organization such as the World Fellowship to coordinate the work of world-wide Free Methodism? Why couldn't it be carried on by the General Missionary Board?
- 2. What does the Fellowship hope to accomplish?
- 3. Are we going to turn all of our overseas properties over to the national churches?
- 4. How much will the Fellowship cost? How is it to be financed?
- 5. Is this actually desired by overseas churches, or is this just a scheme pushed upon them by the North American church?
- 6. What are the plans for an arrangement which will insure the coordination of the work of the several general conferences so as to keep their legislation in harmony with a basic Constitution for all Free Methodist Churches?
- 7. With our overseas churches becoming nationalized and self-sufficient, what will be the future of the missionary? 37

In the document circulated to answer these questions 38 responses are given which may be summarized briefly as follows:

Why a separate organization? Reasons given:

Maturity of the national churches, adjustment to

nationalism and resentment of foreign control, need

for an organization which belongs to all nations

touched by the Free Methodist Church, release of the

General Missionary Board for its more specialized

³⁷ The Free Methodist, May 12, 1964, p. 14.

³⁸ This undated document entitled "The Free Methodist World Fellowship: What It Is and What It Is Doing" was circulated just before the General Conference held in the summer of 1964 in order to clarify the World Fellowship concept before it entered the legislative process.

activities by transferring more of the responsibility for development of overseas churches over to the general church.

What does the Fellowship hope to accomplish?

Suggested functions: To act as a liaison for better acquaintance, better spiritual union, exchange of ideas, coordination of programs.

What about properties overseas? Here there is a differentiated answer based on a concern for protection of properties for the use and benefit of the recipient churches.

Cost. Reply: Very modest, about \$10,000 per year, raised by quota payments from the overseas conferences and from North America.

How guarantee the identity of the several general conferences? Here there is reference to the "Basic Principles of Free Methodism" to be held in common and ratified by all, and the Constitutional Council.

Role of the missionary? Changing, not only sent by the missionary board but invited by the national church. Initiative for planning to be gradually transferred to the national churches.

The major legislative changes proposed by the World Fellowship were adopted by the General Conference of 1964. The new plan for reference to a common set of principles of Free Methodism by all general conferences and regulation of this relationship by a constitutional council seemed to allay fears of an over-arching superchurch organization. 39

Through 1969, coverage of World Fellowship activities continued to receive major attention in the Free Methodist magazine. (An important contributing reason for this is undoubtedly the fact that, in 1964, Byron S. Lamson, General Missionary Secretary, was elected to the editorship and served through 1969.) A two-page editorial in the issue of April 22, 1969, six weeks before the 1969 General Conference, outlined the main purposes and activities of the World Fellowship. On June 10, 1969 a survey of the Fellowship's activities for the interim 1964-1969 appeared along with a brief editorial on the overseas churches calling for prayer for the organization and its activities world-wide. three-page report of the Fellowship sessions of June 3-6, 1969 was included in the June 24 issue. A seven-page summary of the Fellowship reports was given in the

³⁹ The organizational chart as approved may be seen in the Appendix, from Current, March-April 1972, a denominational circular.

July 22, 1969 copy. It should be reported, however, that the bishops' pastoral address of that year (Free Methodist, June 10, 1969) did not mention the World Fellowship. In the publicity for the subsequent General Conference in 1974 the missions cavalcade is given thorough coverage while the World Fellowship received eight lines. The pastoral address of 1974, while speaking of the international dimensions of the church, did not mention the World Fellowship by name. The Follow-up Report on the 1974 General Conference published in the Light and Life magazine (successor to the Free Methodist) devoted 10 of 294 lines to the World Fellowship. The World Fellowship has not had a full-time executive secretary since 1972.

A number of reasons may be adduced for the apparent decline in interest in the World Fellowship evidenced in 1969 and 1974. The most obvious is that it would be highly unusual if such a high degree of involvement and enthusiasm could be sustained by an institution around any single issue for more than a decade. A second important factor is that (as has been mentioned in the case of Dr. Lamson) in 1964 and 1969 there was a "changing of the guard" in that many of the leaders largely responsible for the vision and execution of the World Fellowship design were retired or changed to other positions in the church. A third

factor, difficult to measure but perhaps the most important is the conservative turn of American society in regard to foreign aid and involvement abroad due to the trauma of the Vietnam war and the general disillusionment with the efficacy of buying friends abroad. The Free Methodist Church in North America is a conservative body and one young participant in the 1964 General Conference was heard to remark that it was a "Goldwater General Conference." This climate did not prevent the ratification of the World Fellowship proposals. Other actions taken in the conference, however, showed that attention was swinging back to the concerns and ministries of the North American church and the urgent problems of its own society.

In support of this observation it may be noted that the Women's Missionary Society whose objectives since 1894 had been to promote missions information, to deepen interest in world evangelism and to secure systematic contributions for missions began to emphasize home Bible study and in 1969 created a new office, a director of outreach to promote evangelism in the United States.

At the 1964 conference a unified outreach budget plan was adopted which tied mission fund raising to a unified system including such disparate ministries as the youth department, radio, evangelism, bishops'

salaries and retirement. The new plan was eventually called United World Mission for Christ from which the Commission on Missions receives a portion amounting to just over 50 percent of UWMC income. The Commission is generally forbidden to solicit funds within the denomination outside the UWMC framework. The plan was rushed into effect so that the first results appear in 1966. In the first year expendable income available to the Commission on Missions, calculated as a percentage of total denominational income in the United States and Canada, dropped from 8.2 to 5.9. The averages for these same figures for eight years previous and subsequent to 1964 are 7.81 percent and 6.30 percent respectively (compiled from the Free Methodist Yearbook and denominational audit sheets). It is interesting to note that the pattern of United States nonmilitary assistance to less developed countries follows a very similar pattern so that the figures for the corresponding eight-year periods calculated in thousandths of United States GNP are .00754 and .00414 respectively (compiled from Statistical Abstract of the U.S. and Overseas Loans and Grants, Statistics and Reports Division, Office of Financial Management, AID).

Political research indicates "relatively close correlations between public opinion in most geographical

areas and the attitudes of their representatives." 40 David Wall concludes that aid programs of donor countries are almost entirely determined by domestic political forces "which are divorced from any concept of a need of poor countries for aid." 41 Theodore White cites the disenchantment of Americans with \$100 billion spent in post war aid as Goldwater arrived center stage in 1964. 42 These three statements seem to indicate that, in the American democracy, representatives generally do reflect the feelings of their constituencies; that foreign aid programs reflect donor inclinations more than objective assessments of need in the receptor countries; that in 1964 American society was reacting against exporting aid overseas in what it saw as a fruitless and unappreciated endeavor.

While the detailed exploration of this matter is beyond the scope of this study, the strong correlations between the changes in church giving for missions and the changes in United States foreign assistance programs are highly suggestive and may be considered as giving

Michael Kent O'Leary, The Politics of American Aid (New York: Atherton Press, 1967), p. 76.

David Wall, The Charity of Nations (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), p. 79.

Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1964 (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1963), p. 213.

some support to certain hypotheses about the Free Methodist Church in 1964, e.g.

- 1. That the General Conference delegates of 1964 probably reflected a change of mood of the grass roots constituency;
- 2. That the Church, in spite of pretensions to a critical stance with respect to its society, is still very responsive to general social and historical trends in attitudes;
- 3. That 1964 marked a turning point from an international orientation to a more conservative homebound emphasis in the general church leadership.

These observations do not repudiate the validity of the World Fellowship concept as a genuine expression of the values of Free Methodism elicited by a particularly urgent set of international circumstances both in and out of the church. It is likely, however, that the countervailing developments of 1964 revealed an ambivalence and a shift in the rank ordering of values so that the attention of the North American church turned more to the needs of its own immediate environment.

The work of the World Fellowship continues with the president, a bishop, doubling as executive officer.

The new emphasis established in 1974 is on the

development of leaders in the overseas churches through an international scholarship fund. This may be seen as a response to the voices of national elites. also a narrowing of the attention of the organization from its original themes to a specialized activity and emphasis. Little attention seems to be given these days to the development of a strong international network of churches. Much of what is being done is carried out in the regional groupings, the area fellowships. General Missionary Board is withdrawing the services of its area executives as executive officers of the area fellowships. It is interesting to note that, prior to the developments reported in this paragraph, in an evaluation study of the Free Methodist Church reported in 1972 by an independent agency the following comment is made:

It is evident that the "World Fellowship" was initiated to provide a rallying point for mutual encouragement of FM people around the world. Though there has been a recent effort to formalize and staff this part of the FM activity, guidelines for its actual and abiding function are not immediately clear and/or distinctive. 43

⁴³Report of Evaluation Study of the Free Methodist Church of North America (Fort Morgan, Colorado: Christian Service Fellowship, 1972), p. 108.

THE COMMISSION ON MISSIONS

The formal mandate and powers of the Commission on Missions are given in an earlier section of this chapter (pp. 78-79). The purpose here is to discuss the philosophy of the Commission on Missions over the period 1960 to the present.

In order to understand how the operating philosophy of the Commission on Missions is determined, it is first necessary to see how the Commission is formed. The Board of Administration of the general church organizes itself into commissions one of which is the Commission on Missions. Traditionally this includes one-fourth of the members of the Board of Administration with one bishop as chairman. Two additional members are elected by the Women's Missionary Society. Three area missionary representatives are nonvoting members. Since the Board of Administration is elected at each general conference sitting and since the commissions are re-formed after each general conference, there is substantial change of membership every five years. The General Missionary Secretary is the executive officer of the Commission. He is hired by the Board of Administration and usually holds office for a long tenure. The Commission meets in spring and fall for week-long sessions largely con-Cerned with personnel and finance. While individual members make important contributions on policy decisions

and would certainly weigh carefully any radical departure from accepted policy, the structure virtually determines that the dominant on-going philosophy of the Commission is set by the man in day-to-day contact with overseas situations and problems, the General Missionary Secretary.

For a period covered by this study there have been two missionary secretaries, Dr. Byron S. Lamson (through 1964) and Dr. Charles Kirkpatrick from 1964 to the present. Both men are able administrators with well-formed mission philosophies. The focus in this section will be on their respective positions with regard to relations between the Commission (often referred to under the corporate name The General Missionary Board--or GMB) 44 and the national churches overseas.

A consistent theme through several decades of Free Methodist missions has been the emphasis on development of indigenous churches in the areas of mission outreach. A fundamental premise during the World Fellowship period was recognition of the full theological integrity of the younger churches overseas measured by

The Board of Administration of the Free Methodist Church of North America is incorporated as The General Missionary Board. In common usage General Missionary Board and the Commission on Missions are used interchangeably.

⁴⁵ Lamson, <u>Tide</u>, pp. 26-28.

New Testament standards. In 1957 Lamson affirmed his conviction that "The Church is there as truly as it is here or anywhere." In 1963 he added to that statement the observation that " . . . our polity should somehow be adjusted to recognize this fact." These convictions gave rise to further conclusions in regard to the role of missionaries on the mission fields. If the Church is the Church here or there it is logical that its adherents and workers should relate to the Church wherever it is found and work in and through it. Lamson reflects this position as it works out with respect to missionaries:

This means that missionaries will go to these fields upon invitation of the mission churches, and will take appointment under the mission conferences, work as partners and servants of the church. The influence they will bring to bear in a mission conference will be on the basis of their own personal membership in the conference, and not as representatives of the mission. Ultimately the mission itself as a mission will disappear. The missionary will work in and through the national church. 48

At the World Fellowship Organizing Conference the committee on The Church and its Missionary Enterprise took much the same position specifying that the mission will

Interview in The Free Methodist, October 29, 1957.

⁴⁷ Lamson, Tide, p. 32.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

care for housekeeping items such as missionary housing, language study and children's education. Lamson commented approvingly on this saying that it

. . . represents an advanced but sound point of view with reference to the relation of mission and church and represents our best thinking on the role of the missionary in this new day. 49

Administratively this position worked itself out in the new constitutions for full conferences being formed in the overseas areas. The area secretary for Africa reported that a new constitution for the Ruanda-Urundi conference provides that the missionaries take their places in the church on an equal basis with African leaders. 50

In 1964 Dr. Lamson was elected editor of the denominational magazine and Dr. Charles Kirkpatrick became General Missionary Secretary. Kirkpatrick had been a successful pastor and superintendent of the Pacific Northwest Conference, highly interested in missions and a participant in the Africa Fellowship Conference in September 1961. At the conference in Africa, in an interview conducted by Lamson, he responded to the question: What impressed you most [about the

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 94.

⁵⁰Victor W. Macy, "The Survival of the Free Methodist Church in an Independent Ruanda-Urundi," The Free Methodist, July 18, 1961, p. 13.

conference]? he replied, "The willingness of the Africans to accept more responsibility for the evangelization of their countries." In the Missionary Manual (a handbook of policies and procedures mainly for the guidance of the missionary staff), 1965 edition, one year after his appointment, elements of Kirkpatrick's thinking on the development of indigenous churches came through in a number of statements:

(Preface) Our philosophy of operation is a frank commitment to indigenous development of the national church. Field methods are crafted to the culture of the people . . .

(p. 21) Programs should be originated and administered with a view to eventual full national staffing and support. The mission program will be relevant to the national church only to the extent to which the national church can identify with it both culturally and economically.

(p. 31) Missionaries should give every encouragement to the development of national church leadership.

On the basis of the statements given about it is clear that the theme of the indigenous church, its importance and its development, has not wavered in the changeover of Missionary Secretaries. On the other hand, comparison of the following statements by Kirkpatrick with positions taken by Lamson in the years 1957-1964 will reveal a significant difference in

⁵¹ The Free Methodist, October 31, 1961.

points of view with regard to how missionaries and the mission organization should relate to developing churches.

On October 7, 1966, commenting on a document

Guidelines for Constitutions in a note to Bishop Kendall,

chairman of the Commission on Missions, Kirkpatrick wrote:

In consideration of the proposed Africa Fellowship conferences the matter of partnership could be emphasized between the mission and the conference. In development of the World Fellowship we have considered that the only way of identification has been that of integration but we must also remember that churches and boards have achieved identification with equal success on a cooperative basis.⁵² [italics not in the original]

Earlier that year on July 18 in a letter to the Africa Area Secretary in regard to a constitution for the Burundi conference, Kirkpatrick wrote:

The development of the indigenous church and national conferences must be established on a partnership basis. In the former situation the nationals served under the missionary and we felt this was wrong, but it is just as demoralizing to place the missionary completely under the national or conference. Evidence of good faith concerning partnership would be to consult the missionaries as to where they may best serve. 53 [italics not in the original]

It is important to note the deliberate contrast
made between "integration" (disappearance of the "mission"
into the national church structure) and "partnership"
seen as allowing for identification in terms of goals

⁵²Document in General Missionary Board files.

⁵³Letter in General Missionary Board files.

while maintaining the integrity of a separate existence for the mission organization. There is a basic similarity of position to that of the "Wheaton Declaration" cited in Chapter 2 (p. 60) but in interviews with Kirk-patrick on October 25, 1974 and December 19, 1974 it is clear that he considers the position of the Green Lake Conference of 1971 (Chapter 2, p. 62) to be closer to his thinking. A plan presented at that conference under the title "Partnership of Equality and Mutuality" (Chapter 2, pp. 62-63) has been referred to by Kirkpatrick as most closely expressing his management philosophy on church/mission relations.

In the interviews cited above, Kirkpatrick stated that he was aware of problems that may have arisen because of the change in policy from integration to partnership, possibly because the earlier policy, and particularly some presentations of it, may have given rise to false or exaggerated expectations on the part of national leadership. He sees this policy of partnership as steering between over-optimism with respect to overseas capacities and intentions and a policy of no confidence either of which brings problems when people are thrown into close relationships. Kirkpatrick considers his position as reflecting the best of the results of the experimentation of the early 1960's as these have been shared among many mission

boards. He feels that the partnership approach gains much through a clear definition of relationships.

This policy has been worked out in at least one conference constitution in which guaranteed missionary representation on the conference board of administration has been dropped and a separate liaison committee on church/mission relations created made up of missionaries and nationals. Kirkpatrick comments that this is an application of the Green Lake principles. He states that he sees such an arrangement as a vote of confidence in the nationals, a position of noninterference in conference affairs while still maintaining the important liaison body. Kirkpatrick says that he is concerned in some cases about protecting the conference from over-influence by, and consequently over-dependence on, the missionary. 55

The value implications of this shift in missions policy described above will be discussed in the following section on values.

THE VALUE SYSTEM OF THE FREE METHODIST CHURCH WITH RESPECT TO ITS OVERSEAS BRANCHES

The theoretical rationale for this chapter is based on the assumption that the value system of an

⁵⁴Letter of February 28, 1975 to this writer.

⁵⁵ Personal interview of October 25, 1974.

organization may be inferred from both structure and process as the organization engages in open system transactions with its environment. Aberle states that, particularly in studies of religions or any system of ultimate values, while

. . . it is the consequences of the system of ideas and values for social action which is important for social analysis, nevertheless, the task of outlining the values themselves, whether at a relatively concrete level or in terms of a few general principles, is always a necessary part of the analysis. 56

The primary task of this chapter, therefore, is to deduce from the international dimensions of the organizational structure and its behavior in a period of intense cross-cultural activity on those dimensions the elements of the total value system which are most pertinent and dynamic in that area of its organizational life. General case study methods have been used in correlating the material in the chapter.

What emerges in the course of the chapter is essentially the description of organizational modification over a period when formal structures were being acted upon by three major change factors:

 What has been called the World Fellowship movement, in the early 1960's,

David F. Aberle, "Shared Values in Complex Societies," American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, No. 4 (August 1950), pp. 500-01.

- The changeover of missionary secretaries in 1964,
- 3. The shift in general social mood in the mid-1960's with regard to international involvements vis-à-vis a rising consciousness of major problems in American society.

Kluckholn observes that group values are usually organized around:

- 1. Attitudes and behavior toward the supernatural,
- 2. Problems of selection between types of normative patterns governing interpersonal relations, and
- 3. Exploitation of the environment.

He states further that these values must make some kind of functional sense in terms of a group's special history, present social structure and environmental situation. 57

An examination of the material presented shows that value deductions will need to be made from two kinds of outcomes. One set of value inferences can be made from the formal results of structural modification. Another set will take into account other kinds of value indicators not immediately (and perhaps never) reflected

⁵⁷Kluckholn, "Values and Value Orientation," p. 417.

at the formal ecclesiastical level though they may appear at a different level as administrative policy changes.

With respect to the formal structural changes
Kluckholn's three categories of group values cited above
prove useful as corresponding conveniently to the three
elements of the "Preamble" to the "Basic Principles of
Free Methodism" and are used in ordering the formal
analysis section.

In order that we may wisely

- 1. attitudes and behavior toward the supernatural:
- 2. normative patterns:
- 3. exploitation of the environment:

preserve and pass on the heritage of doctrine and principles of Christian living transmitted to us as evangelicals in the Armenian-Weslayan tradition, insure church order by sound principles and ecclesiastical polity, prepare the way for the evangelization of the world and the more effective cooperation with other branches of the Church of Christ in the advancement of Christ's kingdom among men,

We, the ministers and lay members of the Free Methodist Church, in accordance with constitutional procedure, do hereby ordain, establish, and set forth the following as the Constitution of the Free Methodist Church.⁵⁸

In further explanation of this arrangement,
"attitudes and behavior toward the supernatural" may
be equated with paragraph one which contains the

⁵⁸ Free Methodist Book of Discipline, quoted from the 1974 edition but provided for in the 1964 action of General Conference.

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doctrinal identity along with a set of theological traditions and their implications for Christian living which set a life-style acceptable to God; the "normative patterns" refer to the church's role-definitions and procedures; and the "exploitation of the environment" is represented by the orientation toward the extra-systemic environment, the nonchurch, the "world" as recipient of the church's work of evangelization and the advancement of Christ's kingdom.

To these three is added the declaration of commitment "in accordance with constitutional procedure" which presents a classic example of the affective dimension of values attachment—the desire to preserve and propagate. This commitment is measured by the detailing of these principles in the Articles of Religion, the Conditions and Rules of Membership, and the Articles of General Organization and Government. Commitment is further underscored by the care taken to assure that these principles are held in common by all Free Methodist general conferences, present and future, and by placing restrictions on their modification.

The fact that the Preamble cited is both rooted deeply in the theological and historical endowment of the Free Methodist Church and elicited by the historical conditions and actions of the early 1960s makes this confession particularly appropriate as a framework for

an analysis of the denominational value system. For this reason considerable attention will be given here to the elaboration of the church's pattern of preferences revealed in the World Fellowship "era" using the four elements cited from the Preamble as an outline.

Identity--"evangelicals," "Arminian," "Wesleyan," "Tradition"

The term "evangelical" reflects attachment to the Bible as the ultimate authority for faith and practice and, in the mission context, to New Testament principles of church development. At numerous points in the history of the World Fellowship movement there were references to a sense of continuity with the New Testament Church. Addresses at the first Asia conference cite the example of St. Paul. ⁵⁹ A report on the World Fellowship Organizing Conference states: "The Fellowship has no precedents to follow except the pattern of missionary and church development recorded in the New Testament." ⁶⁰ Bishop Walter S. Kendall, in an article "Free Methodism—Its World Fellowship" writes:

⁵⁹James H. Taylor, Jr., Asia Report, p. 16.

⁶⁰ The Free Methodist, March 20, 1962, p. 14.

The Free Methodist Church seeks to identify with the early church in both doctrine and fellowship. It attempts to achieve this in its organizational structure.61

"Arminian-Wesleyan" identifies the theological position of the Free Methodist Church. "Arminian" says that it rejects what it sees to be the deterministic decrees of John Calvin and follows the position of Jacob Arminius in defining the offer of free salvation to all men and their universal ability to respond in faith.

Much more dynamic in Free Methodism is the sense of identity with the eighteenth century Wesleyan movement emphasizing an immediacy of spiritual experience, a changed life through the Holy Spirit, and the necessity of practical good works. The report of the Committee on World Organization at the Asia Conference begins:

The Free Methodist Church providentially resulted from the efforts of holy men and women a century ago in America to revive and restore in Methodism the principles of historic Christianity that John Wesley had revived a century earlier in England. God has blessed the Free Methodist Church in its extension of the witness of full salvation to other nations. 62

At the centenary General Conference of 1960 a section on the "Purpose of Free Methodism" was added to the Discipline (paragraph 16) defining the denominational

⁶¹ The Free Methodist, April 22, 1962, p.

⁶² Asia Report, p. 24.

identity under five points: doctrine, experience, worship, piety, stewardship and service. The statement concludes with this paragraph:

These distinctives of the Free Methodist Church from its origin are still living issues. In every era and every land they are the witnesses of the church, needing utterance clear and strong that they may be heard and heeded amidst the world's confusing and misleading voices.

The last term in the "identity" part of the Preamble to the Basic Principles of Free Methodism is "tradition." Much of what has been said above applies to this historical sense of continuity with doctrinal and churchly traditions. The fact that the period studied here corresponds with the church's centenary must not be overlooked. The centenary occasion called naturally for re-affirmation of the church's historic heritage. appears to have been reflected in the overseas dimensions of its activity. Not only was there a great upsurge of denominational sense of identity but the central thrust of the area consultations overseas was described in 1959 by Bishop Marston as finding the essential elements of Free Methodism in the respective countries. 63 statement seems to expect a recognizable denominational image while allowing room for cultural modification and accepting the need for culture by culture definition.

⁶³ The Free Methodist, November 24, 1959, p. 8.

Church Order ("Normative Patterns")

Perhaps in this area the underlying value system with respect to the overseas churches comes most prominently into view. The Free Methodist Church is a very orderly body. Its attachment to its Book of Discipline is attested to by the debate and careful study that go into its revision at each General Conference and at the respect it commands in all procedural and doctrinal matters in the interim years. In a remarkable way it reflects both continuity and change. This characteristic must be appreciated in order to give proper weight to the significance of the major changes in church organization effected in response to the overseas church needs. The issue of sharing sovereignty (page 74 above) was no small matter. The willingness to create new structure in the organization in order to accommodate the overseas churches and relate them to a world organization witnesses to a recognition of world trends and a willingness to respond flexibly to them. The character of this response is rooted in the carefully protected democratic principles of the church. These are expressed in North America by the formulae for equality of lay and ministerial membership in virtually all the councils of the church and by maintaining the right of appeal. In the international sector the esteem and respect for overseas church leaders is shown through the responsiveness to

the aspirations of these men all the way through the period of World Fellowship development. This sensitivity may be illustrated by many acts including recognition of Oda's "Call from the Orient" in 1955 alerting the church to the fact that its branches overseas were coming of age, 64 the inclusion of international representatives in the General Conference and fellowship consultations, the desire for face-to-face contact in different parts of the world, the willingness to expend substantial sums of money to make the meetings possible, the acceptance by the bishops of overseas supervisory responsibilities at great inconvenience and expense in remote corners of the world, the establishment of criteria for advancement in conference status, -- all of these and more attest to the parent church's commitment to the development of the overseas churches. The determination to reflect this commitment in major modifications of the church's polity, which at certain points limit the independent action of the North American church, is substantial evidence of this commitment.

Purpose ("Exploitation of the Environment")

The confessional stance of the World Fellowship movement is clearly a call to evangelization of the world. The deliberate choice of this transcendent objective has

⁶⁴ Asia Report, p. 102.

been reviewed above. It is a remarkable statement coming from a relatively small denomination of 100,000 members worldwide which has not traditionally had a phenomenal growth record. At one point Lamson calculated that if each Free Methodist were to win one new convert per year and every new convert would do the same, the entire population of the globe could be evangelized in fourteen years. He admitted that this was a utopian view but he also used it to illustrate the potential of mobilizing a small dedicated force to change the world.

The organizational changes were seen not only as a response to changing situations in the total overseas environment—both political and ecclesiastical—but they constituted a design for mobilization of the denomination as a worldwide system for the purpose of changing the world redemptively through propagation of the Christian message and (significantly) the distribution of its benefits.

Commitment

The closing statement of the Preamble seals the preceding verbs "preserve and pass on," "insure" and "prepare the way" with a firm declaration of establishment. This has been mentioned as an example typical of affective attachment to values where there is nearly

⁶⁵ The Free Methodist, January 9, 1962, p. 22.

always an accompanying desire to perpetuate and propagate the values held dear.

But perhaps the most important significance of this section is its insistence on orderly transmission of authority. In other words, the framers of this constitution as a body, acting on previously established constitutional authority now (among other things) make provision for transfer of that authority to other ecclesiastical units with powers like unto its own (see Discipline, para. 16.5). James F. Gregory, editor of the Free Methodist magazine, shows this concern with orderly action as he reassures his readership (and perhaps himself) in an editorial of March 20, 1962: "As it has been in the past, the changes will be made slowly, as funds and leaders are available, and as new situations arise."66 Another revealing aspect of the affection for constitutional procedure is the opting for a constitutional mechanism to hold the world organization together as opposed to extending the hierarchy upward by one echelon. Discussion in correspondence and on the General Conference floor betrayed a general distrust of what was termed a "super-church." The General Conference reporter of 1960 records first stunned silence followed by hot debate over the issue

⁶⁶ The Free Methodist, March 20, 1962, p. 3.

of a World Assembly.⁶⁷ Recognizing the trend of the debate, the secretary of the North American panel of the World Planning Council introduced a substitute motion recommending establishment of a World Fellowship and further study of the structure of a "World Council of Free Methodism."⁶⁸ This approach was approved. The reaction of the General Conference delegates at this point is highly significant for it showed the parameters of the will of the assembly with respect to both the form and speed of the proposed changes. The organizational form adopted by the General Conference of 1964 faithfully reflected the concerns of its predecessor body.

On the basis of the discussion of the structure and processes presented in this chapter, a tentative summary of major elements of the value system having to do with relationships with the overseas branches may be drawn up. The qualifier "tentative" is used deliberately here because, in a sense, the analyses of the cases to follow function as correctives and supplements to the findings of this chapter.

⁶⁷ The Free Methodist, July 5, 1960, pp. 8, 10.

⁶⁸ Same reference as footnote 63. These reports are written by a General Conference reporter who tries to catch the flavor of the sessions and transmit it to the general constituency. The ad hoc vocabulary in these reports is not always consistent with the formal documents.

As indicated earlier (p. 115) the value inferences from the material in this chapter are of two kinds: (1) those derived from the formal structural outcomes in the organization and (2) those of a different order perhaps making themselves felt more directly in the area of administrative policy.

The first set of values as they appear from the formal structural changes and the processes associated with those changes may be stated as follows:

- 1. The Free Methodist Church maintains a strong sense of identity with New Testament Christianity including its objective of world evangelization.

 This objective is reflected faithfully through the characteristics of the Wesleyan revival movement including the twin elements of holy living and social concern. The Free Methodist Church has a desire to transmit this tradition longitudinally in time and geographically throughout its worldwide system.
- 2. The early concerns of the World Fellowship movement indicate an awareness that these doctrinal and ecclesiastical emphases will be culturally conditioned as to expression in different parts of the world but affirms that they will be essentially discoverable and identifiable.

- 3. In the matter of change Free Methodism shows an attachment to both orderliness and flexibility.
- 4. The recognition of the integrity of the Church

 "here" and "there" reflects both doctrinal and
 democratic biases which require a willingness to
 listen to the overseas areas and to learn from
 them.
- 5. Organizational form is tertiary after both purpose and the principle of orderly change but there is a distinct mistrust of an over-arching world organization in the "super-church" sense which seems to mark a definite parameter in that direction.
- 6. A clear message in the "Preamble" is that the

 Free Methodist Church, in spite of denominational
 assertiveness, is nonsectarian; that it sees
 itself as an integral part of the larger Church
 of Christ in the world.

These six points are considered to be a very conservative compilation deduced from formal organizational changes in structure. A supplemental set of inferences is now drawn from consideration of another order of events in the chapter which did not result in fundamental ecclesiastical changes of the same order as those first considered on the framework of "Basic"

Principles of Free Methodism." As an example of the reasoning behind this differentiation, the World Fellowship concept compelled substantial rearrangement of structure while the historical impact of the conservatism of 1964 did not--although the latter exerted substantial influence on the overseas areas through the influence it appears to have exercised on the World Fellowship.

Two significant points of importance for value deduction are (1) the representation maneuver discussed on pages 75 and 76 and (2) the conservative turn of American society in the mid-1960s. It will be recalled that, in theory, the overseas conferences not in either of the other two General Conferences (Japan and Egypt) are members of the North American General Conference. They have the same rights of representation based on population and therefore were the overseas conferences to have the financial ability to pay expenses nearly half of the delegates to the North American conference would be from overseas. Even dependent as they are on aid for travel expenses, so that generally two representatives from each conference have been brought to the United States for the general conference sittings since 1960, the overseas bloc has formed a participating force in deliberations and has been given credit (rightly or wrongly) for deciding some elections of bishops. Normally, in the formation of the Board of Administration,

the interim body of General Conference, there have been eighteen administrative districts of which the overseas conferences which are members of the North American General Conference form one. This allows the overseas areas two members on the Board of Administration. 1974 the original resolution on boundaries of administrative districts gave eighteen districts with the overseas district omitted. This was modified informally so that the overseas district was restored as district 19. The uneasiness over representation of the overseas areas in the North American General Conference seems to be articulated on two issues: (1) that most of the business handled in the Board of Administration has to do with the American church and (2) that the overseas areas do not contribute to the administrative expenses, i.e. to the UWMC budget.

The counter arguments marshaled to effect amendment of the resolution dropping the overseas district before it got to the floor were the following:

- The adverse protocol effect of withdrawing a privilege,
- The value of the experience of participating in the highest councils of the church, and
- 3. The "free seat" principle that, in the church, representation does not rest on ability to pay.

This exchange suggests that there is some ambivalence over the issue of participation of overseas representatives in the North America General Conference. More extensive investigation would need to be made before firm assertions could be advanced on this issue. Three tentative hypotheses on values may be expressed however: 69

- 1. There appears to be a feeling that the affairs of a national church (United States and Canada included) should be mainly in the hands of those who are at home in that society and, therefore, the presence of foreign nationals in the North American conference sessions requires the exercise of a certain degree of tolerance.
- 2. There is a substantial commitment to the overseas churches, recognizably enough so as to make the protocol argument effective.
- 3. Tolerance of the present ambiguities is predicated on the eventual resolution of the
 situation by the formation of overseas general
 conferences.

The second important element discussed in this chapter which did not effect major structural change

⁶⁹These hypotheses are constructed from the specific situation and from the observations and conversations of the writer at three general conferences, 1964, 1969 and 1974.

in the ecclesiastical structure but which contributed to a major shift in administration is the conservative turn of American society in the mid-1960s. Suggested relationships in this chapter (pp. 101-04) indicate that the Free Methodist church reflected the national mood, particularly in terms of a new awareness of urgent problems in its own society. A unified budget was drafted which effected a new allocation of resources returning more into the home base program. The Women's Missionary Society, traditionally a foreign missions promoter for seventy-five years, changed to a dual emphasis--foreign missions and "coffee cup evangelism" at home. The decline of interest in the World Fellowship has been detailed in the chapter (pp. 100, ff.). This is more likely correctly seen as a shift in rank ordering of values within the value system rather than a rejection/acceptance movement. It seems clear, however, that the attention of the North American church has generally turned from the crosscultural dimensions of the church around the world and is now focused more on situations and needs in its own immediate environment.

The Commission on Missions and the Value System

In the earlier discussion of the Commission on
Missions the differences in philosophies were explained
mainly as functions of the philosophies of the respective

incumbents of the office of General Missionary Secretary. It is true that the composition of the Commission, changeovers of personnel and relative infrequency of meetings tend to magnify the influence of the Missionary Secretary in setting the course for the Commission. For the period 1960 to the present there have been two missionary secretaries -- Byron S. Lamson holding office from 1944 to 1964 and Charles Kirkpatrick taking office in 1964. In the earlier section it was shown that there is a fundamental difference of approach with respect to relationships with the overseas conferences. Lamson favored a more integrated approach emphasizing fusion of the field mission as much as possible into the national church structure. Kirkpatrick, in contrast to this, has tended to develop a relationship of partnership, maintaining at the same time close coordination with the national churches and the integrity of separate existence and initiative for the field missions.

A more detailed consideration of the extent of reflection of the denominational value system by the Commission on Missions and/or the missionary secretaries must be reserved for the following chapters but in order to properly assess the change in emphasis after 1964 and its values implications it is first essential to appreciate how the creation of the World Fellowship and the organizational changes surrounding it affected the role of the

Commission on Missions. Kirkpatrick in the interview of December 19, 1974 (see pp. 112-13 above) showed an awareness of this aspect of things in speaking of the split responsibility for church development in which the General Church through the World Fellowship and the bishops takes over the major role. This leaves to the Commission on Missions the areas of missionary personnel and finance and the development of new work up through the level of provisional conference status. Full conferences and overseas general conferences are related to the Commission through the field mission and may have liaison committees composed of missionaries and nationals to request finance or personnel from the Commission. When compared to the fact that, prior to the formation of the World Fellowship, the Commission handled virtually all overseas relations it may readily be seen that there has been a radical reduction of scope with a resultant effect on the range of objectives covered by the Commission on Missions. According to its own statement of purpose it is an agency of the North American General Conference created expressly to carry the gospel to the world through social work (education and medical service) and direct evangelism. Its powers include surveying unevangelized areas, evangelization, and establishment of a national church plus the relationships to newly created conferences as outlined above. Seen against

this organizational change it is not surprising that

Kirkpatrick sees his mandate as tending toward a primary

concern with recruitment, direction and care of the

missionary staff--his agents in the field--while the

functions of church development and the fellowship

aspects of the international relationships are handled

through other channels, e.g. the General Church including

the bishops and the World Fellowship.

Any attempt to deduce values from the organizational impact of this change would probably be improper since there is some reason to suspect that the exact results were unanticipated. At the same time it is clear that the modification in the role of the Commission on Missions has a bearing on its actions in the cases to be considered. It is on this assumption that this brief discussion has been included here.

This chapter has given an overview of the church organization and an account of certain major aspects of its organizational behavior having to do with the overseas branches. From the outcomes of the structural modifications and from other indicators of a slightly different order, sets of value statements have been deduced reflecting the preferences by which the Free Methodist Church in North America guides its relationships with the overseas branches. To a large extent this is also a shared value system through the formal

channels and informal contacts described. The cases will explore concrete situations which will relate in one way or another to this value system.

Note: The material in this chapter with the exception of page 130 was submitted to Bishop Emeritus Leslie R. Marston who contributed greatly to the formation of the World Fellowship and served as its first president. The same material was read by Dr. Byron S. Lamson and Dr. Charles Kirkpatrick, missionary secretaries over the period discussed. All three expressed their general approval of the discussion as a fair representation of events and, in the case of the missionary secretaries, their respective positions.

Chapter 4

THE BURUNDI CASE

At the beginning of this first of the three cases to be examined in this study, it seems appropriate to review briefly the design of the study in a few introductory remarks. The study as a whole involves identification and description of probable causalities operating in cross-cultural conflict situations between a protestant mission agency and autonomous churches overseas. theoretical assumption of the study is that both parties in the conflict interactions are related to a shared denominational value system. Since both parties are also operating in an open system it is assumed that issues and inputs through the course of the conflict episode are generated from two kinds of sources--the shared value system and extraneous variables from the nonchurch environment. Chapter 3 explores and attempts to map the value system of the denomination particularly with respect to those elements considered dynamic in cross-cultural relationships. The individual cases provide a comparative aspect as they examine conflict

situations in disparate environments but still related to the denominational value system. In Chapter 3 it is seen that while the denominational value system for historical reasons (called macrosystem of values in the research model) reflects the strong imprint of the parent body, the World Fellowship era in the early 1960s modified and dissiminated that value system until it became much more a shared system.

The cases will explore the conflict situations with a view to identifying value inputs from the macro value system as well as extraneous inputs from the general environment. Bachrach and Baratz point out the importance of the broadest possible consideration of the variables operating in specific cases of conflict. They also emphasize that these variables must be related to the organizational "mobilization of bias," a term borrowed from Schattschneider and roughly equivalent to "value system." In each of the case studies presented here there is an alternation movement in which the conflict episode is analyzed in terms of values applied to it by the respective parties and then, from these

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, <u>Power and Poverty</u>, Theory and <u>Practice</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 8.

²E. E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 71.

values, a reflective process designed to lead to a deeper understanding of the conflict encounter. In the present case both the Pondy model (Chapter 2, p. 42) and the Bachrach-Baratz power system model (Chapter 2, p. 43) will be used in the analysis. The Pondy model will also furnish the basic framework for the material. The adaptation of his sequence to the treatment of this case yields the following general outline:

- 1. Antecedents of the encounter.
- Latent conflict including probable environmental effects tending toward awareness.
- 3. Perceived conflict--a survey of the field of n dynamic factors involved in the developing awareness and articulation of the issues.
- 4. Manifest conflict—a description of the strategies, mechanisms and power factors involved in the encounter.
- 5. Conflict aftermath--an evaluation of the outcome.

Pondy emphasizes that these stages are not clearly discrete categories but that they flow in sequence, each stage gradually giving way to the succeeding one. This will be reflected in the application to the case where certain elements will seem to fall in the gray areas between stages. In any event the

importance of Pondy's model lies in its sequential
description of the conflict cycle and in his classification of variables acting at the different stages.

The case will be followed by a commentary on the episode as a whole emphasizing the probable causalities active in the encounter.

RESPONDENTS AND SOURCES

While the names of those consulted in the reconstruction of the encounter described in the Burundi case cannot be given, a brief description may add significance to the material. Two senior Burundian pastors, early converts whose terms of service and experience with missionaries covers nearly the whole span of the history of the mission, were consulted as well as a younger Burundian layman who acted as secretary of the conference during some of the discussions. Missionaries of generally three classes furnished material; one a senior missionary who served from the mid 1940s to the mid-1960s in Burundi, four who are currently in service with experience ranging from twelve to over twenty years, and one young missionary who has just completed one tour of duty. These three classes of missionaries generally assisted on three dimensions of the encounter-background, their perspective on the conflict episode in progress, and conflict aftermath respectively. The

Missionary Secretary was queried extensively as well as the bishop who participated in some of the crucial sessions. Other sources from the archives of the General Missionary Board and external reading are indicated in the text.

The method of querying the respondents cited in the above is discussed in Chapter 1 under methodology, page 17.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE BURUNDI CASE

A somewhat more in-depth review of the Burundi culture will be given as part of the concluding comments on this case. An excellent introduction to the country is provided in the words of Patrick Melady, United States Ambassador to Burundi from November 1969 to June 1972:

Burundi is a small landlocked central African republic of 10,739 sq. miles. Slightly larger than the state of Maryland, it has a population of 3 1/2 million. The capital, Bujumbura, is located on the northern shores of Lake Tanganyika. Formerly a Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium, Burundi attained its independence in 1962.

The history of Burundi has been closely related to that of Rwanda. From 1885 to 1916, these two areas were known as Ruanda-Urundi and were German colonies. Belgium acquired them first as a League of Nations Mandate and later as a United Nations Trust Territory.

For centuries three ethnic groups lived in these two two areas.

The Bahutu--commonly referred to as Hutu--are a short stocky people of Bantu descent. They constitute about 85 percent of the population in both countries. The Watutsi, or Tutsi, are tall Hamitic people who probably came to Central Africa from Ethiopia. They make up about 14 percent of the population. The third community of one percent are the Batwa (Twa) peoples of pygmy stock.

The Hutus and Tutsis are the two communities of political importance. For over four hundred years the Tutsi tribe ruled the Hutus in a system very similar to European feudal society. The Tutsis took services, goods, and obedience from the Hutus, who in turn could use the land; they were protected from invaders by the Tutsis who were warriors.

The Tutsis and Hutus share a common language, Kirundi. The educated of both groups normally also speak French.

When Rwanda became independent in 1962, the Hutus came into control of the political structure after a bloody uprising against Tutsi domination. In Burundi, the Tutsi community, 14 percent of the population remained in control of the power structure.

Burundi became independent first as a monarchy in 1962. A republic was proclaimed in 1966.

Burundi is known for its scenic beauty. It is also known for its poverty. It is one of the poorest countries in the world, with an average per capita cash income of \$15 a year.³

Into this country in 1935 came Free Methodist missionaries moving northward from their established field in South Africa. The work soon expanded to Ruanda and was administered as a unit. The founder of the Free Methodist work in Burundi was a devout and far-sighted man, J. W. Haley, whose emphasis on development of a national church from the very beginning of missionary activity has had considerable influence on the missionary philosophy of the denomination. One of his principal convictions was that the church should be self-supporting from its inception, that African converts were working

Thomas Patrick Melady, Burundi, The Tragic Years (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1974), pp. IX and 49.

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for God and their own people, not the mission. While avoiding some of the dependence syndrome this policy has also perpetuated a continual contrast between the standard of living of expatriate missionaries and national church workers.

The provisional conference organized a decade after the founding of the work continued as a shadow organization operating under the strong tutelage of the missionary field committee until October 1961 when a full conference constitution was drafted. This constitution was a direct outgrowth of the World Fellowship movement described in Chapter 3. One reason for this is that just prior to its writing, in September 1961, two young missionaries and two African pastors from Burundi attended the first Africa Fellowship conference at Lundi, Rhodesia, along with delegates from four other African fields and a North American delegation. 5 The church leaders from North America came to Burundi from the Fellowship Conference in order to attend the Ruanda-Urundi annual conference which coincided with the 25-year anniversary celebration marking the first quarter-century of the Free Methodist Church in Ruanda

⁴Lamson, Tide (see Chap. 3, p.) pp. 21, 22.

The researcher was one of the missionaries from Burundi at the Fellowship Conference and, upon return to Burundi, participated in the drafting of the full conference constitution.

and Burundi. On the political scene in Burundi there was intense activity as a number of parties prepared to make a bid for power with independence approaching on June 30, 1962. It is to be expected that the granting of full conference status at this time, along with the celebration of the 25-year anniversary, the ordination of ten pastors, and the first election of African district superintendents all coincided well with the independence spirit in the country. (That this association was made will be discussed later in the commentary on this case.)

The new constitution provided for full ecclesiastical recognition of the conference, incorporation of the conference and registration with the government, transfer of title of all mission stations to the new corporation with a lease in perpetuity to the mission covering missionary residences and related buildings, and transfer of institutional control (schools, hospitals, dispensaries) to the conference. Missionary participation and involvement were provided for by: (1) guaranteed representation on the Church Council -- a combination conference board of administration and church/mission liaison committee, (2) a system of dual officerships-co-chairmen, co-secretaries, and co-treasurers of the Council. Missionary ministers were encouraged to transfer their membership from Canada or the United States to the new conference. According to the

Discipline, as in any other full conference, missionary pastors would be sent to work by the stationing committee. Lay missionaries, under the new constitution, would be assigned by the Council. The field mission as an organized group would function mainly with regard to missionary needs—housing, support, equipment, furloughs, and the like. Funds and personnel for conference work would be requested through the joint committee, the Church Council. The missionary co-chairman became the liaison between the conference and the field mission as well as between the conference and the mission board.

Ruanda and Urundi with provision for separate corporations under the respective independent governments.

In 1963 this was considered impractical and the conference was divided into two national conferences.

Nearly identical structures were retained for each and, in fact, the 1961 constitution continued in force in the respective countries for a number of years after the separation with respect to the general order of administration.

Even a superficial analysis of these events shows that the reorganization effecting such a major change in decision-making--from a dominant field mission to a national church organization--was a dramatic occurrence. The sense of history was strengthened by

the coincidence of the event with the political independence period. This was reinforced by some of the oratory and expressions of the North American leaders present for the occasion as they reflected the thinking of the World Fellowship movement with its emphasis on maturity in the overseas areas. It should be noted, however, that in the discussions surrounding the new constitution in 1961 there was extensive questioning by the Africans in regard to the perpetuity clause leasing the missionary residences back to the mission "as long as missionaries are on the field"--a phrase constructed by the missionaries and North American leaders which relayed their feelings of insecurity regarding the independence period just ahead. Eventually the point was accepted as presented. The pattern of organization contained in this constitution continued essentially unchanged for eight years--until the approval of its successor on May 3, 1969.

LATENT AND PERCEIVED CONFLICT

The period 1961-1965 spans two stages in Pondy's model--latent conflict and perceived conflict. There is strong indication that the political events and general climate of this period were very influential in the conflict situation, particularly in its emergence into awareness and its eventual articulation. Nor was this influence solely on one side of the encounter (the

nationals) because missionaries, and through them mission executives and church leaders in the homeland, were intensely preoccupied with the uncertainties of the total independence picture. It is interesting that, after nearly fifteen years, four veteran missionary respondents referred in vivid terms to this aspect of the situation. A senior missionary who worked in Burundi from the early days (not one of the four cited above) stated his conviction that many of the issues which emerged later had been undercurrents of dissatisfaction from the mid-1940s but that prior to the 1958-1960 era (1958 when the Belgians took numbers of Burundians to the World Exposition in Brussels and 1960, the Lumumba period in neighboring Congo) open expression of such sentiments was not tolerated by the colonial regime. He mentions such questions as: Why should a national pastor doing essentially the same work as a missionary not be furnished a house by the mission?

A review of the political history of the first few years of independence (granted June 30, 1962) is highly instructive. The four hundred year suppression of the Hutus by the Tutsi minority has been mentioned. The departure of Belgian rule left in its place an uneasily posed constitutional monarchy maintaining its position mainly by playing faction against faction, not

only by balancing Hutu against Tutsi but also by bestowing privilege selectively on the various power groups within the Tutsi structure. The events in Rwanda, where the Hutu majority, beginning in November 1959 and continuing past independence to 1963, had massacred, maimed and driven out hundreds of thousands of Tutsis thus establishing Hutu control, had made pluralistic possibilities in Burundi very precarious. From 1962 to 1966 there were varying degrees of Hutu/Tutsi participation in government even though in the same period two prime ministers were assassinated (one the king's son and one a Hutu) and a third seriously wounded in an attempt on his life. Melady recounts how by early 1965 the Hutus had secured twenty-three of thirty-three seats in the national assembly. The Hutus attempted a coup d'etat in October 1965. This was repulsed and eightysix Hutu officials were executed. 6

Taking into consideration that protestant missions were assigned predominantly Hutu areas in which to work and an estimate that the Free Methodist

This information is condensed from Melady,

<u>Burundi</u>, and John B. Webster, "The Political Development
of Rwanda and Burundi" (Occasional paper No. 16, The

Program of East African Studies, Maxwell Graduate School
of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University,
1966), p. 83. (Mimeographed.)

⁷Melady, Burundi, p. 7.

constituency is 98 percent Hutu, 8 a picture begins to emerge of a suppressed people receiving a very rapid political education with the accompanying stresses and aspirations common to this kind of situation. Melady states that, "In the first years of independence, some African leaders were critical of missionaries" particularly with regard to their predominant association with the Hutu majority. 9 He also mentions the constraint imposed upon diplomats due to the jealousy with which newly independent nations guard their political independence. 10 These scattered observations are recorded here simply to give something of a feel of the climate of tension and suspicion that pervaded this period in Burundi politics.

A more specific influence is mentioned by a Burundian national who was conference secretary during some of the conflictual sessions. He states that in 1965 and 1966 there was considerable socialist sentiment among certain segments of the national leadership and that a number of protestants were among them. Their desire was to see a "nationalization of the major means

Estimate by a protestant missionary working in Burundi from 1943 to 1966.

Melady, Burundi, p. 56.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 22.

of production" and, he states, certain ones wanted to see this ideology applied to the church. 11 Webster mentions the "leftist Tutsis" noting that the King's expulsion of the Chinese diplomats in January 1965 isolated them from their presumed source of support. 12

Missionaries cited the influence of comparisons with other protestant groups and the analogy of the colonial regime. The latter referred to the fact that at independence the Belgian government turned over unconditionally the public buildings, port, airport, and other improvements. In the later conflict encounters African spokesmen would refer to the examples of Roman Catholic priests, black and white, who shared housing. The Church Missionary Society (Great Britain) gave a large apartment building to the national church to be used or rented for the support of the church. Burundian lay respondent states that this latter gift (CMS) "ate at the hearts of the Methodist christians" who had nothing. A missionary mentions references by nationals to the fact that two neighboring groups do not have the "perpetuity lease clause" required by the Free Methodist board.

¹¹ Letter of March 21, 1975.

¹² Webster, Political Development, p. 83.

In trying to uncover latent conflict elements a very careful study of the evidence is necessary. It will be seen later in the treatment of the manifest conflict dimension that a major issue is the matter of control. This will appear in four guises: property jurisdiction, missionary representation on the Church Council, handling of funds from the mission board, and, an issue emerging in the course of the interaction, the matter of assignment of missionary personnel to work. Much of the affective focus from the African side seemed to center on the issue of missionary houses and property control. A Burundian reflecting back on this period mentions the symbolic importance of property and refers to the constitutional solution (the perpetuity lease) as constituting a "nominal title to property" for the The situation was exacerbated by the fact conference. that:

- 1. Missionary houses were occasionally unoccupied for years at a time (This is mentioned repeatedly by Africans.).
- 2. African workers moved in from another locality often lacked housing.
- 3. It was at the point of housing that the differential in wealth and standard of living often became most painfully obvious.

The provision reserving missionary housing was seen as an inconsistency when viewed against the brotherhood and sharing-in-ministry concepts of the church. In support of the above the following quotations may be lifted from the encounter between the General Missionary Secretary and the Burundi Church Council in November 1966 in Bujumbura:

Burundi member (not identified), speaking on

use of mission residences: "From the time [we] became

a full conference . . . [I want to know if] there's a dif
ference between African workers and missionaries." And:

Sometimes there are houses that sit for two or three years closed up and there might be a worker that could work in that church but he doesn't have a place to live.

Then on the matter of jurisdiction and the shift of authority presumed to have been brought about by the establishment of a full conference:

. . with reference to the things which are administered by the conference we said that we were afraid of the government of the state and what perhaps might happen . . . because we were here long ago, and were led by the missionaries . . . that was called a mission. The church in the eyes of the state was really the missionary; he stood for the church. But now we are a full conference and recognized as such in the country and so now all of this is called the church. That includes our legal representative and our incorporation with the government and all of it. It's not the mission but the church We don't make any difference between Africans and missionaries, white or black, but they're all just workers of the conference . . . this shows some fear on your part, fear of us.

From these fragments of the discussion it may be suspected that there was a major discrepancy between the expectations aroused by the granting of a full conference and its actual performance. A missionary who worked for over twenty years in Burundi remarked that "In the national mind it did not make sense to have national independence on one hand and ecclesiastical colonialism on the other."

This section has reviewed two stages of Pondy's model, latent conflict developing into perceived and felt conflict. The nature of the case itself and the evidence make it impossible to make a clearcut distinction between these two phases. It is clear that issues and aspirations, perhaps suppressed or not yet articulated, began to sharpen with the encouragement of the independence environment and began to focus on specific relationships between the national church and the mission in both dimensions, at the field mission level and with headquarters in America. These tensions developed into the situation covered in the next stage in the conflict cycle.

MANIFEST CONFLICT

In this section there is heavy reliance on documents and letters. In the interest of brevity selections

¹³ Letter of March 19, 1975.

will be made of the paragraphs and statements bearing most directly on the conflict situation. The first draft of the revised constitution of June 27, 1966 will be shown in the second column contrasted against the corresponding passage in the 1961 constitution in order to highlight significant changes. Where possible changes will be indicated by underlining in the 1961 column and the new wording will be given in the 1966 column:

1961 Constitution

- I. Beginnings: --an introductory paragraph referring
 to the founding of the work
 and containing the statement:
 "Long ago the missionaries
 were those who always led
 the church; but now they
 wish to share with the
 people of the country the
 work of spreading the
 Gospel of Christ in Ruanda
 and Burundi."
- III. Rules Governing the Church: reference to the General Conference of America
- IV. Incorporation: four legal representatives.
- V. Property and Houses:
 A. The conference of the
 Free Methodist Church of
 Burundi incorporated under
 the government shall control all properties,
 including real estate and
 buildings belonging to the
 church, and shall have

1966 -- First draft

I. omitted: reason-redundant, reference to
Rwanda objectionable.

- III. "America" deleted.
- IV. --one legal representative and his assistant
- V.

permission to use all buildings, schools and hospitals and dispensaries which formerly were owned by the Free Methodist Mission, and all buildings which shall be constructed in the This real estate future. and these houses are here that they may be used by the conference in spreading the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, in preaching the Gospel and in treating the sick and in teaching.

B. The Burundi Free Methodist Church incorporated under the government shall also own the houses in which the missionaries live and the other buildings used by them, as well as those that shall be built in the future; but the conference shall lease them in perpetuity to the General Missionary Board of America and the Free Methodist Church so that they may use them for the missionaries to live in them.

VI. B. The Church Council shall coordinate the work of the conference and that of the church together with that of the General Missionary Board and the General Conference of America, insofar as they do not violate the book of Discipline.

1. Members of the Church Council: They shall be chosen by the annual conference as follows: changed to "controlled"

changed to "shall be"

replaced by "those who work for the Burundi conference"

replaced by "but the conference has authority to give houses to its workers who come from other countries, whether they are new arrivals or those who have served for years, so that they may use the houses while they are here."

omitted: considered redundant (similar statement left in in para. 2 above).

One pastor and one layman from each district, and one missionary from each district, as long as missionaries are here, one medical missionary and one educational missionary.

Officers: There shall be two presidents, one missionary as long as missionaries are here, and one national, who are named by the Church Council and approved by the conference. These two shall divide the work in presiding over the Council when it meets and they shall share the work during the entire year. The Church Council shall choose two secretaries, one national and one missionary, as long as the missionaries remain here. It shall name two treasurers, one missionary as long as the missionaries are here, and one national both of whom shall be approved by the conference.

VI. B-4, lc The Church Council shall appoint all missionaries, except pastors, who shall be appointed by the stationing committee of the conference.

VI. B-4, 2 The funds from the General Missionary Board of America for the missionaries' salaries and travel and for their houses shall be controlled by the missionary committee, because there are funds sent by their churches for the support of their ambassadors, and

replaced by: "a district superintendent and a layman from each district, an educational representative and a medical representative, the legal representative of the church and the legal representative of the missionaries.

replaced by: There shall be a president and vicepresident named by the Council and approved by the annual conference. These shall serve for one year. The Church Council shall choose one secretary and one treasurer. All officers must be members of the Free Methodist Church and must be approved by the annual conference. Any missionary chosen as an officer or member of the Church Council must be a member of the Free Methodist Church of Burundi.

replaced by "workers"

omitted

Statement added: The travel funds called Aggressive Evangelism shall be used by workers of the conference who are they shall give their reports to the General Missionary Board in America.

VI. C. The Executive Committee of the Church Council

1. Members: The two presidents of the Church Council, one secretary, two treasurers and the legal representative (a national).

VI. D-4 Annual Conference

a) Finance

engaged in the work of spreading the Gospel.

replaced by: The president of the Church Council, the secretary and the treasurer, the legal representative of the church (a national).

Statement added: The legal representative of the Church shall have power of attorney over all bank accounts of the conference and of the Church Council.

The substantial changes reflected by this constitutional revision may be summarized as follows:

Section V., A.: The change from "owned" to

"controlled" may be a rejection of the principle of

foreign ownership of property. This interpretation is

reinforced by the further change in the same paragraph

where the earlier statement on categories of real estate

says that they "are here that they may be used" (thus

limiting the definition to purpose only and leaving the

question of ownership or control open) to "shall be"

(a clear allocation of agency to the conference).

Section V., B: The change represents a repudiation of the lease in perpetuity on missionary houses and, further, replaces the word "missionaries" with the more general term "workers" without specifying that these "workers" would be sent by the General Missionary Board. The use of this term indicates a desire to place missionaries and national workers on a common plane.

A subsidiary issue reflected in this section relates to a desire by the conference to start a new high school. The conference legal representative had suggested recruiting foreign staff independently of the mission and, hence, there appears this effort at broadening the options on use of missionary housing.

Section VI., B-1, B-3, and B-4c/2: The new structure reduced guaranteed missionary representation on the Council from six to one (the legal representative of the mission), and on the Council Executive Committee to none. The right to appoint missionaries is retained under the generic term "workers." The single line of officers proposed places funds from the General Missionary Board in the hands of one treasurer (not specified as to nationality but restricted to members of the Free Methodist Church in Burundi, i.e. to nationals or to missionaries who have transferred their membership either to the conference as pastors or to a local church as laymen).

Section VI., B-4, 2 places evangelistic travel funds (money for visiting churches and promoting church work) under the control of the conference. (Traditionally the mission provided travel funds for its missionaries for these purposes but very little through conference channels for national leaders.) The comment in the covering letter sent by the missionary co-chairman of the Council states in this regard:

This change has been initiated in response to a feeling that the present arrangement brings pressure to choose missionary superintendents because they alone have adequate funds to care for their districts. Another complaint has been that in some cases Agressive Evangelism funds have lain idle for lack of evangelistic personnel and the work has suffered.

Considerable detail has been presented in the description of this document but its importance as an articulation of African sentiments in regard to mission/ church relations at that time can hardly be over-estimated. An analysis of the encounter between the conference leaders and the General Missionary Secretary, a meeting held in Bujumbura, Burundi in November 1966, as well as subsequent exchanges, will illustrate how tenaciously the Africans held to the basic positions expressed in the constitutional revision. The typescript of this cross-cultural exchange of views is a valuable indicator of the respective points of view in this conflict situation. The typescript taken from a tape of the

proceedings runs to twelve single-spaced pages and therefore must be reduced to some extent for presentation here. On the other hand, the more important passages (included those on p. 151) are reproduced nearly intact in order to put them in perspective and to convey something of the emotional climate of the encounter.

On that occasion the General Missionary Secretary began by explaining that some of the changes in the constitution could not be approved because they were in violation of the Discipline (which the African leaders had had in their possession in Kirundi, their national dialect, for about five years) and the policies of the General Missionary Board. He continued by stating that the relationship of the full conferences overseas is both like and unlike the relationships of American conferences to the General Conference; ecclesiastically it is the same but in matters of missionary personnel or financial aid the conferences of mission origin are related through the field mission and the General Missionary Board. He made a distinction between ecclesiastical and mission administration:

The bishops that come to hold your conference will take care of the conference business according to the Discipline; they will help you with the ordination of your ministers; they will give counsel and guidance as to your conference business; they will give you assistance as to the appointment of pastors; but they have nothing to do with the matter of personnel or finance for

the particular mission field. This is handled by the General Missionary Board. The Discipline . . . says that there should be a liaison committee or council made up of missionaries and nationals and they make the request through the mission to the General Missionary Board in all of the full conferences around the world. (document, p. 1)

The Missionary Secretary presented the board's position that the lease on the missionary houses (mentioned in the first constitution but never given as a separate document) was necessary for the board to be able to fulfill its contractual obligations to its employees.

At this point there was a question from one of the African members (unfortunately these are not identified in the typescript and sometimes the interpreter rephrases the African statements, which were all made in Kirundi, in the third person--"he says . . . " or "they are saying . . . "): "From the time [we] became a full conference, whether there's a difference between workers who are the African workers and the missionaries. I don't understand that." (document, p. 2)

To this the Missionary Secretary replied that missionaries have a dual relationship and while related by their work, and sometimes by formal membership, to the conference, they must, however, abide by the policies of the General Missionary Board.

(From this point on, in order to get the movement of the conversation the symbols MS, Missionary

Secretary, and C, African Council members speaking through an interpreter, will be used.)

- C. Let's talk about property before we talk about houses. By whom are the properties administered, by the Conference or by the missionary board?
- MS. The answer to your question is not a simple one, and I have to ask you a question. There is no question about the property that has to do with the church. I would have to ask you whether or not you are prepared to administer the properties of the medical institutions and their upkeep. Either from the standpoint of finance or from qualified personnel who understand what the needs of a hospital might be. We are not raising the question in this amendment, however, at these points, but it does point out that there is a difference in types of property represented in the article. But we are raising the question at the point of missionary housing because the conference was to give a lease to the mission for these houses even though they had control over the houses, and your amendment does not provide for any of this.
- C. . . all these houses—schools, churches, hospitals, and the missionaries houses—are on one property. There isn't a boundary line between the two. Here certain ones shall live and here other ones shall be. He sees just one property and the whole property is property of the Free Methodist Church. He didn't know that there were some places that were under separate incorporation for the missionaries. He doesn't think that they have taken this agreement out that they would let the missionaries use the houses.
- MS. It's out, though.
- C. (trans. using third person) They have never said that the missionaries wouldn't be able to live in those houses and they want that other missionaries will come to live in these houses.
- MS. Under properties you have changed the matter of mission houses . . . so that the matter of any lease [is] completely deleted. You changed the name from missionaries to workers. You say you will give the houses to workers. They could be outside the Free Methodist Church. Another country.



- C. You think we don't want missionaries, but that isn't what we think at all . . . nobody, even people here in the government, could forbid the church to give these houses to the missionaries.
- MS. This answers one part of your problem. I know now that you meant missionaries rather than just workers. The second point is . . . that we have to make sure that we have houses available when our missionaries are sent out. The second part is the transfer of responsibility.
- C. The Missionary Board cannot give permission to the conference to govern these houses, is that it?
- MS. As long as we have missionaries here.
- C. He says that there is one thing that has caused doubts in his mind here and that is the word workers. Because we can't call missionaries workers, then what will we call them?
- MS. [After referring to need for clarity in respect to missionaries from GMB] You might decide to employ workers from some other country, not Free Methodist, and give them a house that was built by the General Missionary Board of the Free Methodist Church.
- C. [After asserting no basic change of philosophy] Back to this word missionary and workers. Missionaries could come not only from the Free Methodist Church but other churches as well, there could be missionaries come.
- MS. Let me say this. You in your article say that you will give a lease to the General Missionary Board of the Free Methodist Church for missionaries to live in. Now you don't say that. You say workers. You say nothing about the GMB.
- C. Is the constitution something that cannot be changed? Is it like God, it never changes?
- MS. The constitution can be changed and there are some changes that you are making which will be all right. I am only saying that you cannot make changes that are in violation of the <u>Discipline</u> or that will change the policies of the General Missionary Board. You can try but the bishops would not receive them nor would the General Conference approve them.



- It isn't that we want to take the missionaries out of the houses. We still want them. We want many more of them. The thing that was hard was perhaps our Kirundi but I still don't think that we need to be mistaken on it. We have missionaries from all different churches. We've got them from the Church of England and the Baptists and so forth. You're all missionaries. So what does it matter they come from England, Denmark, and everywhere? So that's why we said workers, said workers who come from other countries. Perhaps sometime we'll find someone, a very wise man that will come from India, a real expert, and so we ask you for him and you give him to us. And he would come as a worker. Or maybe there would be someone from Rhodesia, an African who is an expert and we would ask for him to come and be a worker for us or maybe from Formosa we could get a Free Methodist to come and work here. He'd come and you'd give him to us to work for us. That's not the point. Let's find a word that we can use here instead of worker, find a word that we need to say this. There's another word we hear constantly, Americans, Americans, Americans. Why don't we just say evangelists or those who come to preach the gospel.
- MS. I think that we are missing the main point of the problem . . . we as a General Missionary Board have a definite responsibility to those missionaries who are employed by us for housing . . . it is a part of their employment. It is not a matter alone of words whether they are workers or missionaries, it's the fact that you have left out any reference to the General Missionary Board.
- In the words of the new constitution, has it been changed. It's difficult for a person to admit his mistakes. Nobody likes to admit his mistakes and perhaps for an important person, a leader, to admit it would be perhaps more difficult than for an ordinary person. But for those of us who have translated this it's true that we did make a mistake in not putting in the word missionaries here. We do admit that this one thing was a mistake, and as it was written here about the houses and keeping them up and so forth and how they should be used, it doesn't mean that we have refused that we should have missionaries and give them permission to use the houses and this doesn't mean that we are wanting to have the houses of the missionaries so that we can live in them. You folks are used to this word, to being called missionaries, and to the other,

the General Missionary Board. You don't like it that we haven't included this here. So first you must forgive us that we have forgotten to put in that name. It looks as if he has come to point out this mistake especially to us because we haven't gotten this word missionaries in here. In thinking of it and preparing it, this isn't what we were thinking of, the point we're talking to. We are not arguing about this point, about using the word missionary or General Missionary Board. could put this word back in again. If there aren't any other things or any other reasons, we don't want to run the missionaries off or anything like this so I don't see why we shouldn't be able to put this word back in. Then with reference to things which are administered by the conference we said that we were afraid of the government of the state and what perhaps might happen and that exactly, because we were here long ago and were led by the missionaries and that was called a mission. The church in the eyes of the state was really the missionary, he stood for the church. But now we are a full conference and recognized as such in the country and so now all of this is called the church. That includes our legal representative and our incorporation with the government and all of it. It's not the mission but the church. Perhaps we have deceived ourselves in thinking that we are all just workers of the church and call ourselves not missionaries and other workers but just workers of the church. We don't make any difference between Africans and missionaries, white or black, but they're all just workers of the conference. He thinks that this shows some fear on your part, fear Is there really a difference between the workers who work for the conference here in Burundi. But don't think that we had something against the missionaries when we translated it this way as workers. That's why they used this word workers, because we're all workers of the conference and if there were houses that were sitting empty and they were needed for a worker of the conference they could be used. Sometimes there are houses that sit for two or three years closed up and there might be a worker that could work in that church but he doesn't have a place to live. So they say this house was given for the use of certain ones and so it will not be available for use until they appear, maybe it will be four or five years before they come. So this is why we brought this forward to show you

to be

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what we think and you tell us what you think. To say that we are trying to chase off the white folks [and take] the missionaries' houses from them, this isn't what we want.

- MS. I don't think that I wish to express lack of confidence in the church—that they did not want missionaries or workers. I am sure that without the amendment if there were houses that were no longer needed because we were not able to send missionaries or missionaries were not needed that the request for the use of these houses would be considered. You must have confidence in the Missionary Board, too. What I want to avoid is this, that then if there were workers that were here in this country using the houses and then if we sent somebody out to the field and there were no houses available, what would we do? You might say build more. But we might not have the money and we would not want to put anyone out, nor could we.
- C. This would be the work of the Church Council then to talk about it and when they saw that there was a need for a house for a worker then to find a place for their worker to go to so that the house would be free.
- MS. The Church Council does not know the business of the General Missionary Board. It is not possible for us even to send all of our business about personnel to the mission that they can keep you informed. Maybe one day we have no nurse available and the next day we have a nurse available, so it's difficult for us to turn that responsibility over.
- C. I know that we can't know everything concerning this. When we got a full conference it seemed often that we were thrown into things that we couldn't understand and it was difficult for you to explain to us. It was like a person that was in the fire. You wanted to pull us out of the fire and then afterwards it seemed like you wanted to throw us back in. We're glad that you gave us permission to be a full conference and that we can work together in spreading the gospel in this way. But there is one word here in this constitution it seems that there is something that we have not kept to. think we have gone beyond it. I think that missionaries in Rwanda and Burundi came to spread the gospel and establish a strong church of God's people. I think that the church has grown for some years and prepared the people of this country to be its

leaders and it is self-supporting. The time has come that it can . . . be a full conference among the other conferences of the Free Methodist Church Though the missionaries were those of America. who always led the church but now they wished to share with the people of the country the work of spreading the gospel of Christ in Rwanda and Burundi. This in just a few words is an introduction to the constitution. It says now they wish to share with the people of the country the work of spreading the gospel. Because we are a full conference now we are not able to have a house and give it to the worker we wish to whether he is an African or missionary. Two examples and then I will sit If the conference sees that there is worker needed at Muyebe, if the conference which is led by the bishop chooses a worker to go there to work and that worker goes and finds there is a house, can't he live in that house which was occupied by a missionary before, just because he is an African? If the conference here in Burundi sees that at Rwintare they need a director for the school and there is a house empty, there is no white person in it, couldn't the conference which is led by the bishop give that house to the school director so he could live there until it was needed for another worker? When it means that they wish to share the work with the people does it mean that there is certain work for the missionary and certain other works for the Africans? When we are talking like this we are talking of two things, conference and mission. [If we] want that the gospel shall be preached in this country we must be one church and work together. There's no African that will want to take a house that the missionaries are living in. We do have wisdom and we know that we are still in need of missionaries. But we cannot be happy to see a great big house that is sitting empty for years and we have a pastor that is living in just a little house when the big house is empty. What hurts us is this word that we say we want to share in the work of spreading the gospel. that we don't want missionaries but we want to be one church and work together in spreading the gospel. If there is anyone who wants to spoil the work and do harm to the conference, the conference led by the bishop would have power to stop him, to put a stop to it. This is what we wanted to say to you. were . . . agreed to put this word about missionaries back in again but we wanted to tell you all the thoughts that we had in our minds and we will again talk about it when the bishop comes later.

- It's probably because I can't speak Kirundi that I don't make myself understood. You say that you need missionaries and I am sure that this is right, but I must ask you why you need missionaries. Do you need missionaries to do the work that you are doing as pastors and workers or do you need missionaries to do a work of training or medical work for which some of you are not qualified to do? When you are becoming a full conference there are several things that are emphasized. It is not that you have self-government only, that you work toward self-support, that you can carry on your work independent of the mission, and the support of the mission. As is mentioned in your article of introduction or the beginning. It is also a matter of propagation so that you can see your work grow. There is no question about houses if missionaries are no longer needed, but I can say that if the authority is given by which the bishop appoints workers to all houses that are empty then there is no place for the missionary. It is not necessary that we agree on a particular paragraph in these amendments. I want to help you so that the amendments you present will be approved by the bishop and you are at liberty to talk with the bishop. I talked with the Board of Bishops before I came and what I am saying to you is what they will say to you
- This word has really gone quite far, it has grown quite large in proportion. Just one conclusion now, this is a conclusion that we have [I] want to say three things. [I] want to talk now about the responsibility that you are giving to the one whom you have brought up and nourished, and so forth. Sometimes you can give responsibility to someone because he has grown up and he's able to take it. Or perhaps there are other reasons for not giving him responsibility. I think you understand this. Regarding houses, I have one example that I would like to give. First of all there are Catholic missionaries. I don't know how they live together. We see that there are white fathers and black fathers living together in the same house. Although they don't have the same sort of setup as we have, still they are missionaries and they are living together. When you gave this permission it was at the time of independence and you must ask if those who gave independence to the country when they left did they not also leave things in the country, houses and so forth. Of course you know that there is still a sharing of responsibility and work between the two countries,

[They] have workers and ours and the Belgians. . . . they will be responsible for upkeep on the houses, they will have to reroof and all this work. You say are you able to take care of the upkeep on houses and do you have workers to put into them? It's true that we have work for all--for missionaries and for Africans. What we want to talk about now is sharing the work together. We are still in need of missionaries, pastors, teachers, and nurses, and there are places for them to live although you seem to have doubts about it. There's just one word more that I want to add to this. Is what you say that the houses which they live in must not be under the authority of the conferences; these houses must be under the authority of the General Missionary Board? Because you say that the General Missionary Board would not give permission to others to have authority over these houses . . . the conference does not have permission to give these houses as it wishes, they do not belong to the conference. is the General Missionary Board then that does govern the houses.

MS. Let me . . . [I] would like to answer what has been said. I don't like to have words put in my mouth because I am not saying some of the things that you say I say. There are other points and we don't want to get hung up at this particular point. Let us go back to the article as it was originally written. It said that we would give control or deeds to all of the houses which the missionaries live in. We have done this. The conference was to give us a lease for the missionaries to live in these houses as long as they were here in this country. This hasn't been done. Now you want to delete this responsibility. We do not think this is right. Let me say something further. What you are requesting in this amendment is something that is not requested by any other conference, full conference or general conference. If you have in the government someone who comes to our country as an ambassador or consul, your government provides for the housing in our country. They either buy property or rent property. The Belgian government provides for the ambassador who comes here, he either buys or rents property. When they appoint them this is part of the agreement. This is part of our agreement with our missionaries, that we provide housing for them. This is our responsibility. If there is no housing available we either have to build housing or provide housing or not send them. Maybe that explains it.

. Note

- C. [We are] not saying that we want to take the houses away from the missionaries. You misconstrued what we said. Your promise was to give them houses and our promise is to receive them into our country. Now this is not the question . . . what will we do when we see a house sitting empty for two years and we have a worker we can put in it? Shall we put him out in the bush somewhere and let him live, or can he have the house to use?
- MS. (aside to translator) They ought to have as much confidence in the mission as they expected us to have in them when we gave them ownership of the property. To say that if there was a house that was not in use that the mission would request permission for their use so that they could use it.
- C. Thank you. That's what we want to know. It will be quite soon that you will hear about this now. We'll ask you soon.
- MS. You must understand, however, the availability of this house is not based on the fact that you see a house empty and say I want to put somebody in there.
- C. We understand that. We aren't children. We understand that.
- MS. All right, all right, okay. Let's go on to something else . . . In the formation of a full conference and its relationship to the General Missionary Board, there has to be proper representation of both nationals and missionaries to make up the Council or liaison committee as outlined in the Discipline. By making no reference to the missionaries you are not really sharing with the Missionary Board, and you will need a balance of nationals and missionaries as it refers to the personnel and finance and business with the Missionary Board . . . You must remember in this matter of your conference where you still have missionaries with you that while we have transferred from the mission to a full conference, that the missionaries are small in number compared to your conference. It is only proper that they should be represented and they can only give their best service by doing so. Therefore we would feel that the original article which allows for two presidents and two secretaries and two treasurers is proper while you have missionaries here. I would also suggest that this carry through to the executive committee. This is really all I have to say.

C. . . . we just didn't make any difference what they were. It could be either missionary or African. If it was a missionary and we chose them that was all right, there would be no hard feelings about it. And if it was an African and we chose them, there would be no hard feelings. And so I don't quite know what they mean that we should have two.

MS. Well, your committee is small with the mission as well as with the conference. If you have no missionary representation on your executive council this could be difficult to carry on your work, and because you have a small committee it could be that one is going to be left off. Either the African will be left off or the missionary will be left off because you only have one. You need them both working as one, not one working as two, but two working as one. This is just my suggestion to help you.

The discussion presented in this typescript centered very heavily on the matter of missionary housing. Each party supported his position with a well thought out rationale with the Missionary Secretary referring frequently to authority (the Book of Discipline) and the combination of authority and precedent represented by GMB policy. The Burundian leaders appealed to the concept of Christian brotherhood and egalitarianism. On the issue of missionary representation the Missionary Secretary seemed to be concerned mainly with missionary input into the decision-making process while the Africans protested that their terminology was "color-blind" and did not at all rule out an adequate missionary involvement. Hints of the possibility of recruiting expatriate workers outside of the organization (i.e. from other church sources) came out in the

discussions. There was constant protestation that there was no intention to force out the missionaries but about equal emphasis on the irritation caused by empty houses left unused for periods up to several years. A hint of the acute consciousness of economic disparity and its relation of protocol is carried by the reference to "big" and "little" houses (p. 166, last 15 lines). The explicit references to color, "white" and "black" are indicative of the strength of affective involvement. The implicit accusation of racism is reinforced by reference to "white" and "black" Catholic fathers living together. The remark about the colonial turnover of property seems to indicate that the Africans considered the granting of the full conference as an ecclesiastical event quite analogous to the attainment of independence. This aspect will be discussed more fully in the comments on the Burundian value system.

In any case, within a span of six months the issues were rather clearly drawn. The minutes of the Council meeting in which the Missionary Secretary's discussion occurred (November 17, 1966) record the issues succinctly under three headings: Missionary housing, members of the Church Council, and officers of the Council.

An important chronological cross-reference at this point has to do with the document "Guidelines for

Constitutions" (see Chapter 3, p. 111), a paper circulated by Bishop Kendall and commented on by the Missionary Secretary who advocated emphasis of the concepts of partnership and cooperation over that of "integration."

These comments were made just five weeks before the visit of the Missionary Secretary to Burundi and, while it was impossible to locate the "Guidelines" document, there is good reason to believe that its modified form after the comments by the Missionary Secretary had considerable influence on the second draft of the Burundi constitution as will be explained below.

On July 24, 1967 a second draft of the constitution was submitted for consideration by the GMB. A substantial change in style and organization of the document is immediately apparent. This is explained by a comment in the covering letter by the missionary who was secretary of the Council at that time in which reference is made to the fact that "The latter [the constitution] is pretty much as Bishop Kendall drew it up." The new format of the constitution, presumably following the bishop's model, contains this statement immediately after the introductory portions: "The following are deemed necessary in this constitution in addition to the Free Methodist Discipline in Burundi." This statement emphasizes (1) that the Free Methodist Church in Burundi is primarily guided by the shared

"Basic Principles of Free Methodism" in the form developed through the World Fellowship period and common to any Free Methodist Church in the world and (2) that the remainder of the constitution is an effort to define the special character of the conference in a country where a sizable staff of missionaries is still functioning as an auxiliary to the conference.

In the same covering letter referred to just above the matter of stationing of unordained missionaries by the Council is brought up as being contrary to a paragraph in the Missionary Manual (p. 28, No. 7 in the Manual) which states that a missionary has a right to vote on his own appointment. This comment seems to have reinforced a latent concern of the Missionary Secretary (Chapter 3, p. 111) and to have stimulated the addition of this issue to the conflict situation.

The 1967 draft of the constitution contains a clear trust clause whereby "The missionary residences and small buildings adjoined thereto shall be held in trust by the conference of the Burundi Free Methodist Church 'for the use of, and controlled [sic] by, the missionaries sent from the General Missionary Board.' When missionaries are no longer here these residences shall be used as directed by the Burundi Annual Conference of the Free Methodist Church." (II,2)

The matter of missionary representation on the Council was accepted in a manner guaranteeing approximately one-third missionaries. (II, 3c)

On the matter of Council officers, the single line was retained by the conference virtually unchanged including the stipulation that any missionary chosen as an officer must be a member of the Free Methodist Church in Burundi.

The matter of missionary stationing remained the same under the "worker" clause (II, 3f, 3). The executive committee of the Council was expanded to include the Mission Superintendent and "at least one other missionary when available."

Section II, 5b contains a subtle change which may or may not be significant in that what was in the first draft an explanatory statement on missionary funds now is a separate sentence which could indicate that the missionaries are now seen more as agents of the GMB: "They shall make their report to the General Missionary Board."

The legal representative's power of attorney over all conference and Council bank accounts was retained.

A preliminary reaction to this constitution is given in a letter from the General Missionary Secretary (August 7, 1967) in response to the covering letter from

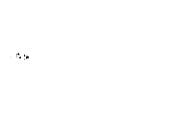
the missionary who was Council secretary. In the letter assurance is given that the constitution will be carefully reviewed, that a single African treasurer will not be approved as long as GMB funds are involved and that the matter of appointment of unordained missionaries by the Council would be carefully considered.

The official response to the conference is contained in an undated document (presumed to have been drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Commission on Missions in late August 1967 as suggested in the letter cited above of August 7, 1967.

Apart from numerous editorial changes the substantial objections were relatively few but focused on the remaining positions stipulated by GMB and unconceded by the conference.

On the single line of officers the matter was allowed to stand with the exception of treasurer where the suggested change prescribed striking "a treasurer" and adding "two treasurers, a missionary and a national" (No. 6 in the recommendations).

Standing committees (school, medical, evangelistic) must be one-third missionaries nominated by the field mission or, if this condition is impractical, at least one-third of the members shall be designated by the mission as representatives of the General Missionary Board.



The word "national" is to be inserted before the statement on appointment of "workers" and then a paragraph is to be added: "In accordance with the Mission Manual it is necessary that unordained missionaries be appointed by the Mission and approved by the Council."

At this point in the history of the conflict situation an interesting thing takes place; there is a hiatus or moratorium in the process which lasts for nearly two years. After receiving the above communication the Africans simply took no action. The next reference encountered in regard to the constitution is found in the conference minutes of March 22, 1969 where the action is recorded (No. 58): "On motion the constitution will be re-submitted to GMB."

The sparse language of the motion conceals a rising level of tension manifested in the conference.

March 22, 1969 was Saturday and the evening sitting of conference continued until 2:00 A.M. Sunday morning.

Much of the evening was taken up with a confrontation over many of the same issues and in much the same tone as that of November 1966 with the Missionary Secretary.

The bishop who presided at this sitting recalls the major issues as missionary housing (particularly houses left empty for an extended period of time) and allocation of funds from GMB (including the matter of travel

funds for African superintendents). 14 He remembers it as a "tense" sitting and describes the missionaries as "really let down and disappointed" adding that they "seemed to be afraid it was the beginning of more serious trouble." The documents of that period clearly reflect a shaken missionary staff. In the minutes of the field mission of March 20, 1969 there is a recommendation for fully nationalizing three stations. On March 22, 1969 a ten-year plan for nationalizing the stations is joined to a recommendation for scholarships, i.e. leadership development moving in concert with the nationalization plan. (It should be noted that these meetings were held at mealtimes between the formal conference sittings.) In a covering letter written by the missionary co-chairman of the Council the decision to nationalize is explained: "This decision was taken early in the conference but later developments seem to confirm the foregoing and perhaps will demand its acceleration."15 He continues: "The discussion of the constitution last night ended up in deadlock of the pattern that is familiar to you." In his letter of March 23 the missionary superintendent points out the discouragement brought about by the smallness of the

¹⁴ Letter of March 28, 1975.

¹⁵Bates, letter of March 23, 1969.

missionary staff and the pressure of the Africans on unoccupied properties suggesting this as a major motivation for the nationalization move. He also cites a maneuver by the African majority in the Council to leave the Bujumbura station unstaffed by missionaries which prompted an immediate recommendation by the missionaries to turn over this station including the residences.

On the matter of the constitution he comments wryly:

Bishop Boyd has joined the club of Free Methodist Church officials that have come to explain the revised constitution to the church here. He did a masterful job of defending the G.M.B.'s position on the matter of mission residences. And he did it in his usual calm, sweet spirit. But after nearly 3 hours of discussion on the item one felt that the position of the Church had not moved any nearer to the position of the G.M.B.

I'm sure that you understand when I say that the events that took place last night do not make us too optimistic about a long tenure of missionary service with the Church here. 16

On March 28 the Missionary Secretary wrote two letters, one to the field mission and one to Church Council. The letter to the Council is dealt with below but the contents and subsequent exchanges with the field mission are given here in order to add this perspective to the GMB/conference conflict. In effect the Missionary Secretary was faced with two critical situations, on the one hand an increasingly intransigent group of African leaders and, on the other, a discouraged group

¹⁶Ensign, letter of March 23, 1969.

of missionaries about to cave in under the local pressure and dismal outlook with regard to prospects for missionary reinforcements. The letter to the missionaries asked seven questions and requested a prompt response. The questions are sufficiently informative with respect to what they and the forthcoming responses reveal to be included here:

- 1. Do you feel that the missionaries can fully know the stations which can be turned over to the nationals without disruptions and adverse results, or will your implementation of this proposal become a matter of expediency?
- 2. If you are able to know which stations should be turned over, will you be able to manage this ten-year phase-out plan once it is initiated?
- 3. How many of you who are now serving in Burundi as missionaries are prepared to stay there until this program is completed?
- 4. Do you believe that we can obtain missionaries for Burundi if we are only recruiting for the church and leave it to the church to appoint them as they see fit and oftentimes overrule the mission recommendation?
- 5. Are you prepared to face the fact that if the church is nationalized and not indigenized, that when they do not have all of the funds or personnel that they need, they may well turn to another church and mission and we will lose completely the Burundi Free Methodist Church?
- 6. Will the tensions within the church be less under a program of nationalization when they have more authority and more status and more power?
- 7. Is not one of the reasons for the loss of memberships this year due to more concern with machinery and organization and status and nationalism than with the job of evangelism?

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The executive committee of the missionaries met on April 11 to consider the communications from the Missionary Secretary. The decision was taken that after translation of the letter to the Council (see p. 178) sufficient copies would be made for all members of the conference. Excerpts from his letter to the missionaries, particularly the parts on prospective candidates and his reservations on the appointment of new missionaries into such an unsettled situation, were to be shared with the African conference delegates as well. The missionaries then met as a group on April 17 to compose their joint response to the seven questions.

To question number one the missionaries replied that their action was one of expediency expressing the conviction that "If we had enough missionaries to staff our work, 90% of the problems of empty residences and unmanned stations would not have arisen." In answer to question two they admitted that the shortage of personnel made a ten-year plan virtually unmanageable. On question three,

This question is equivalent to asking whether we are willing to go down with the ship. Our ten-year plan was not an ideal plan but was proposed because we saw no other way out of our dilemma. We are merely cutting the work down to fit our staff. At present it appears that a one-year plan is more realistic . . .



To question four,

We never had conflicts with the Church Council about appointments until the regulation came from the Board that the mission had to make recommendations to the Church Council and then the Council resented it because they felt we were trying to dictate to them. A recommendation is not a law and by definition may be overridden by the Council. But if this is a regulation rather than a recommendation, then the General Missionary Board must have some new basis or understanding with the African church about missionary appointments.

In response to question five,

. . . we are already facing this problem. There have been threats by some of the leaders in the church (especially the younger revolutionary group) to bring in other personnel to fill in the vacancies.

On question six, the missionaries foresaw a realignment of tensions, Africans with Africans vieing for power and status with each other. Further, "If the GMB refuses to consider sending more personnel and the Burundi Conference does not guarantee missionary residences, it seems it will be very difficult for the rest of us to stay." The reply to question seven lays the membership loss to other general factors mostly external to the conflict situation.

The emergency nature of the situation in the view of the missionaries is pointed up by their action to authorize the mission treasurer to withhold all conference funds for the second quarter until there is a "workable agreement between the Church Council and the General Missionary Board."

Now to return to the African side of things, as was mentioned above, the developments at conference time prompted the Missionary Secretary to write the letter of March 28, 1969 to the Burundi Church Council containing these elements:

- 1. The fact that important personnel decisions were coming up in April regarding appointment of missionaries to Burundi;
- 2. A review of the authority of the GMB with respect to the overseas conferences as distinct from the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop;
- 3. A reminder that the original constitution of 1961 was still in effect and that, while the titles to property were turned to the conference, the leases on missionary dwellings had not been forthcoming;
- 4. The name of an American couple with attractive credentials being considered for appointment;
- 5. The stipulation that the appointment of these missionaries depended on a firm lease reserving the missionary residences;
- 6. A protest over the appointment of two missionary couples, on the field or close to return, by the Council without consultation with the missionaries;

7. Closed by requesting action by the Council to clear up relationships in these two areas (missionary residences and appointment of missionaries) before the April meeting of the Commission on Missions (date not given).

The few weeks between the reception of the Missionary Secretary's letter and the letter addressed to him by the Council on May 21, 1969 are probably the most critical of the entire episode in terms of a possible breakdown of relationships. Documentation is very scarce but this was a period of great anger and activity in the ranks of the national leaders. The conference legal representative had been very active in the syndical movement in the country. There was intense political sensitivity which led up to the execution of sixty-seven (figures vary widely on this) Hutu leaders in December of that year for allegedly trying to overthrow the government. This researcher was in Burundi in 1969 and heard from an informant who attended one of the meetings of the younger conference leaders that they were actively considering an open break with the mission during this (Interestingly enough, one who urged coming period. to terms with the mission was the legal representative's wifel)

A Church Council meeting was scheduled for April 19 at Kibuye, the hospital location. A carload of African delegates, among them the strongest African voices in the Council, skidded on a slippery hill and hit a tree head-on. There were no serious injuries but the Council meeting was postponed.

The Church Council did convene on May 3, 1969 and approved a constitution meeting all the major conditions laid down by the GMB. The covering letter of May 21 from the Council to the Missionary Secretary is significant on two counts: (1) It represents a complete capitulation from the African side on the formal issues and (2) it shows that the essential issues remained very much alive. This ambivalence can be shown by juxtaposing various statements from this one letter:

First there is the introduction:

Regarding the rules and regulations, there is nothing else we need to say, for last night we adopted the new Constitution and signed it as you asked us to.

Then the issues:

Regarding a perpetual lease for the houses of the missionaries, we have given it fully as we have written in paragraph four above, that all the houses missionaries are living [in] will be governed by them as they wish until they leave the country of Burundi. Regarding the properties and houses, there has never been a day when we refused the missionaries to control these houses and the buildings adjoining them.

However, we ask you to consider the houses which have been empty a long time, and will eventually have grass

growing in them. Houses

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like that, we are not happy to leave that way; we would like our conference to be able to use them . . . The properties and houses the missionaries are not living in should be governed by our Conference as it is written in the Free Methodist Discipline of Burundi (p. 124, No. 5, Sec. A).

(The reference in the Kirundi Discipline is to the section which specifies that all titles shall be made over to the national corporation.) This is followed in the letter by a statement that missionaries were never appointed without consultation ("We were not pleased that they told you about this as if they were accusing us of not listening to their advice . . . , but it was not that way."). It was further stated that not only missionaries but anyone appointed by the Council has the right to express his thoughts. The letter also contains an acceptance of the proffered missionary appointees and requests additional personnel: two teachers for the home economics school, two nurses, a youth worker and three secondary school teachers. A request for scholarships in five fields of study was added. The Missionary Secretary is begged to "get rid of those thoughts to the effect that it would be difficult for you to send more missionaries to Burundi."

In a sense the letter represents the <u>Conflict</u> Aftermath.

The constitution approved by the Burundi Church Council on May 3, 1969 was approved by General Conference in June 1969. Its final form embodied nearly verbatim the recommendations of the August 1967 communication.

Perhaps the concluding note is a letter of

February 9, 1970 to the Burundi Annual Conference in

session announcing the appointment of the promised

couple, the appointment of a new doctor, and the pro
cessing of a new nurse for appointment to the field.

COMMENTARY

The commentary on this conflict episode will include three sections elaborating on:

- 1. The cultural and political input from the Burundian environment;
- 2. The varying perceptions and insights of the North Americans involved;
- The power relationships and formal strategies operating in the conflict situation.

Cultural and Political Input from the Burundian Environment

 The symbolism of the granting of a full conference. The drafting of the new constitution, the ordination of the first ten African pastors, the 25th anniversary celebration, the oratory of the bishop imbued with the World Fellowship ideal -- all these contributed to the impression that this was a "rite de passage," a maturity ritual, in the eyes of the African community. This is borne out by numerous references to "full conference" in the November 1966 encounter with the Missionary Secretary where the term is associated with maturity (" . . . the church has grown for some years and prepared the people of this country to be its leaders . . . , the responsibility that you are giving to one whom you have brought up and nourished, and so forth. Sometimes you can give responsibility to someone because he has grown up and he's able to take it."). The insistence on a perpetual lease on missionary residences seemed to give rise to a sense of inconsistency: "It was like a person that was in the fire. You wanted to pull us out of the fire and then afterwards it seemed like you wanted to throw us back in." The obvious parallel here is between conferring independence and then compromising it by a restrictive lease. An accompanying confusion seems to have been caused by the continuing separate existence of the field mission-at least to the extent where it must have certain quarantees. This feeling was related to the initial full conference constitution drafted in 1961 whereby

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missionaries would participate in the decision-making process within the conference organization and subject to its authority in matters of assignment to work. This preliminary impression appeared to be contradicted by the emerging consciousness of the continuing special relationships of the missionaries. The frustration over this issue is expressed repeatedly in the deliberate use by the Africans of the term "workers," their comments on making no differentiation between black and white, and the like. The mission had appeared to abdicate its place of authority and then, through its special relationship to the sending agency in America, to pull back from this position and reassert its presence and influence in disturbing ways. For the Africans, expectations and reality did not line up.

2. The patron/dependent relationship. For at least 400 years Burundi has maintained and polished a highly sophisticated hierarchical protocol system very similar to the European feudalism of the Middle Ages. Ethel Albert, anthropologist, who lived for a year in the back-country of Burundi, states:

To his patron, a man could tell all his troubles so that the superior would help him.

Normally, one would hope that the superior would take seriously the ideal performance of his role.



He is a man who observes carefully the supplicant and gives to him when he is satisfied of his devotion . . . 17

In another article Albert observes:

The grant of material goods formed the basis of what was in principle a personal relationship involving mutual esteem, affection and concern. Those who received were the personal followers of those who gave, and they made gifts in return of beer, goods, and services. 18

In other words, both parties gained by an appropriate exchange of goods. In the case under consideration the question seems to be: Were the properties or control given with the full conference or not? ("By whom is the property administered?" or "Is the constitution . . . like God, it never changes?") Was sovereignty transferred or not? This problem is related to the following considerations on:

3. Vertical relationships. This is very similar to the patron/dependent relationship just considered but it needs separate definition here. Smets, Belgian anthropologist, visiting Burundi in 1943, remarked upon the

¹⁷Ethel M. Albert, "Une Etude de Valeurs en Urundi," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, Vol. 2 (1960), p. 154.

¹⁸ Ethel M. Albert, "Socio-Political Organization and Receptivity to Change: Some Differences Between Ruanda and Urundi," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 16 (Spring 1960), p. 51.



primacy of vertical over horizontal relationships. 19 Albert observed that "while there is a term and a role model for equals, normal thinking is done in terms of superiors and inferiors."20 Albert also concluded that the exchange up and down the hierarchical ladder resulted in a combination of economic and political power because the relationships surrounding grants of material goods were defined in terms of personal loyalty or, in the ideal expression, in kinship terms. 21 To apply these insights to the case at hand, there may well have been a frustration over the symbolic lack of trust represented by the perpetuity lease as well as a sense of betrayal in that the "inferiors" (with respect to the powerful church in America) had paid up in token gifts (their devotion and loyalty to the denominational identity) but the "superiors" were now reneging on the bargain. There is some support for this conclusion in the protestations of maturity, the repeated professions of a desire to have missionaries and even, on the one occasion, an accusation of "fear of us" directed against

¹⁹ Georges Smets, "The Structure of the Barundi Community," MAN, Vol. 46 (Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1946), p. 16.

Albert, "Valeurs," p. 155.

²¹Albert, "Socio-Political Organization," p. 51.

the Missionary Secretary. The references to the former dominance of the mission and to the missionaries as spokesmen for the church with emphasis on the change in status ("But now we are a full conference and recognized as such in the country . . . ") associated with the incorporation of the conference indicate some tendency to see the situation as a role-reversal on a vertical axis--i.e. that whereas in the past the field mission was on top, now the conference is on top, and, by inference, someone has to be "under." A Murundi respondent reflecting on this case writes,

Does the Church have authority over them [the missionaries] when they are in Africa or do they remain solely under the control of the General Conference? Sometimes a missionary is returned home without consultation with the Church or, again, another is called without the Church's knowledge. The limits of power between the Church and the Mission are not well defined.²²

4. The symbolism of land. As mentioned earlier the property issue may be seen as a focus for the control aspect of the conflict. On the other hand, there appears to be more to this than simply a convenient issue on which to take a stand. While formal ownership of land in Burundi did not ante-date the colonial era the granting of rights of cultivation or pasture by the chiefs were passed from generation to generation and

²² Letter of March 21, 1975.

without a history of formal land ownership, the Burundians should be such a land-bound people. This may be partially explained by the Bantu concept of communal relationship to the land, communal in the sense that society not only consists of the living but of the departed dead, and, to a lesser degree, those not yet born. Because of this the land, its fertility and ties to the ancestral spirits, looms large in the Burundi world-view. (It should be noted at this point that mission properties were held by lease-title and not by outright ownership.) A Burundian speaks to the property issue in which he appears to use "rights" and "ownership" interchangeably:

This question appeared so difficult because the leaders of the national church and the missionaries did not understand each other very well on the principle of property rights in the African world and in the western world. It is also true that there was an underlying symbolic importance. And this symbolism centered on the right to ownership. In effect, property is part of the human condition in Africa and in Burundi in particular. It is only an animal that possesses nothing. Man is, but he not only is; he has also. Therefore a black Church that has rights over nothing is a Church which only half lives. That is to say that "who has nothing is not."23

The same philosophy is encountered in Barundi proverbs:
"Urugo rubi ruruta uruboho," A poor house is worth
more than a meal. Another states: "Itungu ry'umuntu

²³ Letter of March 21, 1975.

without dying. 24 The latter saying may apply also to the fact that at the granting of the full conference the field mission appeared to "die" but then, over time, in the view of the Africans, it began not only to reclaim its property but, by virtue of its special relationship to the source of supply, also its influence and power.

vation involving displacement of a familiar cultural item may be expected to vary inversely with the intensity and centrality of the value or item to be replaced. This suggests that, consciously or unconsciously, the formal treatment of property rights from the western point of view may have constituted an aversive kind of challenge to a central and deeply ingrained sub-system of values built around land.

5. The political input. Reference to the chronological chart (see p. 194) gives an overview of the intense political struggle going on in Burundi from 1958 to the present. Beginning at about that time, accelerated contacts with the outside world, awareness of the independence struggle in Congo two years in

Buchesne et ses fils, 1932), pp. 167, 168. Gabriel

²⁵Albert, "Socio-Political Organization."

Conference:

mid-October 1961--full conference constitution drafted, 25th anniversary of F.M. work in Rwanda & Burundi

June 1966--First draft revised constitution

November 1966--Missionary Secretary's encounter, Bujumbura

July 1967--second draft of constitution

March 1969--Bishop Boyd encounter in annual conf.

March 29, 1969--letter from MS to Burundi Council

May 3, 1969--new constitution approved by Council

May 21, 1969--letter from the Council to MS.

June 1969--constitution is approved by Gen. Conf.

February 9, 1970--letter of MS to Bur. conf. listing new appointees.

Political Scene:

October 30, 1961--Prince Rwagasore, prime minister designate assassinated. June 30, 1962--National Independence.

January 15, 1965--Ngendandumwe, Hutu prime minister assassinated.
End of January 1965--Red
Chinese delegation given
48 hours to leave.
Early 1965, Hutus win 23/33
seats in nat. assembly
October 1965--Prime Minister Biha wounded in
assassination attempt.
December 1965--86 Hutu
officials executed.

July 8, 1966--Charles Ndizeye overthrows father, is declared king.

November 28, 1966--Col. Micombero declares a republic.

December 1969--26 Hutu leaders executed.

Figure 6
Chronology

advance of its own, the political propaganda of vying leaders--all these tended to sensitize a feudal society and to give encouragement to the aspirations of the Hutu majority. They learned quickly and suffered for their precociousness. The latest chapter in this struggle was the genocidal massacre of an estimated 300,000 Hutu after an abortive coup attempt in 1972. The precise influence of this developing political self-consciousness is hard to assess accurately but it is clear that this dimension of the situation is an important one. encounter with the Missionary Secretary in November 1966 evoked the image of the former colonial power who had bequeathed real estate to the new nation. The initial impetus of the World Fellowship as a response to nationalism and drives for independence all over the world made this analogy a natural one. Its importance will be considered further in the analysis of the power factors.

Perceptions of the North Americans Involved

Four missionaries actually in service on the Burundi field and with service records of from twelve to over twenty years were queried on various aspects of this conflict as described on page 27 of Chapter 1. All agreed emphatically that the climate of independence had a major influence on the interaction

and all agreed that the Burundi church maintained a more or less constant monitoring of neighboring church groups with respect to their mission/church relations and amount of material aid. There was general awareness of cross-cultural communication problems even though all of the missionaries contacted speak Kirundi fluently. While all stated that there were cross-cultural tensions there seemed to be no consensus as to their nature. One suggested "generationism in the third culture" among the missionaries as a possible contributing factor -- the fact that some were new, some were "experienced" and some were "old timers" having matured under the colonial regime. (It is not clear how this is intended to apply as the missionary group appeared to show a large degree of unanimity under the pressures of the conflict situation.) Another spoke of "misunderstandings" over houses and a third mentioned the "family dimension" of ownership as over against the more individualistic western concept. This latter respondent added that he still hears the parentinheritance analogy in which the parent is judged more or less worthy by what he provides. The missionaries were unanimous in concluding that the issues are still there and that they will recur. Frustrations with having missionaries in superior roles, recognition of the mere formality of Council approval of missionary

assignments under the present system, dissatisfaction with houses left empty, economic inequalities -- all are listed as latent complaints, not far beneath the surface. One missionary suspects that the Africans are minimizing minor differences in order to concentrate on more productive issues. A veteran missionary now retired considers that the massacre of Hutu leadership in 1972 has curtailed free expression of militance for the present but that with the rise of another generation in a decade the situation will resume. On the possibility of organizational breakdown two missionaries feel that this was a real possibility, i.e. that severing of relations was seriously considered by the nationals. On the other side, one missionary states, "I don't really think there was. They knew . . . they couldn't go it alone." A fourth considers that "The Church pulled back rather than allow a breakdown. When they realized where the mission stood they respected this stand in order to insure the continued presence of missionaries."

The Missionary Secretary sees the colonial turnover analogy as setting a precedent of "something for
nothing" and is convinced that, in the church situation,
even the independence and nationalistic sentiments were
subordinate to desires of certain leaders for personal
gain in control and material benefits. He is aware of
the possible influence of a neighboring mission which

turned over complete authority and underwrote the salaries of the higher church officers. He tends to discount cross-cultural elements and see this as a simple control struggle. In his view a confusion in the minds of the Africans between the ecclesiastical authority of the bishops and the administrative authority of the GMB may have complicated things. The Secretary does not expect these same issues to recur feeling that clarification has achieved a moderation of attitudes. He states, however, that "There was a point where I felt there could be a complete breakdown."

The bishop involved in the 1969 encounter does not count the cross-cultural communication problem as a major factor. He expects that these issues will likely come up again sometime as they are common issues on many mission fields.

Overall, while none of the westerners seemed to have reflected in any ordered way on possible cultural factors influencing the conflict situation, the mission-aries seem much more aware that the sources of the conflict are still there, though presently latent in form, and that these will certainly emerge at a later time.

Persistence of the Issues

An assessment of the persistence of the issues after the affair may be had from two sources:

1. A young missionary who spent three years from 1971-1974 in Burundi was queried specifically on the issues and any reading on attitudes which he might have from casual contacts with African leaders. His response on this is most emphatic:

I have got the feeling from direct observation of reactions in discussions that the leaders in the church feel that there is simply no use in trying to discuss certain matters . . . at this time. My underscoring of the last three words indicates that the issues are by no means dead. I would say that the Africans have a sense of resignation for the present because it is not worthwhile to pursue the question. Especially is this true, I think, in the matter of stationing the missionaries.

On the subject of attitudes to the resolution of the issues in the constitutional conflict he registers the feeling that the Africans feel the "co-officership" on the treasurer position is meaningless for them. He does feel there is a "growing understanding and appreciation for each other on our field" and expresses the hope that "with the upcoming leadership of the new recruits among our missionaries, the day will come when the issues can be satisfactorily resolved." 26

2. As a second source on the persistence of the conflict issues two senior Burundian pastors, now in their sixties and among the early converts of the missionaries, were asked the same questions as those

²⁶Letter of April 11, 1975.

presented to the missionaries. While the answers returned do not follow strictly the order of the questions a few pungent comments will serve to illustrate that the issues of the constitutional conflict are still very fresh in his thinking. After commenting on the forbidding of missionary houses to African workers, even when they stood empty for long periods of time and even where the African was a direct replacement for a missionary, one disposes of the jurisdictional matter on properties and houses with the comment: "Do you not find it strange that buildings of the conference of Burundi are in Burundi and yet are ruled from America?"

On the subject of priorities (presumably this relates to the deployment of missionary personnel) he speaks of the prestige of the Free Methodist work (its long history and relatively large size) and then regrets that there is no high school which belongs uniquely to the Free Methodist conference. He notes that they (the Africans) have not even spoken of this desire for the past year because nothing was coming of it (literally: "we were not able to bring it to pass"). He asserts, "These things still trouble us citizens thoroughly."

With regard to the co-treasurers he states: "As I see it this should be changed because it has no meaning. I see that we elect two but only one functions (the missionary). This bothers us greatly."

He mentions the disparity in economic resources between missionary superintendents and African superintendents with respect to developing their districts.

Here he seems to be making a more general statement but his comment would relate specifically to the issue of travel funds in the constitutional conflict.

Then, in conclusion:

You asked me if there are things we saw in other conferences which made us troublesome over that constitution; look yourself at other conferences: Is there not even one high school which they have? Is it not known that they have some university-level schools?

Are there no new buildings? How many years have passed in Burundi without even one building being added [in our work]?

The things which I remember clearly are these . . .

27

The second pastor reflects almost identical concerns with the additional complaint that there is a fundamental lack of trust between Africans and missionaries and between Africans and the mission board. He scores the field mission for lack of consultation on such disparate matters as candidates for scholarships and use of finance from America and seems to feel that missionaries cite the constitution to quell discussion on sensitive topics such as use of houses or finance. He also states that there is a gap between the perceptions of those at higher levels of church leadership and what goes on at field level: "Those on the other

²⁷Letter of March 18, 1975.

side [of the ocean] think that we are one but we do not see this when we are with the missionaries." 28

Perhaps the first comment that should be made is that in answering, the first pastor re-phrased the question from "that which you tried to do through the constitution" to "which made us troublesome over that constitution" indicating that the Africans were not unaware of the stir they were causing through the changes they were introducing. The comments and tone of both men's responses point up the fact that the issues of the conflict episode under examination still constitute a latent conflict situation oriented toward some future Some of the comments, particularly those by first senior pastor cited, shed additional light back on the conflict situation itself. The strong aspiration for a high school suggests a specific motivation for the Africans' intransigence on the matter of missionary stationing. (The Missionary Secretary mentions that he remembered part of the discussion as having to do with the assignment of a literature missionary to the girls home economics school as principal. -- Letter of February 25, 1975) In this light it would appear that the missionary appointment issue was really an attempt by the Africans to bend the field mission to their

²⁸ Letter of April 17, 1975.

priorities, in this case a high school and a very dear priority in their thinking. Hence, even after capitulating on the matter of missionary residences in the 1967 draft, they still attempted to salvage this prerogative.

The Power Relationships and Formal Strategies

Apart from using some of the general insights on the influence of the environment on management style (Chapter 2, Farmer and Richman, p. 37; Negandhi, p. 37; and Estefan, p. 38) and references to values studies, the two most useful models for analyzing this conflict situation are Pondy's Conflict Episode model (p. 42) which has provided the general organization for the material on this case) and the Political System model of Bachrach and Baratz (p. 15). In fact the two models may be combined so that Pondy's model covers the development of a conflict situation up to the point of manifest conflict which corresponds to the point on the Bachrach-Baratz model labeled "Persons and Groups seeking reallocation of values." The presentation of the case itself has been designed to cover the evolution of the situation mainly from the Burundian point of view on the basis of the evidence available. This perspective facilitates use of the combined model as described above. In looking at the power factors operative in the arena

of manifest conflict the issues themselves may be temporarily laid aside and the positions of the two parties appear to be these: In terms of the Bachrach-Baratz model the national conference, seeking a re-allocation of values, challenged the authority of the General Missionary Board on the basis of two sources of power, (1) the egalitarian brotherhood concept learned from Christian teaching and brought into prominence by the World Fellowship movement (This element is drawn from the shared value system of the denomination.) and (2) the sense of national autonomy generated by the independence movement within the country (an element drawn from sources external to the church situation). Contributing to the articulation and affective dimensions of this input were longstanding cultural inputs.

On the side of the mission board (identified on the Bachrach-Baratz model as "Persons and groups committed to existing values") the Missionary Secretary based his stand (drawn from the shared pool of denominational values) on the Book of Discipline and precedent in terms of administrative policy governing mission affairs and relationships with regard to the overseas conferences. The Secretary also pointed out that the structure placed in the hands of the General Missionary Board not only certain definite policies and procedures but, in addition to these, virtually complete control

of the "channel of policy choices" so that not only must those in favor of a re-allocation win approval at stage one in the face-to-face encounter but they must also win at every subsequent stage (in this case, review of the constitution by the General Missionary Board for recommendation to the General Conference and then approval by General Conference).

Considered in strictly formal terms this model leaves little doubt as to who dominated the power system.

It is clear from his statements that the Missionary Secretary was subject to other contingencies independent of the shared value system and these, specifically, were related to his perception of missionary morale and personnel problems. In commenting on his change of administrative style with respect to that of his predecessor and his more positive emphasis on the distinct role of the field mission, the Missionary Secretary observed (letter of April 2, 1975);

I think the change that came into my thinking was not so much from being able to objectively study what had taken place but rather from a very practical standpoint we ran head on into some rather serious interpersonal and morale problems. It became apparent that the integrated fusion approach was much too idealistic.

Auxiliary inputs noted in the foregoing dis-Cussion of the case also include the more individualistic

Western approach on the side of the GMB. If the commentary on this case is summarized in terms of the Bachrach-Baratz model (see Chapter 1, p. 15), the map of the conflict situation results in the arrangement in Figure 7 (p. 207).

Much of the description of this episode has centered on the power-influence interaction area. Stage one in the channel of policy decisions refers to GMB review of the constitutional changes; stage two to approval by General Conference. By revealing his power in the channel of policy decisions area the Missionary Secretary attempted to bring about modifications in the issue flow before it reached stage one where formal rebuff was inevitable. In actual fact, the first draft was turned back at stage one. first draft represented a largely unconditioned expression of the will of the African conference. November 1966 encounter occurred in the period immediately after this rebuff in a time of reaction on the Africans' part to this rejection of their aspirations. Draft two was modified to some extent by the interactions but was again turned back at stage one along with specific instructions for its modification in order to make it acceptable. This was followed by a moratorium of nearly two years followed by a decision to re-submit draft two unchanged. This action instigated a new initiative on the part of the Missionary Secretary

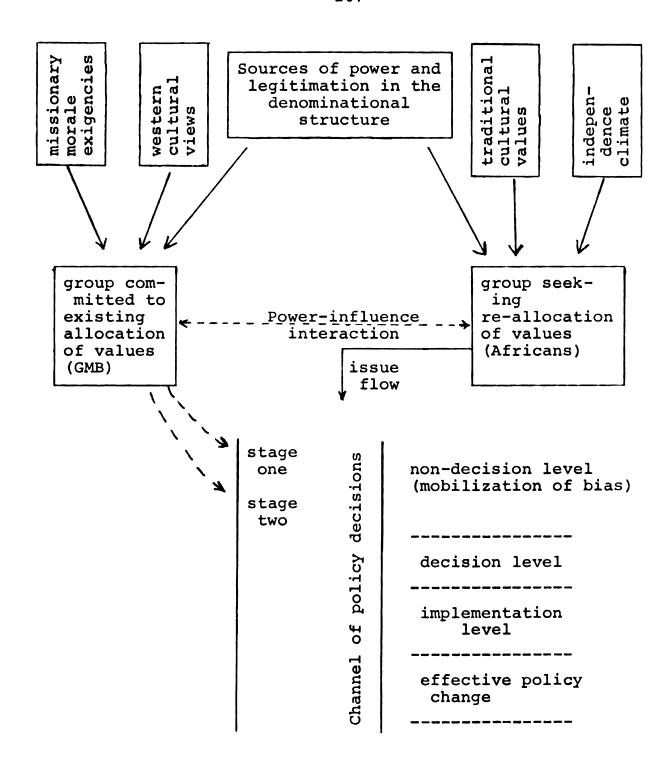


Figure 7

Charting on the Bachrach/Baratz Political System Model

who then applied a threat of applied sanctions (suspension of new missionary appointments pending a clear lease on the residences and other conditions) along with inducements (information on a new missionary couple available for appointment and suggestion of further possible appointments) in order to encourage a positive response. A constitution was then drawn following the prescribed model including all the stipulations necessary for approval. This was duly approved in June 1969. The clear understanding on the part of the Africans of the sanction/inducement mechanism is attested to by the letter from the Council to the Missionary Secretary of May 21, 1969 collecting on the personnel promises and adding on a few additional requests for scholarships.

Bachrach and Baratz caution against a misevaluation of the power balance in such episodes:

It is often inferred that because a group is unorganized, inarticulate, and lacks effective access to key centers of decision-making, it is totally powerless in every sense of the word. The inference would be totally incorrect. An investigation might well reveal that decision-makers alter their policy choices out of deference to the supposedly powerless group, in anticipation that failure to do so would bring on severe deprivations, e.g. riots, boycotts, and so on. Here is a situation in which policy-makers' recognition of the possibility of future sanctions (potential power) results in "exercise" of power in the present.29

²⁹ Bachrach and Baratz, Power and Poverty, p. 26.

While the Burundi conference and its Council was far from unorganized or inarticulate it is clear from the analysis that it did not have effective access to key centers for decision-making in the formal structure. At the very least its access was very restricted. On the other hand, to say it was powerless would be in error. It forced a very thorough and long-term airing of the issues; it demanded and received attention from the higher echelons of the church; and history shows that its plaints were not totally over-ridden. The missionary apartments in Bujumbura were turned over to the Conference in 1969. The letter from the Missionary Secretary of February 9, 1970 to the Conference lists not only clearance of the promised appointees but announces others as well.

If both missionaries and nationals are to be believed, what was achieved was not a resolution but rather a stay of conflict and a modus vivendi constituting a field of latent conflict reserved for some future episode. This, too, recommends caution in the assessment of power factors.

Chapter 5

THE BRAZIL CASE

OVERVIEW

The case to be considered here concerns what may be seen most broadly as adjustments in the complex of relationships between the General Missionary Board and interacting Free Methodist church bodies in Brazil covering a period of approximately ten years. Out of this most general statement of the problem emerges a more specific issue, the allocation of institutional control with regard to the Free Methodist seminary in Sao Paulo, The issue manifests itself around two foci Brazil. which represent the major interest areas of this case: (1) the constitution of the seminary, a document determining the extent of participation in its governance by each of the parties involved; and (2) the specific problem of introducing a Brazilian national (ethnically a Japanese Nikkei, or immigrant) into a position of administrative leadership in the seminary.

Apart from the intrinsic interest of the conflict situation, part of the rationale for the inclusion of

this case in the overall study is that the presentation of an "untidy" case has its own illustrative value both in demonstrating the complexity of relationships which conflict episodes may involve and in pointing up the range of applicability of constructs such as the Pondy model (p. 42) in accommodating conflict episodes where there is inter-relatedness without direct causation. In the case at hand the total time period covered may be visualized as a series of conflict situations of descending order of generality where each is in a sense related to the former and yet is not directly caused by it. The significance of this aspect of the case for the Pondy model will be discussed in the commentary section on this case.

The organization of the material for the two main issues in this case utilizes the Pondy levels of conflict in the general outline. The two issues are treated generally as separate conflict episodes. At appropriate points relationships between the two will be indicated.

SOURCES

The material included in the development of this case study came from essentially three sources:

 An examination of general historical sources of the period under study;

- 2. An analysis and correlation of documents in the GMB archives; and
- 3. Consultations with participants and observers with varying kinds of exposures to the two conflict interactions.

In all, five missionary respondents supplied information and individual perspectives on the events being examined. Two Brazilian nationals, both Japanese, and the Missionary Secretary contributed their recollections and insights on the case. While names are not used in the presentation of the material, where possible the class identity of the sources is indicated in the text. Deliberate imprecision is employed in the designation of certain official titles in order to preserve anonymity where it appears advisable.

BACKGROUND

Beginning and Early Progress of the Work

The Free Methodist work in Brazil is centered in the Sao Paulo area. Sao Paulo is Brazil's largest city with a population of 6 million in 1970, over half of the country's industrial production, and its second highest per capita income. Japanese missionaries from the Free Methodist Church in Japan moved into the area beginning in 1928 and others continued to join them on

into the late 1930s. The first American missionary was assigned in 1946. In 1953 a hundred-acre campus was purchased for a seminary at Mairapora outside of Sao Paulo. In 1955 a constitution for the South American Provisional Conference was approved including three sections of work: the Japanese churches, the Brazilian sector (Portuguese speaking) and the work in Paraguay. Seminary classes opened in 1956 with construction partially completed on the new campus. 1 By 1960 the student body had grown to twenty-four but there was agitation by the students for a move to urban Sao Paulo in order to have jobs and ministry opportunities not available to them in the rural Through the years 1961-62 the pressure for the setting. move spread through the conference; enrollment dropped to eighteen; conference leaders discouraged new candidates from enrolling so that after graduation, with no new recruits, the enrollment stood at four. Late in 1962 the Conference Board of Administration appointed a study committee on relocating the seminary. The move was recommended by the committee and approved by the conference in January 1963 on an experimental basis. Student enrollment for the first semester rose to twenty, then to thirty-seven for the second semester. By 1965,

Lamson, Venture, p. 249.

including extension registrants and those taking courses by correspondence, the enrollment had risen to 199.

Inter-group Relationships in the Church in Brazil

The Japanese missionaries from Japan worked mainly with the substantial Japanese immigrant community in Sao Paulo and established churches in that group. With the coming of American missionaries attention turned to the Latin Portuguese-speaking Brazilian population. In this way the two ethnic groups were brought under the aegis of one conference in which the Japanese leadership was dominant. The Japanese sector remained very traditionalist, insisting on worship in the Japanese language even to the point of risking alienation of their own young people, products of a Portuguese-language This traditionalist position weakened school system. Japanese commitment to a seminary program led by Portuguese-speaking missionaries and conducted in Portuguese. According to a missionary close to the situation there was a complex of communication and valuational problems:

Information compiled from an undated briefing paper in GMB files entitled "Development of Seminary Program and Problem from Beginning," probably produced in June 1965.

³Letter of General Missionary Secretary, February 25, 1975.

- The Nikkei conference speaks almost entirely
 Japanese while Brazilians and missionaries speak
 Portuguese.
- 2. The relative disinterest in the seminary on the part of the Nikkei leadership has been mentioned.
- 3. Some missionaries largely involved with evangelistic work in the Brazilian sector were also
 cool toward the seminary as a priority project.⁴

The Political Situation

Two missionary respondents, one with nearly thirty years experience in Latin America, commented specifically on the relevance of the political situation surrounding the coup d'état of 1964 to the case under consideration. Some of the salient features of that period are presented here.

Among the sources consulted with a view to getting perspective on the coup d'état of 1964 the work of Octavio Ianni, professor of sociology at the University of Sao Paulo and lecturer at Columbia University in 1967, seems to offer the best documented and balanced analysis of what took place.

⁴Letter of February 19, 1975.

⁵Unless otherwise indicated the material on this subject will be taken from Octavio Ianni, Crisis in Brazil (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

Ianni sees three successive economic models operating in modern Brazilian history:

1. Exportation of tropical products, importation of manufactured goods. (1900-1930)

Revolution of 1930--termination of this model.

2. Substitution for manufactured imports by

local production.

Coup d'état of 1964--transition to associate

model

3. Result: "Implicit in the combination and regrouping of Brazilian and foreign firms is the formulation of a new concept of economic, political, cultural, and military interdependence between Latin America and the United States." (p. 8)

In short, Ianni sees the era from the 1920s to the 1950s as a period of creation of a new national consciousness but then in the coup of 1964 Brazil was thrown back into the internationalist model based on integration into the world capitalist system and dependence on foreign capital (pp. 9, 123).

The years 1960-1964 were filled with "possibilities and dilemmas" including the decoration of "Che" Guevara, the activism of student groups and organized labor, the "obstinate" continuation of relations with Cuba, several attempted coups d'état and increasing direct military involvement in government (p. 121). The economy was out of control with 1750 percent inflation in eleven years (p. 57).

The military saw the situation just before the coup as an imminent Communist take-over: "The ignominy of a Communist-inspired union dictatorship is without doubt hovering over the Brazilian nation."

Ianni sees the coup as a capitulation to United States interests and perspectives:

I maintain . . . that a colonial-fascist regime was inaugurated in Brazil in 1964, a regime defined by submission to the politico-military principles of a geopolitical system developed according to Washington's perspective in the first phase of the cold war. (p. 202)

Whatever interpretation is put on the situation, the results of the 1964 coup have been increased dependence on foreign capital and a tying of the Brazilian economy into the dollar bloc.

Field Mission/National Church

The first six months of 1965 found the missionary group in Brazil struggling to find its place with respect to the impending organization of a full conference.

(Actually, during this period, the decision was crystallized to form two conferences corresponding to the two ethnic groups found in the Free Methodist work.) The autonomy implicit in the full conference concept seemed to leave no place for the missionaries, at least unless

⁶Confidential document delivered by General of the Army Pery Constant Bevilacqua, Armed Forces Chief of Staff, to the President of the Republic on March 31, 1964 (eve of the coup). Quoted in Ianni, p. 139.

they were willing to transfer their membership to the conference on the same basis as nationals. In a discussion between the General Missionary Secretary and the Area Secretary for Latin America on February 3, 1965 the following highly indicative questions were considered under the title "Role of the missionary in [an] indigenous country":

- 1. Should the missionary quit and come home?
- 2. Should he continue to work there as a missionary co-laborer with the nationals?
- 3. Should he separate himself completely from them and work in another area?
- 4. [Should he] join the conference, become subservient and become a pastor like any national? 7

Some statements from a covering letter from the field mission executive committee reflect their pre-occupation with these problems:⁸

The enclosed recommendation [for special furlough for one of the ordained missionaries] is not a spur-of-the-moment decision but rather the culmination of many months of personal and collective wrestling with this problem and of honest inquiry into the perplexing question of how the Brazil mission and particularly the evangelistic missionaries should relate themselves to the newly emerging Brazilian national church and what posture we should take toward this church under the present uncertain and nebulous circumstances in which we find ourselves.

The Brazilian conference is completely selfgoverning, nearly self-supporting (95%) but as yet has not caught a vision for its own self-propagation. This is due largely to its preoccupation with organization (formulating a new constitution, etc.)

^{7&}lt;sub>GMB</sub> archives.

⁸Letter of March 31, 1965.

and getting the "feel" of its newly earned autonomy. This is quite natural and not at all strange that its attention is absorbed more with its organization than with evangelism.

. . . it has attained a great degree of autonomy and complete independence from the mission on the field and the GMB, and is now related directly to the General Conference of North America.

It is hard for the emerging adolescent church to have respect for its parent at this time because it is so enthralled with its newly acquired freedom and its own rebellious spirit is too much a part of it yet.

The letter of response by the General Missionary Secretary could not be located but his hand-written notes on the above letter reflect a reaction to the statement on relationships wherein the GMB is by-passed: "The GMB is part of that General Conference!" In a later reference to the letter presumably drafted from the notes cited just above the Missionary Secretary calls the missionaries' attention to the Discipline, paragraph 141.9 B (1964) which delineates the relationships of full conferences and general conferences of mission origin as being to the Commission on Missions and through the field mission. Reference is also made to the liaison committee of missionaries and national leaders. It is likely the direct response by the Missionary Secretary to the field executive committee was made in early April.

⁹Letter of June 28, 1965.

Other documents confirm the agitation among the missionaries over their role in the emerging situation. A young evangelistic missionary prepared a study paper at the request of the Area Secretary with the title, "The Role of the Missionary on the Field in Relation to the National Church Conference and the Commission on Missions." The study paper deals with two styles of mission/church field relationships--integrative (fusion) and cooperative. One of the problems seen in the "cooperative" model espoused by the paper is the situation where missionaries are divided among themselves as to philosophy between these two alternative modes of operation:

How is it possible for the mission to maintain program if there is philosophical and organizational division? It behooves the GMB, National Churches and the World Fellowship to resolve this problem.

In looking back to this period the General Missionary Secretary comments on the frustration over attempts to implement the "total integration" policy and the serious morale problems it created among the missionary staff. He states:

¹⁰ March 26, 1965, copy sent to the General Missionary Secretary on April 7, 1965.

The morale problem was with the mission since they were all opposed to the constitution that was proposed. It meant that they no longer had any recourse as to what they did or how they were to operate in the program. 11

The relevance of this situation among the missionaries will be explored in the further development of the case but it is appropriate to underscore at this point that the missionaries as a group were not in a condition to give clear guidance or advice to the emerging national church at that time. Not only was the missionary group discouraged but, from the internal evidence, there was substantial division among them as to what alternative to choose in relating to the conference or what to recommend. This situation contributed to a decline of communication at a critical point in field mission/national church relations. In a letter of March 27, 1965 from the Brazil mission executive committee this situation is described:

The nationals have not come up with a program for using the evangelistic missionary nor have they approached him about helping them.

The mission, on the other hand, feels very reluctant about taking the initiative in asking the nationals if and how they would like to utilize the talents of the evangelistic missionaries for fear that their reaction may be very superficial and unnatural because it is not based on a "felt need."

At this point another dimension of the latent conflict situation should be mentioned as relating both

¹¹ Letter of February 25, 1975.

to the missionary's role and the political attitudes in the country. In the Latin America Fellowship Conference held in January 1962 a number of significant statements were made bearing on missionary service in the national church. At that conference a national delegate from Brazil stated that

. . . when missionaries start work with an abundance of equipment--audio-visual aids especially--some provision should be made for the national worker that follows. Too often he is left without much of this sort of assistance.

Another problem is that the missionary has his support from the mission, his standard of living is above that of the average church member and little effort is made to teach tithing. This puts the national worker in a difficult position as his support must come from the people untrained in the stewardship of their possessions. 12

The Findings Committee at that conference emphasized the need for the church in Latin America to involve itself in the class struggle for social justice. 13 A trace of anti-North Americanism was noted. 14 The matter of the differential in living standards between missionaries and nationals was also in the missionaries' thinking in 1965 as may be seen in a statement in the study paper on the role of the missionary (see above p. 220, footnote 10) in which the author is criticizing the "integration" approach:

¹² Lamson, Tide, p. 73.

¹³Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 77.

... his [the missionary's] salary comes from abroad and is higher than that of the national brethren in the same conference. His manner of living and his privileges set him apart ... and likely this partial effort to integrate will create discontent and ill feelings.

The missionary represents a competitor -- a foreign competitor with financial power.

This section under the title "background" has covered the level called "latent conflict" in Pondy's model in that the local ground of the conflict with respect to what appear to be the major variables has been described, both in terms of its history and the interrelationships of groups in Brazil. Pondy allows for environmental effects which impinge on this level and, in this section, the political climate surrounding the 1964 coup and the state of uncertainty in the missionary group have been described. The situation among the missionaries seems poised on the boundary between "latent conflict" and "felt" or "perceived" conflict. (Pondy's model indicates that movement from latent to felt conflict is generally due to organizational and extra-organizational tensions.) On the one hand, some of the missionary letters of this time indicate more of a sense of alienation than of conflict -- tending to categorize this period of disorientation as predominantly still in the "latent" category. On the other hand, the analysis of organizational alternatives in the study paper on the role of the missionary with respect to

the two alternative models, "integration" and "cooperation," shows a rather well-defined perception and feeling of conflict. This is indicated by the frequent use of conflict-related terms such as "frustrating," "day of reckoning," and "competitor."

PERCEIVED CONFLICT MOVING INTO MANIFEST CONFLICT: THE SEMINARY CONSTITUTION

In January 1964 a seminary constitution was presented to and approved by the Brazil annual conference (formally a provisional conference) in which it was stated that the seminary is "maintained and directed by the annual conference of the Free Methodist Church of Brazil to which it belongs." According to this document the board of directors would consist of five members elected by the annual conference on a system of rotating terms. At the first election one missionary was elected to the board. Under this constitution the board of directors were given the power to elect the president, dean and treasurer, hire all professors, approve the budget, fix salaries, generally direct the school and report yearly to the annual conference. The mission (either field mission or General Missionary Board) is mentioned only once in the constitution, under the section on finance in a serial list of sources of funds: "by subsidies from the Mission." Provisions for amendment of the constitution included only reference to

proposals by the board of directors ratified by the annual conference. This constitution assumed full national control of the seminary.

In an undated document from the mission archives giving a chronology of the development of the seminary from 1956 to 1965, a comment on the above action notes:

"The seminary now belongs to the Free Methodist Church of Brazil and is governed by the Board of Directors."

In June 1965, reflecting the proposed division into two separate conferences, the board of directors of the Free Methodist Corporation in Brazil was expanded to include five members from each of the conferences (Brazilian and Nikkei). In the undated document cited in the paragraph just above it is stated that this corporation will oversee general interests of the Brazil Free Methodist Church such as the seminary although, while this group will be the final authority, the seminary will be governed by its board of directors. The concluding statement of the document (presumably written in summer 1965) under the section title "Present Situation says: "1. The institution (seminary) belongs to the national church. 2. The seminary property in Mairipora belongs to the mission."

Since the document referred to (from which the immediate foregoing statements have been taken) is entitled "Development of Seminary Program and Problem from

Beginning" and ends with the statement on the "present situation" emphasizing the matter of institutional ownership, it may be concluded that it represents perceived conflict (usually achieved according to Pondy's model by "suppression and attention-focus mechanisms") moving rapidly toward manifest conflict as GMB prepares to respond to the situation.

Eighteen months elapsed (from January 1964 when the first draft seminary constitution was presented and approved by the Brazil annual conference to summer 1965) before GMB or the General Missionary Secretary appears to take notice of developments in regard to the seminary. This slowness may be accounted for by the fact that the General Conference of the denomination was held in Winona Lake in June 1964 and, in that year, there was a change of General Missionary Secretaries. Dr. Charles Kirkpatrick was chosen from a conference administrative post on the west coast. It is likely that the first several months were spent in assimilation of the details of administering a world-wide program. In view of this it is not altogether surprising that it was not until in spring 1965 after conversations with his area secretary (February 3, 1965) and the reports from the field in March and April (referred to above in the section on field mission/national church relations) that the Missionary Secretary began to devote special attention to the problem.

Evidence which will be presented in the commentary section also suggests that in the first six months of the eighteen-month period, under the outgoing secretary, this first seminary constitution was not considered to be counter to GMB policy. This observation suggests that the problem was, to some extent, both a cause and a function of a change in GMB policy introduced by the new secretary.

In summer 1965 the Missionary Secretary accompanied by an experienced lay member of the Commission on Missions flew to Sao Paulo to meet with the Board of Directors (also called Board of Administration and Administrative Board) of the South America Conference. The Missionary Secretary remembers the meeting as achieving a resolution of the problem:

They agreed that the seminary would be under the direction of the mission board as long as it was supported with personnel and finance. I think the time is approaching when we may be able to disengage ourselves and we can count on their being able to carry on effectively. 15

The meeting in Sao Paulo was followed by a letter of September 17, 1965 from the Missionary Secretary addressed to the President of the Administrative Board of the South American Conference summarizing the outcome of the meeting and requesting that

¹⁵ Letter of February 25, 1975.

the letter be circulated to members of the Board who were not present at the time that the seminary constitution was discussed.

The policy content of the letter is sufficiently important to warrant a summary here:

- 1. The seminary constitution is assumed to have originated on the assumption that promotion to full conference status automatically led to turnover of all institutions.
- 2. In this regard (a) it is asserted that such turnover is by no means automatic; (b) that GMB has jurisdiction over approval of such institutional constitutions; (c) that institutional control is related directly to provision of finance and personnel; (d) precedents from other situations in unnamed fields are referred to.
- 3. Participation in the Board of Directors of the seminary: A board of seven is suggested with two from each conference in Brazil and three representing GMB.
- 4. Governance: The key point is that the president shall be nominated by the Board of Directors subject to the approval of GMB.

- 5. A promise is given that when the conference can provide a majority of support and teaching staff, consideration will be given to turning over jurisdiction to the Brazilian church.
- 6. Property: It was agreed that proceeds from the sale of the Mairipora seminary property will be used for the seminary in Sao Paulo, for building, land and the missionary residences of those who are teaching in the seminary.
- 7. A last statement affirms that the General Missionary Board is willing to allocate some of its funds in the budget for the seminary for a national professor who assumes an administrative position.

From September 17, 1965 there is a hiatus of information until June 23, 1966 when a revised constitution of the Brazil seminary incorporating the suggestions in the policy letter was sent to the field by the General Missionary Secretary. In his letter he states that this constitution was prepared at the request of the "board of trustees," presumably the board of directors of the seminary. It had been approved in advance by the Commission on Missions on April 27, 1966. This constitution stated in article 2: "The Seminary is maintained and directed by a Board of

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Directors representing the General Missionary Board of the Free Methodist Church and the two Brazil conferences." The provision for election of the president includes "subject to approval of the General Missionary Board" and contains the further stipulation that GMB may nominate the president. The Board of Directors would report annually to the Brazil annual conferences and the General Missionary Board. Amendments to the constitution are to be proposed by the Board of Directors and approved by the General Missionary Board.

According to the record and subsequent history this development seems to have marked the end to this aspect of manifest conflict. The Missionary Secretary states that he feels that the seminary problems have been resolved. ¹⁶

The commentary at the conclusion of this case will have two parts one of which will be devoted to the conflict discussion just concluded and another which will treat the related conflict episode to be explored below.

APPOINTMENT OF A NATIONAL AS SEMINARY ADMINISTRATOR

This case may be related to the foregoing one as an exercise of some part of the control in seminary

¹⁶ Letter of February 25, 1975.

affairs achieved by GMB through the interaction described above. The issue concerns the re-introduction of a Brazilian national (ethnically a Nikkei Japanese) into an administrative position at the Sao Paulo seminary. More specifically, GMB, in line with its policy of nationalizing the seminary staff as rapidly as feasible, gave its support to the acceptance of this person into an administrative role in the seminary while national and field missionary leaders resisted the procedure for reasons which will be given below.

Background

The administrator in question first came to the United States in 1959 to study in an American seminary where the Free Methodist church has an affiliation and then went on to complete his doctoral studies in eastern United States at a more liberal theological school. 17

While at the latter institution the subject was considered to have adopted vocabulary and doctrine of the neo-orthodox school of theology which was at variance with the doctrinal position of the Free Methodist Church. Two of the sources report that he was aware of this problem and, for that reason, wished to take a position at one of the denominational colleges so that he would

¹⁷ The information in this section is compiled from the GMB archives and from other sources familiar with the case.

have opportunity for dialogue with other professors of religion. He felt that this would help him to evaluate and consolidate his own theological position. Things went so far in this direction that a contract had been prepared at one of the Free Methodist colleges when it became necessary for him to return to Brazil. There is some lack of clarity on this point as to who was pushing him to return to Brazil. One source cites the Missionary Secretary of that time and another states that it was the Nikkei conference in Brazil of which the subject was a member. (It is likely that these parties were in communication and, therefore, both views may be to some extent correct.) In any case the subject returned to Brazil in 1964 and taught part-time at the seminary from 1964 until 1968, serving as dean for part of this period. From January 1965 he was also pastor of a Nissei (second generation Japanese) church.

During the years 1964-1968 a number of problems surrounding this person began to surface. It was alleged that his preaching and teaching betrayed a strong neo-orthodox bent. His concern with the social implications of the gospel in a time of extreme political sensitivity caused him to be identified with some of the more leftist Christian positions. The university students as a class were very involved in social activism. The United Methodist seminary in Sao Paulo had to

close for a period due to student unrest. The Free Methodist seminary had many students from other denominations, among them a number from the Presbyterian church. One Presbyterian student who graduated from the Free Methodist seminary in 1967 took a church in his own denomination, was accused of political activism and arrested. Another Presbyterian graduate was criticized within his own group over neo-orthodox doctrines. missionary who was seminary president took a six-month leave from late 1967 to spring 1968. During his absence some of the above incidents took place. It was also at this time that the subject was in charge of the school as dean, the second-ranking administrator. source reports complaints at this time by missionaries and nationals regarding unorthodox teaching adding that "In all of this, the Free Methodist Seminary was receiving a bad name in the evangelical community and most of the outside criticism was leveled at the teaching and influence of [the subject]." Another source comments that this situation "tended to heighten the conflict situation between himself and the missionaries and probably, to some extent, with the national church as well." The latter source also cites an ultra-conservative church group who had students in the seminary and who were very critical of the subject's influence.

At this point another aspect of the circumstances in Brazil should be introduced, a factor which served to amplify the influence of outside critics of the seminary and of the subject as connected with it. In 1964 talks were initiated by the president of the seminary with other evangelical groups with a view to forming a union seminary. The concept was approved in principle by the Brazil annual conference in January 1965. Throughout 1965 the talks progressed to the point of drawing up a joint statement of faith and a two-phased plan including affiliation as a first step leading on to a full union seminary. One source comments on the negotiations over the union seminary saying that strong opposition came from the missionaries of one group involved principally because of the subject's theological position.

Another dimension of the situation involves a dispute between the subject and the missionary superintendent on doctrinal grounds. This conflict became so acute that one source comments that there were points where it appeared one or the other would have to be withdrawn from the situation.

It must be kept in mind that many of these events and ongoing situations were contemporaneous with the profound sense of discouragement and disorientation among the missionaries described above in connection with the constitutional affair and the establishment

of the full annual conference. As a whole it is clear that this was a period of great tension and polarization among the various groups on the scene.

On the return of the missionary seminary president in spring 1968 the situation was considered to be of sufficient gravity as to entail the possible loss of the subject to the Free Methodist work. As a result arrangements were made from the field in cooperation with the General Missionary Secretary to bring the subject to the United States for employment in one of the denominational schools. A source in Brazil at that time notes: "It was hoped that this would relieve the problem in Brazil and at the same time give him an opportunity to change his views with the hope that he could be saved to the work of the Free Methodist Church." 18

Accordingly this project was carried out as a joint project of the GMB and the employing college. The subject remained in the United States until June 1971 when he returned to Brazil. It is at this point that the actual conflict situation begins. The following, including some carry-over from the constitutional episode, may be cited as major factors in this area of latent conflict which have been covered in the foregoing discussion:

¹⁸Letter of March 13, 1975.

- 1. The allocation of control and initiative determined by the seminary constitution.
- 2. The complex of relationships between the Nikkei and Brazilian conferences, the seminary and the missionaries.
- 3. The residue of suspicion built up in the years 1964-1968 with regard to the subject including pressure from outside groups.

Other elements will come into focus as the situation is developed.

Before going on to the next section it should be noted that the subject's service in the American college was much appreciated; he was very popular, made friends and spent a very congenial three years. The subject's reactions of this period show a high esteem for his colleagues in the college religion department and a great appreciation for the opportunities for dialogue and reflection on his own theological and intellectual development. During his stay a wave of spiritual renewal spread across evangelical campuses in the United States. The General Missionary Secretary comments on the effects on the subject:

. . . there came into the life of [the subject] a real spiritual renewal as he went through this revival that started at Asbury and spread to Greenville and other colleges. In fact he went down to Asbury and witnessed as to what God had

done in his life and I would say that this, along with the dialogue, made his return more acceptable.

Credence in this event established firm and continuing support from the side of GMB and, for that reason, is important to the discussion that follows.

The Level of Perceived and Felt Conflict

This part of the account begins with preparations for the subject's return to Brazil in summer 1971 after his sojourn in the United States. At this point the movement takes on something of the character of an organizational minuet, a reaction sequence involving the parties in the field of conflict.

Before the annual conference in January 1971 the subject wrote to the Nikkei conference of which he was a member stating that he had assurance from GMB that when he returned to Brazil he would be provided a mission residence in which to live, a reasonable salary, help with his children's education and perhaps some help on transportation. In a letter of January 11, 1971 the Missionary Secretary wrote to the field indicating his desire to conserve the talents of the subject for the seminary, his willingness to supplement the seminary budget adequately in order to pay him "a salary comparable with a missionary" and his feeling that

¹⁹ Letter of February 25, 1975.

a house being used by missionaries should be made available to the subject. Whatever the exact language used in communicating with the subject, sources close to the situation agree that the subject was returning to Brazil under the clear impression that he was an employee of the General Missionary Board on much the same basis as regular missionaries rather than as an employee of the Brazil seminary. Missionaries on the field felt that the seminary board in Brazil was being asked to ratify a unilateral agreement reached between the subject and GMB in the United States. They pointed out that this contravened established field policy in the employment of nationals (letter of GMB of January 18, 1971--the day after annual conference closed). Something of the climate of the discussions in the conference sessions is revealed in the report of the presiding bishop:

The most time-consuming and touchiest subject we got on was that of the seminary and particularly [subject's] returning to Brazil to assume responsibilities with the seminary. There are many of the Japanese who still question his theological views. They are very much aware of the criticism that was leveled at him by other missionary groups in the country.20

At this time it appears the Japanese nationals were preoccupied with the theological question and

²⁰Bishop's report on the conference held January 13-17, 1971.

criticisms from the outside while missionaries were upset by what appeared to be an inconsistent policy commitment by GMB.

In response to this situation the General Missionary Secretary replied with two letters, one to the subject (February 5, 1971) and, on the same data, one to the missionary superintendent in Brazil. To the subject he addressed a clarification stating that the GMB is only in a position to recommend to the board of directors of the seminary and not to employ directly. He adds, further:

As I mentioned to you before, the Missionary Board will do all it can to encourage both the seminary and the Nikkei conference of which you are a member to work on adequate and fair arrangements on salary and housing.

In the letter to the field mission the Secretary assures the missionaries that he has written to the subject making clarifications and indicating clearly that his housing and salary are not to be cared for by GMB nor is he an employee of the mission. The Secretary accepted major responsibility for the misunderstanding:

It was unfortunate that we used the term "mission support" in discussing [subject's] salary.
... The GMB is merely recommending that [i.e. that the Nikkei conference provide housing] as a step toward the national leadership and nationalization of the seminary in 1980 or whenever.

I should reiterate the fact that it is better if we have confidence in [subject] as the Commission and I do. It is important that we bring him in the front door of the seminary rather than appoint him pastor and bring him in the back door.

A straightforward support by the mission of [subject] will do more to help him find his place in the future of the Brazil Free Methodist Church and in the Free Methodist seminary than anything else we can do.

In the same letter the matter of precedents is discussed and it is agreed that employment should be through the seminary as an institution on terms prescribed by it. ²¹ The Secretary concludes:

Let me repeat again my full endorsement of [subject] theologically and spiritually and the hope that he will find a meaningful place of service among his own people, church and seminary.

A missionary source in Brazil at that time recalls this letter as an admission of much of what the subject had written to his conference and a tacit confirmation of GMB's position that he should be put in as president of the seminary. 22

At this point the communication problem between GMB and the missionary field leaders seemed to stabilize. In a letter from the field a missionary spokesman wrote:

It is good that we can be so open and frank in discussing these things and thus understand each other better. Lack of communication causes many misunderstandings. . . . It seems very evident

²¹The missionaries' objections on the employment issue centered around the problems this could present in regard to other nationals working in the seminary (their pay scale) and morale problems for others working in the churches on local support.

The matter of the subject being introduced as president was first introduced in correspondence in 1966 but was not explicit in the 1971 discussions.

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that [the subject] certainly misunderstood you from the things he said in his letter to you and from the letter which he sent to the Nikkei conference.

I think that you and I are in basic agreement regarding [subject] and his return to his own country: (1) That he is coming next June, (2) That we must do everything we can to help him fit in to his proper place in the Free Methodist Church of Brazil, (3) That he has had a wonderful transformation spiritually and is re-thinking his theology, (4) That he should be supported adequately by the national church as well as the church here is able, on the basis of his training in harmony with what other nationals are getting in other seminaries, (5) That the Nikkei conference should take part of the responsibility for his support and the seminary a part, (6) That he will probably become one of the outstanding leaders in the church and seminary here.²³

The same communication observes: "It is very, very (extremely) unfortunate that [the subject] misunderstood your discussion with him regarding his support and wrote that letter to the Nikkei conference . . . "

The missionary notes that on the basis of that understanding the conference had made no provision for the subject outside of one-half of his transportation. Some indication of the state of tension surrounding these matters is given in the missionary's language as he continues:

It is extremely unfortunate that [the subject] misunderstood you regarding his being promised the house where [missionaries] now live . . . this seems to be spread through the Nikkei conference. . . . pressure could really become extreme down here and make it really hard for the missionaries if this is not cared for at once.

²³Letter to the General Missionary Secretary, February 19, 1971.

A seminary board of directors meeting was set for February 26, 1971. One national member from each of the conferences was absent leaving three missionaries and two nationals in attendance. The result was that the issue of employment of the subject was postponed until the following meeting scheduled for March 16.

On March 5, 1971 the Director of Personnel at GMB, a former missionary in Brazil, wrote a letter to the field strongly endorsing the subject's orthodoxy (on the basis of some published articles) and commitment to the Free Methodist Church. In this letter he brings up the matter of outside influences and their bearing on the situation:

I keep wondering too if part of our problem during the present time is not to protect our image with such groups as Word of Life Fellowship, Oriental Missionary Society, and so forth. My question would be just how much have these organizations contributed to us anyway, and why should we be so careful lest we offend them?

In a letter of March 17, 1971 from the missionary spokesman on the field, it is emphasized that the missionaries are not now opposing the subject's return, that they are assured of his orthodoxy, and that they are promoting his case with the national leaders. He responds to the allegations that the field mission is unduly influenced by neighboring evangelical groups:

Another thing that we ought to understand is that we are not trying to satisfy the OMS or Word of Life or the Nazarenes regarding [the subject], except as it might influence the forming of a union seminary sometime in the future.

From his point of view the locus of the problem had shifted somewhat:

. . . the real problem is with our own members in the Nikkei and the Brazilian conferences. In spite of all the missionaries are doing to assure them that [the subject] has changed, one of the members of the Board of Directors of the seminary has said, "I'll believe it when I see it."

The reason for postponement of the Board of Directors meeting from February 26 to March 16 seems to have been because the absence of two national members gave a composition of three missionaries and two nationals. "I believe they were afraid in the February meeting that the missionaries might want to force something upon them against their wishes." In the letter of March 17 the missionary leader continues at length in reporting the outcome of the March 16 seminary board meeting and in trying to put the total situation in perspective for the Missionary Secretary:

The national church is beginning to take on more and more responsibility for the leading of the church. They feel this is Brazil, the church is Brazilian and they are not happy to have North Americans telling them what to do. This is good. It demonstrated that the national church is beginning to take hold on its own, but it steps on the toes of the mission guite often.

This is getting to be a rather touchy thing here now.

The writer of the letter reports that at the seminary board meeting he had presented the proposal

²⁴ Letter of March 17, 1971 cited above.

that the subject be received immediately as a full professor, that he be given salary and housing equal to any Brazilian with his level of training.

Discussion continued for three hours without arriving at any definite conclusion. The directors cannot understand why a Brazilian should go through [the mission field leader] Why wouldn't a Brazilian go directly to his Brazilian brethren if he wished to return and work with the Brazilians?

Then [it was] moved . . . that I be instructed to write to [the subject] and the Missionary Secretary asking them to make their specific requests directly to the Board of Directors so that they would have something more definite to decide upon. I am sure it is a move to have Brazilians deal directly with Brazilians and not go through an outsider.

It is interesting that in this letter relating to a very specific situation the question of the seminary, its control and organizational relatedness is also raised:

Ever since my return to Brazil last June the question has been asked repeatedly: "Is the Free Methodist Church in Brazil a servant of the seminary; are they two completely separate entities; or is the seminary a part of the Free Methodist Church in Brazil?" These nationals want the seminary to be their seminary I am afraid that in the past there has been too much of the different entities involved operating separately: the GMB having a program, the mission here another, the Seminary operating as a separate body, and the two conferences going their separate ways with no real sense of objective or oneness.

As a result of the request by the seminary board of directors reported in the above letter, the General Missionary Secretary wrote directly to them on March 30, 1971 giving the position of GMB with respect to the subject's return to Brazil and his employment.

In his letter he attempted to do several things:

- 1. He clarified the relationship of partnership in the matter of managing institutions;
- 2. He indicated that the extent of GMB financial commitment with the subject consisted of only one-half of his transportation to the United States and one-half of his return passage;
- 3. He made explicit the policy that GMB does not employ nationals and send them back to their home countries as missionaries;
- 4. He referred the matter of employment to the seminary board of directors with strong encouragement that they study the question and arrange for the subject's adequate support;
- 5. He expressed the willingness of the GMB to consider a modest increase in subsidy to the seminary if such were necessary.

In conclusion the Secretary treated directly the question of seminary ownership and control:

The question I think has been asked whether or not the seminary is a part of the Free Methodist Church in Brazil. The answer is that the seminary cannot be necessarily a complete part of the Free Methodist Church in Brazil until the Free Methodist Church in Brazil is able on its own to administrate, staff and finance the program. It is my feeling that the sooner we include more of your own people on the staff of the seminary, the more quickly can the total administration and control of the seminary be turned over to the Free Methodist Church in Brazil.

Apparently in the interim between March 16 and May 13, 1971 the subject, in accord with the seminary board's request, addressed himself directly to them and received a reply of which the content is not clearly indicated. Some of the content of this exchange may be inferred from a letter of May 13, 1971 from the missionary spokesman in Brazil to the subject in which he refers to this exchange of correspondence as mainly concerned with financial questions and which he considers to be somewhat beside the point as far as the seminary board was concerned. The missionary points out the concern of the seminary board with doctrinal matters and the fact that the subject's reply did not address itself to that problem at all:

. . . when they received the letter from you it referred only to finance, not as to whether you would be received into the seminary as a professor, nor did it open the way to discuss your doctrinal position as they had wanted. It was purely a request for a "contract signed by the president of the Board and by you" and the financial remuneration which you expected to receive. It made them feel that all you were interested in was a contract and a good salary. Instead of discussing with you the things they really wanted to discuss they simply answered your questions regarding finance and let it go at that.

The letter concludes with two suggestions which the writer felt would help clear things up: (1) a letter regarding the subject's doctrinal position and (2) a more realistic financial request.

The subject arrived in Brazil and reported three major impressions:

- The theological misunderstanding has been cleared away.
- 2. The board of trustees had been dominated by a single opinion.
- 3. He did not feel he had the full support of the missionaries.²⁵

The financial dimensions of the problem now come into sharper focus. The subject took a position with an American corporation as an interpreter and agreed to teach three hours per week at the seminary. The subject had apparently talked in terms of \$550 per month. A missionary source on the field reported, "We have not lost him entirely but . . . he is just too expensive for us."

On November 27, 1971 a meeting was held at GMB headquarters in the United States at which the subject was present (having made a business trip to the United States for his employing firm in Brazil) and in which the financial situation regarding the subject's involvement full time at the seminary was discussed. At the time of the meeting the subject was earning \$200 per

²⁵ Letter of July 20, 1971 to the Personnel Secretary of the GMB.

month from the conference, \$100 from part-time teaching at the seminary, some income from teaching in other institutions, and a salary as interpreter with a corporation. After this meeting the Missionary Secretary wrote requesting the seminary board to work out a new pay scale for presentation to the 1972 annual conference. 26 The response from the field 27 questioned the ability of the seminary board to come up with an adequate salary scale for the subject and still maintain a balanced scale for the other national employees. missionary in Brazil notes an apparent discrepancy in the estimate of the subject's requirements as reported from headquarters in the United States and what he was hearing on the field. His conclusion was that he was willing to settle for part-time employment of the subject for the present. To this, the Missionary Secretary replied that the subject, in addition to needing \$550 per month to live on, had other debts and obligations which required considerably more. 28

As was noted earlier (footnote 22, p. 240) explicit references connecting the subject with the role of seminary president are absent in the 1971

²⁶Letter of November 29, 1971.

²⁷Letter of December 12, 1971.

²⁸ Letter of December 29, 1971.

exchanges of correspondence. (The matter had been discussed as an eventual possibility in 1966.) There are some indications, however, that this was an implicit factor in the issue. One example of this is that in November 1971 the Missionary Secretary suggested to the missionary incumbent as seminary president that he continue for one year while the subject cleared up his debts in preparation for coming into the school in an administrative position.

Events at the time of the annual conferences of January 1972 are reported by the headquarters executive sent to preside in place of the bishop. The subject's relationship with the seminary was discussed at a meeting of the missionaries during the executive's visit. At that meeting it was proposed that the subject be suggested as a possibility for the position of president with a package of financial support coming from a pastoral position and seminary "honoraria" (presumably to avoid involvement with a strict salary structure). proposal was presented informally to the subject with the suggestion that, on this basis, he would be able to terminate his secular employment at the end of 1972. The subject reacted affirmatively to this arrangement commenting that his principal concern all along had been the lack of confidence shown in him. A few days later, at conference, the subject transferred his

membership from the Nikkei to the Brazilian conference which permitted him to take a pastorate in the main church in that conference. 29

In November 1972 the Missionary Secretary and the Area Secretary visited Brazil for consultations. The matter of seminary president was discussed with missionaries and national leaders. The conclusion reached was that, in view of budgeting and housing considerations, it would be best for the subject to be installed as president in January 1974 at which time he would begin to receive a partial salary from the seminary and would move into the seminary residence. After talking the matter over with the subject and after a review of seminary finance the decision was reached that the transition in mid-1973 might be possible.

On December 1, 1972 the missionary field superintendent reported that the seminary board of directors had unanimously elected the subject as president, to take office immediately in an official sense but that he would begin receiving salary as of July 1, 1973.

The letter concludes:

I talked with [subject] this morning and he said he is pleased and relieved to know this decision has been made. There was a good spirit in the meeting last night.

This information is compiled from the report of the executive sent to hold the annual conferences.

The subject's election was confirmed by GMB in January 1973.

COMMENTARY

The ordered presentation of a conflict case assumes an implicit or explicit model making certain assumptions about the variables on each side of the conflict encounter at a rationally fixed level of abstraction. The emphasis on the significance of dates in coordinating the events of this interaction indicates an attempt to arrive at a dynamic as opposed to a static conception of the case. The number of interrelated groups in the field situation as well as the cross-cultural aspects contribute to the complexity of The reference to the "minuet" movement (p. 237) the case. of the parties at various points recognizes the presence of reaction processes in which the behavior field of each respective party is changed by the other in such a way as to stimulate another move, thus producing an alternating effect.

At the level of abstraction applied to this case major variables on the Brazil side are:

- 1. The political situation;
- 2. The ethnic and cultural distinctions of the groups in Brazil;

- 3. Definition of mission/church relations on the field:
- 4. Other evangelical groups.

These elements are almost equally applicable to the two conflict episodes contained in this case. On the side of the mission board the dominant force bearing on the constitutional issue appears to have been the concern over missionary morale while the issue of acceptance of a national as administrator in the seminary seems to have related mainly to long-range objectives of the mission board in planning for nationalization of leadership.

The lack of discreteness in levels of conflict makes the Pondy model a loose fit at certain points. There is also difficulty in defining the first stage on the Pondy model, "aftermath of preceding conflict episode," so this level is absorbed into the latent conflict category in the organization of the material. In view of the number of interacting parties and the number of variables, the Pondy model proves surprisingly adequate as will be seen when the two encounters are mapped onto it. Before presenting the model, summaries of the major variables and their effects are given in the interest of perspective.

The Political Climate

The period covered by this case was charged with activism and nationalistic sentiment in many sectors of Brazilian society. Missionaries were conscious of the pressures of anti-Americanism, polarization of right and left, and general tensions with the national church. A Japanese who was in Brazil at that time and active in the Free Methodist Church there comments:

I recall that in the late fifties and early sixties a revolutionary and nationalistic mood was very strong in Brazil. I have no doubt that that climate also influenced the attitude of the national churches toward foreign control.³⁰

The coup d'état of April 1, 1964 seemed to mark a turning point in attitudes toward foreigners. The Japanese source cited above continues:

The coup of 1964 was a counter-revolution, that is, pro-American. The situation of Americans in general and of missionaries in particular improved a great deal after that coup.

Missionaries were immediately aware of this change as well. One notes, "This whole situation calmed down considerably after the revolution of 1964." 31

The first seminary constitution assuming full national control was presented in January 1964, four months before the coup. The subject of the second

³⁰ Letter of May 10, 1975.

³¹ Letter of February 19, 1975.

episode returned to Brazil in summer 1964 just after the coup for four years of service before being brought to the United States.

The conclusion seems to be warranted that the political situation had a diffuse but very real effect on the conflict episodes, quite immediately on the first and more remotely on the second.

The Inter-group Situation in Brazil

The situation in the Brazilian church in which two diverse groups, the Japanese Nikkei and the Brazilian latins, are included under one denominational name and related to a shared institution (the seminary) provides in itself a complex conflict field. The traditionalist Japanese Nikkei value the preservation of their language and culture very highly, even to the point of risking alienation of their own young people. The older Japanese have remained oriented toward their mother churches in Japan and tend not to recognize the leadership of American missionaries. The younger Japanese with a Portuguese-language education are more identified with Brazilian culture and goals. In replying to a question on the relative sensitivity of the two groups to the political climate the Japanese source cited in footnote 30 stated: "Yes, they relate to political climate, but not all equally. The second generation relate more than

the first generation and the more educated more than less educated." A missionary comments that there is "a very serious cultural and communication gap between the missionaries and the Japanese as well as between the Brazilians and the Japanese." He comments further on the frustration of missionaries in trying to understand the Japanese mind, concluding that there was a "communication problem and perhaps, to some extent, a conflict situation between missionaries and the leadership of the Nikkei conference."

Church/Mission Relations

The third major variable emerging on the Brazil side of the interaction concerned the matter of policy concerned with church/mission relations. It was not until October 1967 that a firm policy statement on this subject, including the matter of defining procedures for institutional control, was approved by the General Missionary Board under the title "Guidelines for Constitutions." The review of the World Fellowship era covered in Chapter 3 of this dissertation reveals a strong emphasis on national church autonomy with field missions largely subsumed or integrated under the

³² Letter of February 19, 1975.

national church organization. With the organizational changes brought about in the General Missionary Board by the formal recognition of the World Fellowship and the employment of a new General Missionary Secretary, both in 1964, a new policy of "partnership" or "cooperation" began to replace the former one of "fusion" or "integration." The partnership approach became gradually more explicit over the years after 1964 as the new missionary secretary gained experience and began to make his policies felt. This background is necessary in order to understand some of the confusion in both missionary and national ranks in Brazil at the time of this case. A letter of July 2, 1963 from the Executive Secretary of the World Fellowship (who had been a missionary in Brazil) to the president of the Brazil seminary (a missionary) is representative of the pre-1964 thinking. The letter replies to questions from the seminary president as to which official body has final authority over the seminary. In the reply the Executive Secretary states that " . . . we have prepared a constitution of the Free Methodist Seminary in Brazil"-indicating participation in its drafting (i.e. of the first seminary constitution). His position is clear:

One thing seemed to be very evident. The South American conference is not at all happy to have the Seminary operated by the mission. If the mission operated the seminary we will not have the cooperation of the church there This institution must be theirs if we want their support.

He notes that the constitution has not yet been approved but affirms the principle that the seminary is in the hands of the annual conference:

To sum it all up--a seminary program in Brazil must be carried on by the nationals and not by the mission. The mission will cooperate but the national church must take all the leadership.

This document confirms a direct World Fellowship input into that first draft seminary constitution but, perhaps more important, it indicates the contrast in policy between pre- and post-1964.

The Japanese source cited in footnote 30 confirms this input along with nationalistic sentiment:

I think that the establishment of the autonomous Brazilian and Nikkei conferences as well as the first draft of the seminary constitution were in some sense an expression of the nationalistic mood of the country. I think, to a certain extent, the emphasis of the World Fellowship on autonomy had an influence here.

It appears that the issue of seminary control was in a sense a result of an <u>a priori</u> change of policy at mission headquarters (i.e. had there been no change of policy the constitution would have been accepted) and at the same time a major motivating factor in the firming up of the new policy (viz. the concern over missionary morale).

Other Evangelical Groups

At various points in the episodes concern is shown over the effect certain actions or situations will

have on neighboring evangelical groups in Brazil--either those who were involved in the union seminary discussions or those who sent numbers of students to the Free Methodist seminary. This concern included both doctrinal and economic aspects, economic in that the numbers of non-Free Methodist students contributed to the financial viability of the institution. It seems that the missionaries and the Nikkei leaders were much more concerned about this dimension than either the Brazilian latins or GMB. This aspect became very acute in the second issue of accepting the returning national with a controversial record into the seminary program.

Missionary Morale

On the side of the General Missionary Board a major motivation for the "partnership" policy was a concern for missionary morale. This included a growing conviction that the integration or fusion policy promoted in the World Fellowship era, the early 1960s, was too idealistic and that missionaries could not cope with the levels of frustration that it would entail. The Missionary Secretary comments on the Brazil situation:

"The program that was followed here was one of total integration . . . It created serious morale problems . . . with the mission." When queried on other possible reasons for GMB's reaction to full national control of

the seminary the Missionary Secretary answered categorically, "No! The problem arose from morale among the missionaries." 33

Throughout the conflict over appointment of the national to a seminary position the Missionary Secretary held firmly to an affirmation of the subject's value as a vital part of the objective of eventual nationalization of the seminary. To the missionaries this was presented as a concrete example of indigenous mission policy; to the nationals it was held out as a first step, a gesture in the direction of full eventual nationalization of the seminary.

At this point it is useful to try to map the two episodes onto the Pondy model. Pondy sees conflict as a dynamic process ³⁴ which can be analyzed into a pattern of stages typically found in the development of a conflict episode. Beginning each conflict episode are conflict potentials, residues of past experience which affect behavior in the present situation. The conditions present during the episode which serve as underlying sources of conflict are called latent conflict. According to Pondy three basic types of conflict may emerge

³³ Letter of February 25, 1975.

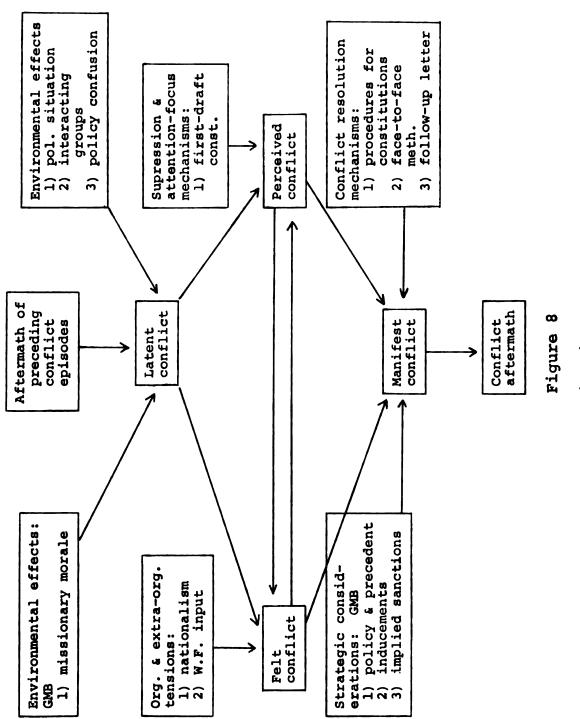
Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2 (September, 1967), pp. 296-320.

from the latent conflict situation: (1) competition for scarce resources; (2) drives for autonomy; (3) divergence of subunit goals. The succeeding level in the development of a conflict episode includes two categories, perceived and felt conflict, dealing respectively with awareness and hostility. At this level suppression mechanisms may work to block out awareness of mild or less-threatening conflicts while the attention-focus mechanism tends to select a specific problem or issue for treatment. The assumption is that most organizations have more conflicts than can be dealt with so, at this level, some are pushed out of awareness and some are selected for attention. Organizational and extra-organizational tensions impinge on the area of felt conflict where conflict may be personalized and where either demands from within the organization or pressures from without may develop anxieties in the individuals involved leading to personality involvement in the interaction. Most conflict resolution programs are applied at the interface between felt conflict and manifest conflict and between perceived conflict and manifest conflict. last element is the aftermath which may be evaluated as good or bad according to its effect on productivity, stability or adaptability in the organization. Conflict must be appreciated as a key variable in the organization's feedback loops.

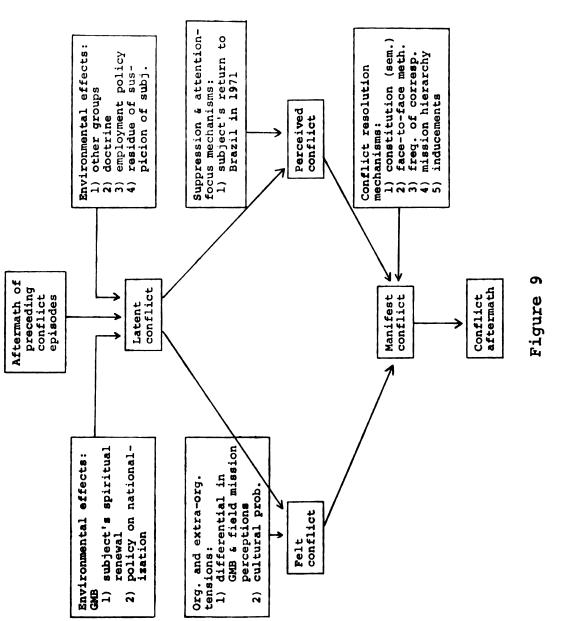
With this brief review of Pondy's analysis in mind the major variables of the two episodes included in this case may be mapped onto his model as shown on page 262.

The variables have been sufficiently discussed in the general presentation and in the commentary section but a few further comments may be made on the charting of the episodes on the Pondy model.

With regard to the constitution issue it was noted that the category "aftermath of preceding conflict episodes" was absorbed upward into the latent conflict position. One reason for this action is that to adequately research the "aftermath" area would require prohibitively detailed data and analysis. Another reason, particularly applicable in this case, is that with emerging organizational units such as new national churches in relationship to a mission the conflict sequence must start somewhere. This means that at some point backward in a particular inter-group or interorganizational relationship there will be no aftermath of preceding conflict. On the constitutional figure the inputs into latent conflict are well defined. the "felt conflict" point the effects of nationalism and the confusion caused in both national and missionary groups by the fundamental change in policy on mission/ church relationships were documented. As to perceived



Constitution Issue



Personnel Issue

conflict it is clear that the first draft seminary constitution, when GMB took notice of it, focused attention on the issue of allocation of control. The point of entrance of the inputs from "strategic considerations" and "conflict resolution mechanisms" is probably more appropriately placed on the line between perceived and manifest conflict rather than with reference to manifest conflict only. This positioning depends, of course, on the definition of manifest conflict.

The history of the two conflict episodes covered in this case establishes clearly that the initiative in resolving the conflict rested predominantly with the General Missionary Secretary. In the seminary constitutional issue the trip to Brazil provided face-to-face confrontation over the problem. The cost and time devoted to the trip were in themselves an expression of commitment to a solution. The follow-up letter was an astute move in consolidating a verbal agreement (especially by its insistence on distribution to all board members, including those not present for the discussions) and served the further purpose of clarifying the separate points at issue. The letter contained a tactful combination of inducements and implied sanctions (see pp. 228 and 229 for a summary of the contents). GMB's position was supported by precedent and the linking of control to support and staffing. As to

tact, the problem embodied in the seminary constitution was considered to be a very natural misunderstanding of the implications of full conference status--thus providing a face-saving way out for the national leaders. Missionary representation on the board of directors was suggested at less than a majority (3 of 7). The promise was given that the turnover of the institution would be considered when the national church could provide a "majority" of support and staff (with the implied understanding that GMB support and personnel would also be contingent on participation in control). Part of the proceeds from the sale of the Mairapora property are committed to the establishment of the seminary in Sao Paulo. Willingness to help finance hiring of a national professor was also expressed. All of this added up to an agreement from the nationals' side. The Missionary Secretary remembers the reaction of two national leaders at that meeting in Brazil: " . . . both said we are in no position to take over the seminary for ten years-which was very prophetic."35

The second episode introduces a quite different set of variables at the latent conflict level. GMB's support of the subject as a candidate for an administrative role in the seminary rested on assurance of his spiritual renewal and his orthodoxy (as shown by articles

³⁵ Interview of May 16, 1975.

which he had published), and on a policy of introducing national leadership as rapidly as feasible. The groups in Brazil were influenced by a number of factors in the local situation. At the next level differing perceptions began to surface and some cultural divisions on the field. The attention-focus mechanism is clearly the imminent return of the subject to Brazil. A number of resolution mechanisms come into play in the settling of this problem: The seminary constitution gave GMB the right to involve itself in the matter. Informal channels and meetings were used along with voluminous correspon-The informal understandings exacerbated the dence. problem at some points, through lack of precision and resentments on the field. The mission hierarchy was used to bring missionaries to a place of acceptance. Assistance was offered on the financial implications. To the nationals the rationale was given that employment of the subject was a legitimate opening for nationalistic ambitions.

From the Missionary Secretary's side the issue over employment of a national was an exercise in patient pressure—on both missionaries and nationals. It is interesting to note that his position on "majority" of support and teaching staff (September 17, 1965, see p. 229) becomes "is able on its own to administrate, staff and finance the program" (March 30, 1971—italics added).

The evidence of cultural independence brought out by the insistence of the seminary board of directors on dealing directly with the Missionary Secretary and the subject, and their fear of being over-ridden by the missionaries, is an interesting point. The continuing frustration over the question of ownership, control and accountability of the seminary has some implications with respect to the constitutional issue--both in shedding light on their emotional attachment in the earlier interaction and with regard to conflict aftermath, suggesting the possibility of another confrontation some time in the future. The Missionary Secretary has given tacit recognition to this possibility in his allowing for a re-negotiation of the issue sometime in the future when nationals can contribute more fully to support and staff. This provision is an excellent example of preemptive nondecision making, in the terms of Bachrach and Baratz (see discussion on the Burundi case, pp. 204-09).

Chapter 6

THE INDIA CASE

The India case has to do with a conflict situation between the India Annual Conference of the Free Methodist Church and the General Missionary Board over the design of a self-support plan for the India con-The case clearly concerns "means" values (see ference. p. 47) as there seems to have been no disagreement over the desirability of financial independence for the India Church. When the action is expressed in terms of the Bachrach/Baratz model (Fig. 7, p. 207), it is particularly interesting to note that there is a reversal of role in the early stages; i.e. at the outset the GMB, through what appears to be a unilateral cut of 10 percent in support for national personnel, takes the role of party seeking a re-allocation of resources. Very shortly thereafter, the India Conference seizes the initiative with a counter-plan proposing 20 percent per year cuts combined with supplementary proposals to help the Indian personnel affected toward self-employment. The conflict episode generated by the interactions over the issue

involved in the difference between these two positions provides the subject of this case.

In reconstructing the events and processes of the case, letters and documents from the archives of the General Missionary Board are supplemented by information and perspectives from two Free Methodist missionaries of long service in India and two nationals who are members of the Free Methodist Church in India. The Missionary Secretary who was in office at the time of the interaction provided his recollections of his assessment of the situation and the reasons for the actions taken.

BACKGROUND

with its great political, religious and linguistic diversity makes it very difficult to assess environmental inputs into any situation. For this reason it must be stated that the variables selected from the environment are advanced with a certain degree of caution. On the other hand, the participants in the conflict episode as well as the respondents consulted reflect a unanimity in awareness of general influences from the national climate (e.g. sentiment for economic independence). That awareness seems to call for a brief survey of the environmental dimension of the conflict situation.

The theme of nationalism and/or cultural independence will be explored at two levels: on the national plane and in Maharashtra State where the Free Methodist work is centered.

After independence in 1947 the ruling Congress
Party addressed itself to the task of developing a
national identity out of the massive diversity found
among the 400 million people in the country. A backward
look over twenty-five years of Indian independence marks
the period 1951-1962 as a time of growth and consolidation of the Indian democracy. Jayaprakash Narayan,
Indian intellectual and patriot who had been active in
the independence struggle, wrote in 1962:

The question of national integration has been much to the fore in recent months. It is one of the highest aspirations—if not the highest—of the Indian people to become an integrated and strong nation. This aspiration was expressed most authoritatively at the National Integration Conference held last September—October 1961 in New Delhi. There is a strong feeling in the country that our very future as a people would be brought into question if this task of nation—making were not properly and speedily fulfilled.²

This expression of sentiment by Jayaprakash coincides historically with the conflict episode which is

Twenty Five Years of Indian Independence, prepared by Indian Oxygen, Ltd., no author given (Calcutta: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., 1972), p. 15.

²Jayaprakash Narayan (alt. Narain Jai Prakash)
Three Basic Problems of Free India (New York: Asia
Publishing House, 1964), p. 1.

the subject of this case. It serves to illustrate something of the general climate of concern over national identity that was abroad in the country at that time. Professor von FürerHaimendorf of the University of London remarked the trend toward a national consciousness when he observed that by the late 1960s a thin stratum of the population was beginning to transfer its allegiance to the nation-state as over against local cultural units:

While most Indians live entirely within the frame of their regional culture pattern and abide by the rules of their own castle communities there is a growing number of individuals whose loyalties and aspirations are not bound by state borders, but who live and work outside their natal regions, and think in terms of Indian rather than of regional aims. They constitute the beginning of an All-India society at home and in all parts of the country and are usually inclined to a cosmopolitan outlook.³

This analysis would suggest that elites would tend to identify more with national aims, but that for the great mass of the population, loyalties were generally oriented to the more immediate cultural and political environment. This conclusion leads to a brief consideration of Maharashtra State which will follow below. First, however, a few specific comments on national attitudes toward dependence on foreign finance by Indian writers of the mid-1960s will help in setting the stage.

³Christoph von FürerHaimendorf, in Britannica, 1972 (Chicago: Willima Benton, 1972), Vol. 12, p. 33.

From independence onward a major political concern seems to have been the dependence on foreign aid and capital. A series of famines and a number of moderately successful five-year plans which failed, nevertheless, to meet the rising aspirations of the population made the economic issue a particularly sen-Indian writers in the mid-1960s termed sitive one. foreign aid "a grave threat to national independence and honour" and a "necessary evil and not an end in itself." 6 References to this theme are frequent in the material consulted for the presentation of this case; both missionaries and nationals show keen awareness of this sentiment in the country. Difficulties in procuring visas for certain kinds of missionary personnel and the imposition of strict monetary controls emphasized the vulnerability of an organization depending on foreign resources.

In looking for relevant variables and themes in the political life of India it is also necessary to look

Twenty Five Years (see footnote 1), p. 16.

⁵S. N. Mishra, <u>The Crisis</u>, the Country, the <u>Congress</u> (New Delhi: The <u>Congress Socialist Forum</u>, 1967), p. 13.

Sudhakanta Mishra, The Role of Foreign Capital in Underdeveloped Economies (With Special Reference to India) (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal Allahabad, 1967), p. 258.

at the history of Maharashtra State and its cultural antecedents. Geographically the state extends eastward from Bombay on the Arabian sea to the Eastern Ghat mountain range. It is one of the largest states in the Indian Union with a population of approximately 40 million. The interest in Maharashtra history for this study lies in the forces which led to its formation as a result of the bifurcation of the bilingual Bombay State in 1960. The political maneuvers which led to the creation of Maharashtra State are of interest only as they reveal the spirit of the Marhattas (also spelled Marathas). Myron Weiner has noted that riots form an essential part of democratic procedure in India and, in fact, "government action with respect to state reorganization has largely been shaped by the extent of local agitations." Such was the case in Bombay which suffered frequent riots between dominant linguistic groups until the central government complied and formed the separate Maharashtra State on May 1, 1960. Robert Stern comments on the cultural dynamics behind the formation of the separate state:

Linguistic-provincialism in Maharashtra was fired emotionally by memories of past glory and reminders of present distress. The Marhattas were, after all, the people of Shivaji Maharaj who in the seventeenth

Myron Weiner, The Politics of Scarcity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 209.

century humbled the Moguls and ruled the western Deccan! Now the Marhattas, who had a "tradition among traditionless people," were being humbled and denied a state of their own. 8

Ram Joshi in a book edited by Weiner states that the establishment of the Maratha empire in the 16th and 17th centuries was the result of strong popular nationalism based on affinities of language, race, religion and literature. He concludes that the modern outcome of these historical events is a prevalent climate of equalitarianism which has made many Maharashtrians receptive to new ideas of liberalism, secularism, individualism and socialism as they came one after the other from the West. 9

The relevance of the discussion of the interrelated themes of nationalism and cultural independence
for the Free Methodist Church in India is indicated by
some comments by an Indian member of that church. He
states that the majority of Free Methodist members are
Marathas and, in agreement with the sources cited above
(Stern, Ram Joshi), considers them to be very proud
of their heritage since the time of Shivaji who freed

Robert W. Stern, The Process of Opposition in India: Two Case Studies of How Policy Shapes Politics (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 31.

⁹Ram Joshi, "Maharashtra," in State Politics in India, ed. Myron Weiner (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 180.

them from the Muslim kings' domination. The respondent feels that the formation of Maharashtra State may have given the national church leadership the impetus needed to express a longstanding desire for independence of foreign support.

I am from the South, i.e. Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, but my association with our church for the last 15 years shows me that they wanted to be free from dependence on outside support for a long time but there was no strong voice from the national leadership [of the church]. It was subsumed under missionary voice till 1962-63 when in the wake of the formation of the State, national leadership raised their voice and expressed their opinion. 10

The foregoing discussion as a whole gives a profile of a people with an independent spirit, a factor which appears to have had a bearing on their firm resolve to carry through an accelerated plan of self-support.

A second kind of input, the influence of the World Fellowship movement in generating the self-support plan is reported by Lamson:

A remarkable development has come to India through Superintendent Nathar. His contacts with the overseas delegates at the Organizing Conference resulted in a great new vision for the future work in his own country. Without missionary influence, the conference has recently voted its own "five year self-support" program.11

The reference in this paragraph is to the visit of Rev. Nathar to the Organizing Conference of the World

¹⁰ Letter of June 6, 1975.

¹¹ Lamson, <u>Tide</u>, p. 127.

Fellowship held in Greenville, Illinois January 9-21, 1962. It must be remembered that another Indian conference leader, a professor at Union Biblical Seminary at Yeotmal, had been very articulate at the Asia Fellowship Conference in April 1960 and that the secretary of the Committee on World Organization at the Asia Conference was a missionary from India with twenty-four years of experience in that country. Part of the report from that committee reads:

Although the planting of Free Methodism in America a century ago has resulted in the growth of a vine with fruitful branches encircling the world, the time is approaching and in some instances has arrived when more rapid growth and more abundant fruitage will come from vines drawing their sustenance from the soil of their own nations and taking firm root therein. 12

The three men mentioned immediately above were all instrumental in drafting and presenting the five-year self-support plan. The indications pointing to a substantial input from the World Fellowship emphasis on indigenous church support is confirmed by an explicit reference on page 8 of the plan itself as presented to GMB:

The Asia Conference study panel put the pressure of God's working in other areas upon us heavily. The reports of Africa and Latin America stir us to action. The World Fellowship considerations have

¹² Asia Fellowship Conference Report, p. 6.

come to us right at the moment that God is working mightily in a neighboring Church on these same lines. 13

LATENT CONFLICT

Normally latent conflict is generated from environmental factors such as those outlined above in the section on background--nationalism, cultural traits, World Fellowship influence. In this case where "ends" values, i.e. ultimate self-support for the India Conference, are not contested the area of latent conflict must be defined in terms of "means" values. For this reason the environmental inputs, while valuable for understanding the conflict encounter, do not in themselves explain it. In simplest terms the issue in this interaction is the rate and to some extent the terms of conversion to a self-support plan. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the case is the amount of commitment generated by the respective parties over the difference between a five-year plan and a nine- or ten-year plan with some relatively minor differences in implementation. Exploration of these respective sources of commitment will assist in defining the area of latent conflict.

¹³ Five Year Plan, Indian Free Methodist Conference (adopted at the Annual Conference of March 28-April 1, 1960), p. 8.

Events in India

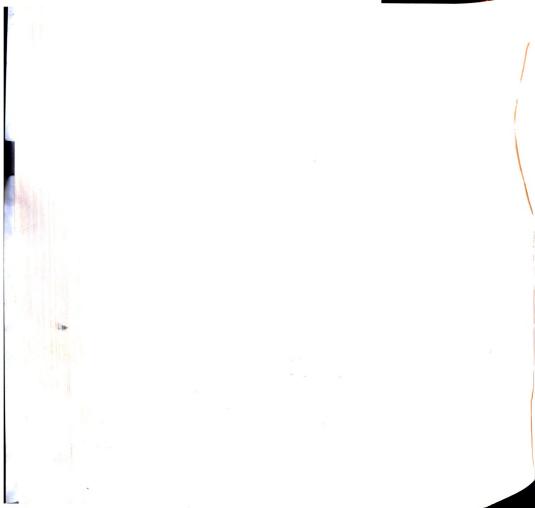
General independence attitudes and World Fellowship thinking have been outlined mainly as contributors to a proper emotional climate for the conception of a self-support plan. Against this background two main stimuli may be distinguished as immediate motivating factors for the designing of the Five Year Plan.

The first of these stimuli originates in the action of the General Missionary Board in initiating a 10 percent cut in support of national personnel in the 1962 budget. A query from the Conference Executive Committee, written by an Indian national states:

Then I am also asked to write about the "Independence decrease 10% annually" as you mention in the budget sheet. We request you to explain to us the meaning of the term and how the cut is worked out. We shall greatly appreciate some clarification about this. 14

In replying to this letter the Missionary Secretary explained that the term "independence fund" was borrowed from another field where a similar situation existed, that it was the policy of GMB to gradually decrease aid to established work, and that in the board's view established churches should become self-supporting. He also indicated the belief that self-support puts a pastor in better relationship with his church and

¹⁴Letter of February 1, 1962.



removes from him the onus of being accused of being the agent of a foreign church. 15

An Indian national reflects the reactions to these discussions from the Indian side:

I think India Conference could not understand why this cut back now after all those years of faithful support. And there was vehement reaction (although it wasn't expressed openly, that is the Indian way. People humbly accept whatever comes from their leaders.) and the pendulum swung to the other extreme and instead of 10%, 20% was suggested. 16

It is interesting to note that a missionary present in India at that time states that the Missionary Secretary's letter probably "stimulated the conference" to action but that he did not sense any feelings of resentment at that time. 17

The exchange described above may be considered as contributing to a state of latent conflict which was, in fact, moving toward felt and perceived conflict.

The second stimulus toward the five-year self-support plan derives from the visit of a neighboring churchman to the annual conference session of March 28-April 1, 1962. His visit is referred to in the Introduction to the Five Year Plan:

¹⁵ Letter of February 26, 1962.

¹⁶ Letter of March 13, 1975.

¹⁷ Letter of February 24, 1975.



God richly blessed Rev. R. P. Chavan the day before this decision was taken [i.e. to adopt the Five Year Plan] as he led the conference in a Bible study and a report on the self-support plan in his church. God blessed also our Conference Superintendent, the Rev. J. S. Nathar in initiating the plan to call Bro. Chavan and in the questions the Conference Superintendent asked to help us to understand all God was doing in the Akola District. 18

A missionary who was on the field at that time reports that Chavan had received a vision for self-support while at a conference of Alliance churches in Bangkok and upon his return the Alliance churches in India had adopted a four-year plan of full self-support. His presentation was considered the principal direct reason for the decision on the five-year plan for the Free Methodist Conference.

GMB Thinking

In response to questions over this interaction the Missionary Secretary who was in office at that time responded:

India was probably our most difficult field. They were progressive in their thinking but so helpless evangelistically. Over and over I emphasized the importance of evangelism by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. We knew that it would be impossible to develop self-support in India on any other plan apart from genuine revival. This seemed to be lacking at this time in India. Their approach to self-support was a cold business-like arrangement. They wanted money to assist each pastor in setting up some kind of business to maintain himself. In other words the business became a substitute for

¹⁸ Introduction, Five Year Plan, p. 1.

the Missionary Board. I was opposed to this. I wanted pastors to give their full time in revival and building the church. We needed larger churches—more churches—but at that time we were unable to make that kind of a shift. 19

In this statement the Missionary Secretary exposes very clearly his perceptions and the presuppositions underlying his disapproval of the Five Year Plan. He felt it was based on a commercial outlook rather than on Christian stewardship of resources and that it would curtail outreach and church development.

Up to this point five major variables have been presented:

- General national and cultural independence drives,
- The World Fellowship emphasis on indigenous church principles,
- The reaction to the 10 percent cut contained in the 1962 GMB budget,
- 4. The visit of the Rev. Chavan from a neighboring church group, and
- 5. The Missionary Secretary's evaluation of the India church situation.

These are assumed to be the causal factors which generated, directly or indirectly, the conflict

¹⁹ Letter of March 13, 1975.



situation around the self-support plan. Numbers one and two are general environmental factors; numbers three and four are immediate causal stimuli. Number five operated mediately through the 10 percent cut and then later throughout the interaction. These elements may be considered as belonging most appropriately to the stage of latent conflict but with the understanding that movement is very rapid toward the next level (perceived and felt conflict)—the stage of awareness.

FELT AND PERCEIVED CONFLICT

The level of felt and perceived conflict in this case is not extensive over time and may be considered almost transitory. The issue concerns "means" and not "ends" values. For this reason it appears unlikely that the India Conference expected serious objections from GMB since the leaders were well informed on the general self-support preferences of the missionary board. On the side of GMB, aside from the mild inquiry over the terminology and meaning of the 10 percent budget cut, there was no reason to suspect that the India Conference was considering such a move. For these reasons "perceived conflict" over means values came to both parties through essentially one exchange of letters whereby each became aware of the other's position. The Five Year Plan was received by GMB on May 4, 1962. The plan



specified a 20 percent per year reduction in mission support for the superintendent, pastors and evangelists. Institutions (seminary, hospital, etc.), special services (adult education and literature), and outreach into new areas were to be excluded from the immediate self-support plan. For the workers going on selfsupport, in the first quarter of 1963 one year's advance salary for 1964 would be given to those individuals who could present an acceptable self-employment plan in writing to a special conference committee. this basis, as explained in minute 5662 of the Annual Conference minutes, March 28-April 1, 1962, GMB would be requested to give one more year's salary (presumably 1963) and then the appropriation from the mission board would be cut as follows: 1964--20 percent, 1965--40 percent, 1966--60 percent, 1967--80 percent, 1968--100 per-The plan was scheduled to begin January 1, 1963 cent. and was approved by unanimous action of the Annual Conference. On June 15, 1962 the Missionary Secretary wrote to the conference leaders questioning the motivation of the plan and emphasizing that true selfsupport must be linked to spiritual renewal. He also expressed concern about losing the workers going on self-employment. To this letter a national spokesman replied with assurances on each of the points raised. 20

²⁰Letter of July 24, 1962.



The Missionary Secretary responded noncommittally with best wishes for revival among the churches. 21

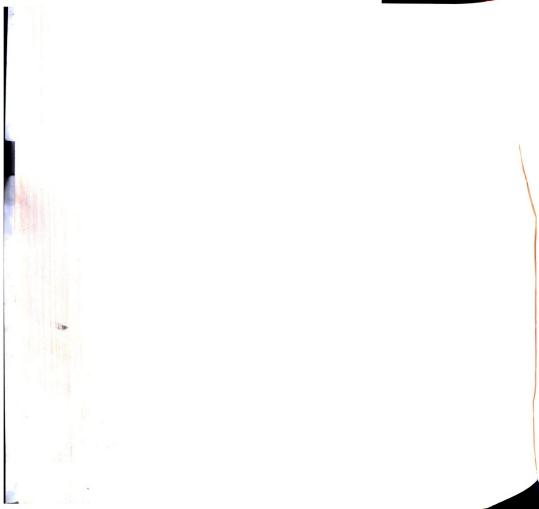
On October 8, 1962 the Missionary Secretary wrote to the field rejecting the Five Year Plan. This letter could not be located but the contents may be fairly well inferred from references in other letters and from the reactions on the field. With regard to the impact of the letter on its arrival in India, the missionary who was chairman of the conference executive committee wrote to the Missionary Secretary:

A few days before the recent meeting of our Conference Executive Committee [Missionary] received your letter of October 8 giving a summary of what apparently was the action of the Executive Committee of the General Missionary Board rejecting our Five Year Plan. Your committee may have thought that they were rejecting only part of the plan, i.e. the part giving an extra year's salary to those who were planning to be independent laymen but who would continue to help in carrying on the work of the Lord in that capacity. However, that part was interwoven with the entire plan in the minds of our conference members to such an extent that our Executive Committee felt that they could not take any more steps in carrying out the plan for self-support till the entire Conference was called together again to reconsider the whole question of self-support, since the Five Year Plan was a decision of the entire conference.22

From this response it would appear that the communication from the Missionary Secretary had not

²¹Letter of August 15, 1962.

²²Letter of October 30, 1962.



conveyed a categorical rejection of the plan but rather, in agreement with his aversion to the commercial aspects, had rejected only the year's severance pay. The India Committee chose to ignore this partial acceptance/partial rejection aspect and to interpret GMB's action as a rejection of the plan in its entirety. This is clear both from the missionary's statement first cited and from the reactions recorded in the Executive Committee minutes. From this point on, GMB's position is never mentioned except in terms of categorical rejection.

The specific reactions of the India Conference Executive Committee include the following points: 23

- 1. That the General Missionary Board Executive

 Committee has rejected the proposed Five Year

 Plan . . .
- 2. Therefore we now have no Five Year Plan.
- 3. We still believe that the Five Year Plan as presented is God's first plan for us . . .
- 4. We still believe that our Annual Conference should carry on its own work, and doing the same in the future, depending on foreign funds, is not to the glory of God and will not help our spiritual growth or evangelistic outreach.

²³Condensed from minutes of October 23, 1962.



Some alternative plans were considered in the same Executive Committee session which indicate the depth of hurt. One alternative reported in the minutes was to continue "as is" with the understanding that the GMB will "act and cut as they may wish without consultation with us or consideration of our plan." Another was to convert from a Five Year Plan to a One-Minute Plan in which all workers could resign as of January 1, 1964, reject all pastoral help from GMB as of that date and allow the churches to resort to a call system by which they would invite pastors where they could support them.

At the second session of the Conference Executive Committee, held on the following day (October 24, 1962), it was moved that "Whereas a crisis has been precipitated by the action of the Board in rejecting the Five Year Plan" the annual conference should be called early to consider the matter. The bishop was to be notified and requested to be present if possible, if not to appoint another presiding officer. The Missionary Secretary was urgently requested to be on hand for the specially called sitting of Annual Conference.

The narrative may be interrupted here to note the contents of a second letter from the Missionary Secretary, sent under the same date as the letter rejecting the Five Year Plan (October 8, 1962), and



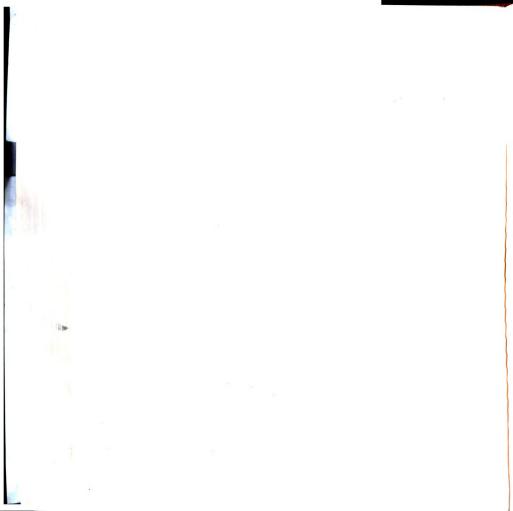
addressed to the missionary Field Superintendent, the missionary Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Indian national who was Chairman of the Self-Support Committee. The letter is of interest here in that it gives insight into the thinking of the Missionary Secretary as it relates to the decision on the Five Year Plan. In this letter the Secretary confirms congruence of "ends" values on self-support by saying that it is "long overdue" and "you are on the right track and we want to give you every encouragement possible." Following those statements in the opening paragraph the Secretary refers to a consultation on church growth just completed in which the emphasis was on the prior importance of witnessing as the Church's one and only business. He then cites an African field operating on self-support principles and advises against "mechanical" ways of trying to achieve self-support. The Secretary then reports a conversation with the Missions Director of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the mission working in the adjacent area in India from which Rev. Chavan had come, in which he had learned that they, in their self-support program, had not given severance pay nor had they made attempts to set pastors up in industry. "He [the Alliance Director] feels that this is fatal and destroys the principle of supporting the work of the church by tithes and offerings of God's people." The Missionary Secretary



then reports conferring with a mission executive from another mission neighbor to the Free Methodists in India who stated that they had tried a subsidy arrangement with very unsatisfactory results [presumably in a self-support program]. He added, "Money has been a curse to some of those receiving it. They did not know how to use it and their present condition is even worse than before they received the money." The Missionary Secretary closes by referring to a study by the India Conference [evidently mentioned in some of their reporting to him] wherein they had stated that, were all the members to tithe, the income of the church would be three times greater. In a postscript he recommends tithing as a conclusion of the conference on Church Growth.

The substance of the letter summarized just above further defines the issue as one of "means" values and surveys other elements involved in the decision for rejection of the Five Year Plan.

In arriving at this point in the case it is clear that conflict is both "perceived" and "felt." The action of the India Conference Executive Committee in calling for a special session of the Annual Conference is a strategic move which is really the first act, and in fact, a highly effective act in the manifest conflict stage. The interaction processes in the next section will cover that stage of the conflict episode, the level of manifest conflict.



MANIFEST CONFLICT

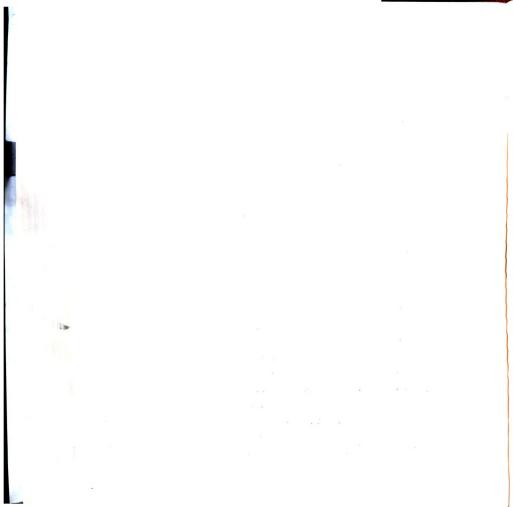
The actions of the Conference Executive Committee of October 23 and 24, 1962 were forwarded to GMB accompanied by a long letter of explanation and comment by the missionary chairman of the committee (referred to above in reporting the initial reception accorded the rejection letter from the Missionary Secretary, see footnote 20) in which he makes a number of important points. For convenience these are summarized as follows:

1. The urgency in calling a special annual conference is explained on the basis of delay meaning a possible setback to the whole plan of selfsupport. Reference is made to the quality of
commitment represented in the Five Year Plan:

No doubt it is difficult for the members of the General Missionary Board to understand the psychological build-up of faith and sacrifice which came about at the last Annual Conference after hours of prayer and discussion but which now is greatly endangered.

2. As to the hesitation shown by GMB over the financial wisdom of turning substantial sums of money to inexperienced investors, he states that they are aware that not all will succeed.

On the other hand, it would not be easy for our people in the homeland to understand the thinking of workers who have spent years of service in the work of the Lord and then are turned off with at best a small amount of money and with no business to which they could turn their hand to make a living.



He also mentions the adverse criticism such an action would entail and the dissatisfaction that would be created.

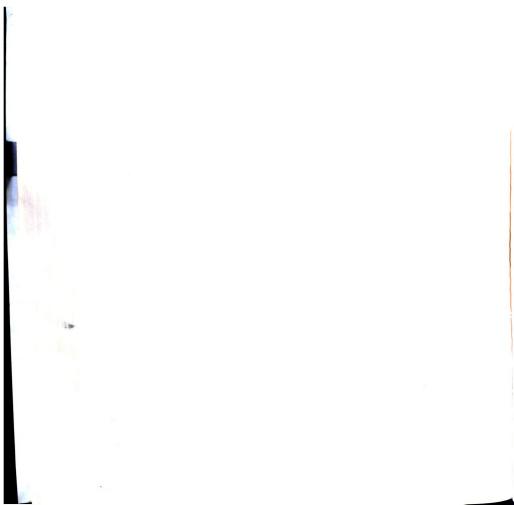
3. A compromise was suggested on funding, allowing GMB to stay within their normal budget but advancing funds to the first quarter of 1963.

The missionary then addresses the problem of trust in the advice of the national conference and confidence in their commitment.

The Board urges us to develop the indigenous church, and yet the Board being so far removed from the Mission Fields finds it very difficult to release their control sufficiently to allow the foreign churches to develop indigenously. One of the fundamental principles of developing the indigenous church is to give them freedom to make their own decisions even when one sees that some of their decisions are not the best.

Thus from India came the first moves after the rejection; the options considered by the India Executive Committee clearly showing demoralization and hurt, the finely reasoned appeal by a missionary of over forty years experience in India, and the dramatic call for a special Annual Conference to consider the "crisis."

On November 20, 1962 the missionary whose letter is quoted extensively above and a leading national—who was both a member of the Conference Executive Committee and a professor at the seminary—sent a telegram to the Missionary Secretary urging acceptance of the Five Year Plan. In response to this initiative the Missionary



Secretary wrote on December 4, 1962, addressed to the authors of the telegram, "In response to your cable urging acceptance of the five-year self-support plan for India I have sent you a cable as follows: 'Executive Committee approves five-year plan . . . '" In the letter the Missionary Secretary pointed out that Executive Committee (of GMB) raised questions at every turn "for which we do not have answers."

. . . the Executive Committee finally came to the position that in general we approve the five-year plan. We do not understand it. We have questions in our own minds that cannot be answered apparently. On the other hand, we feel that at this distance we cannot place our judgment over against that of the Executive Committee of the conference. You are there and we trust you to be conservative in your plans and wise in your decisions with reference to these funds. We see very great dangers involved in putting a relatively large amount of money into the hands of a poor man. However, you have a responsible committee that is to pass on the business venture and assist these preachers in making an orderly transition from the employ of the church to that of self-supporting lay preachers. We shall pray for you.

In closing the letter the Secretary proposes a visit to India and the convening of an evangelism conference:

I would like to come away understanding the deep needs of India. Also I would want to feel that I had done everything possible to understand your five-year plan, your self-support program and that we had made the largest plan possible for the extension of the work of the church in India.

In this way the confrontation over the Five Year Self-support plan in India ended. Consultation of budget

sheets for the next few years indicate that the implementation was carried out essentially as outlined in the plan.

COMMENTARY

In a brief overview the India case as it has been presented here revolves around the issue of a Five Year Plan for self-support for church workers in the India Annual Conference of the Free Methodist Church. Missionary Board had proposed a 10 percent annual cut in their support to church workers as an incentive to the national conference to prepare for full self-support. The conference replied a few weeks later with a counterplan including the paying out of a year's severance pay followed by a 20 percent per year cut. This proposal was rejected by GMB on the basis of reservations on principle about the kinds of self-support suggested by the India Conference [i.e. investment, small business, farming, etc.], their abilities to carry it through, and the end effect on the work [i.e. possible loss of the subjects going on self-employment]. After strong reaction, argument and protest from India over the rejection GMB reversed itself and approved the plan essentially unchanged.

The general organization of the material in this chapter has followed the stages of Pondy's model and the

chart of that model (Chapter 2, Fig. 4) will be useful in defining some of the movement of the conflict episode further on in this discussion. At this point, however, it is preferable to refer to the basic research model of this study (Chapter 1, Fig. 3) in order to distinguish clearly between variables bearing on the mission side of the conflict and on the India Conference side respectively. On page 281 five variables were listed:

- 1. Cultural and nationalistic independence drives,
- 2. The World Fellowship emphasis on self-support,
- 3. The 10 percent cut initiated by GMB,
- 4. The visit of Rev. Chavan from a neighboring church group, and
- 5. The Missionary Secretary's evaluation of the India church situation.

On the research model numbers one, two and four would clearly bear on the national church side of the interaction while the Missionary Secretary's evaluation would be an input on the mission side. The 10 percent cut would be assigned to the interaction area between the two parties. After this preliminary listing further discussion revealed additional inputs on the side of GMB through the Missionary Secretary. In addition to his assessment of the condition of the India church

the Secretary expressed his conviction that the "mechanical" nature of the India plan is somehow a violation of the New Testament principle of church support, i.e. by tithing and voluntary sacrifice if necessary. The Missionary Secretary also referred to similar unsuccessful experiments by missions working in that part of India and added to these examples the affirmative conclusion of the Church Growth Conference with regard to tithing and the importance of the pastor's living at the level of his people. In short, the Secretary appears to have been confirmed in his opinions by (1) principle, (2) experience of others, and (3) expert opinion.

by the India Conference leaders is an additional variable on the national church side of the interaction. This aspect has not received much formal attention to this point although commitment is evident in the letter of remonstrance addressed to the Missionary Secretary after reception of the rejection from GMB (see discussion on pp. 289 and 290). The correspondence confirms that missionaries and nationals were united over the plan. A missionary respondent writes: "We were glad to see their own plans [i.e. of the nationals] for self-support, so generally let them go ahead. We saw difficulties but felt those would work out." A national comments that

²⁴ Letter of February 24, 1975.

there was "real heart searching." The language used at various places in the plan itself is illustrative of the emotional climate of its adoption, unanimously and at a special night meeting. In the write-up of the plan there are a number of elements which help to explain the firmness of commitment:

In the first place, there is reference to a theological understanding of the Church.

This plan is made with a clear perspective being placed before us of various other plans that have been used as ways and means by which other members of the universal church of Christ have tried to move over from a foreign-supported church-development plan to a nationally supported church-development plan. We realize that others have "taken the church into the mission," so to speak, but we have decided NOT to do this because it is the Church and NOT the Mission which is the goal of our labors and the resultant commission of our Lord.²⁶

Secondly there is an awareness of impending suffering. "We know too that we as an Indian Church will NOT be able to continue that support as it is." 27

And third, there is a sense of transcendental commitment.

We believe that our witness in the Church and to the non-Christians as well, is validly related to our self-support of our basic church activities in India, by India, and for the glory of God throughout India.

²⁵Letter of March 13, 1975.

^{26&}lt;sub>Plan</sub>, p. 7.

^{27&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

Therefore, in desperation, with a sense of conviction and urgency, . . . we decide to go on our own, to trust God, and to seek His blessing on this part of His Church in India. 28

In a sense, the argument on the principle of Christian stewardship by the Missionary Secretary and the element of extraordinary commitment on the part of the India leaders (sufficiently strong to induce them to commit themselves to a very insecure course of personal and family hardship) constitutes a conflict within a conflict. Not only is the case as a whole an interaction over "means" values but this part of the case is on a specific value dimension as distinct from interest conflict defined as a vying for control or re-allocation of resources. (It should be noted here that the Bachrach/ Baratz model cited in the two preceding cases is singularly inappropriate for treating conflicts arising uniquely from a dissent over ends (or ultimate) values because such conflicts cannot be resolved by powerauthority-influence factors.) Significantly both elements (i.e. Missionary Secretary/stewardship principle and India Conference/irrevocable commitment) appeal to the authority and example of New Testament Christianity, a central value for the Free Methodist Church. Actually, barring some irrational action and assuming that the expressions of commitment on the part of the India

²⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

Church were valid, the outcome could hardly have been in doubt. Boulding comments on this kind of situation:

Schelling has pointed out the great advantage that an irrevocable commitment gives a bargainer, provided that it does not preclude the possibility of any bargain at all. This leads to the paradox that the weakest bargainer is frequently in the strongest bargaining position, as his very weakness gives him a commitment that would be taken away by strength. The weak have nowhere to go, no place to which to retreat, and their very weakness makes their bargaining commitments irrevocable Similarly, the fanatical, the devotees, and the religiously committed are in a strong bargaining position because of the irrevocable nature of their commitment Before the fanatic, ordinary reasonable men are helpless: they can be moved, and the fanatic cannot. 29

Whether through astuteness or desperation the immediate move by the India Conference to convene a special session was both an important strategic consideration (in terms of Pondy's model at the manifest conflict stage, see p. 42) and a support for the credibility of their commitment on the issue. Its effectiveness in securing the capitulation of the mission board is attested to by the outcome.

A superficial analysis might quarrel with the application of Boulding's analysis using the word "bargain" with respect to this situation. This could be objected to on the basis that it is difficult if not impossible to bargain and compromise over certain kinds of core values. In this case such objections would be

²⁹ Boulding, Conflict and Defense, p. 315.

beside the point because there is no evidence that either side substantially altered its position with respect to values, nor in fact did either side quarrel with the values expressed by the other. The conflict arose from different perceptions of the situation and hence the application of variant values to it. Faced with the quality of commitment evidenced on the Indian side the Missionary Secretary, while protesting to the last the GMB Executive Committee's bafflement over the plan, nevertheless expressed their approval—on the basis of another value, confidence in the integrity and wisdom of fellow—Christians closer to the situation.

On the other hand, we feel that at this distance we cannot place our judgment over against that of the Executive Committee of the Conference. You are there and we trust you to be conservative in your plans and wise in your decisions . . . 30

³⁰ Letter of December 4, 1962.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION

The general objective of this study has been to explore the processes of interaction between a protestant mission board and related autonomous national churches in the Third World with a view to identifying and describing variables which are active in the encounters. The implicit assumption in a study of this kind, particularly where, as in this investigation, a number of cases are examined, is that the findings along with the application of theory and models from related fields of study will assist in the advancement of knowledge of cross-cultural conflict experiences at the organizational level.

A number of theoretical insights from other fields of study contributed to the form and direction of this investigation. Work in the area of theory of innovations pointed out the resistance characteristics of receptor cultures where core values are challenged. The current emphasis on environmental constraints being discussed in international management studies led to the exploration of historical and cultural factors in the individual

cases. A combination of values theory and conflict theory provided the general outline of the study and guided the analyses of the conflict encounters.

The case study method was chosen because, given the present state of theory, it appears to be the only instrument capable of handling both the complexity of variables and the processes of cross-cultural interactions. While this study does not claim to surmount the ordinary limitations of the case study method its general aim has been to reach a level of analytic description through the correlating and interpretation of various kinds of data in the cases. The value of the case study approach as it is used in this study rests on three fundamental assumptions:

- The case study permits a dynamic reconstruction of the conflict encounters in which time and processes are given due consideration.
- 2. The importance of correlating the data assumes that many aspects of complex cross-cultural interactions are "latent," that is, that they are not apparent to lay observers including in most cases the participants.
- 3. The third assumption is that values are highly dynamic in conflict encounters and particularly

so in cross-cultural situations. A corollary assumes that values may be inferred from organizational behavior.

The application of relevant models in the organization and analysis of the material in the individual cases makes possible the elevation of the insights provided by the normal case study approach into a larger design which is essentially a comparative study. Pondy's conflict episode model (p. 42) was used in ordering the case material while the Bachrach/Baratz model (p. 207) provided insights on political processes.

The remainder of this chapter has three divisions:

- 1. Interpretation of findings which will include a brief discussion of the more striking aspects of the individual cases followed by generalizations over the whole study;
- 2. Implications and recommendations; and
- 3. Suggestions for further study.

INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

This section will discuss briefly each of the cases including Chapter 3 which examines the value system of the organization. The chapter on the organizational value system holds an important place in the

overall structure of the study since the cases deal with conflict situations between a mission agency and overseas churches within the bounds of a single denomination. In the individual cases it is assumed that two kinds of variables contribute to the generation of issues and to the process of conflict encounter. One class of variables has its origin in the shared value system discussed in Chapter 3; the other class of inputs comes from the historical, social, cultural environment.

The Shared Value System

The discussion of the shared value system in Chapter 3 deals with the organization's complex of values particularly as they bear on relationships between the North American church and the overseas branches. The dichotomy "North American/overseas" is a term of convenience which is not altogether valid because, through the World Fellowship movement, the denomination moved away from a home base/foreign mission model toward a world systems model. Aside from the actual value deductions perhaps the most important insight of the chapter is the fact that the World Fellowship program of intense international activity and area consultations which set out to define essential Free Methodism in the cultural multiplicity of the Third World churches actually succeeded in augmenting the "shared" aspect of

the denominational value system which, up to that time, had depended almost entirely upon individual missionaries for its dissemination. In cross-cultural interactions, however, the definition of a shared values system is only a preliminary step because of the complex variables influencing the selection of relevant values from the shared system at a particular time or in certain circumstances. Selection or rank-ordering of elements from the shared system may reflect either correspondence with high values in the underlying cultural system or an accidental situation of scarcity (related to Maslow's deficiency oriented prepotency of needs concept). Indepth explorations of questions of this kind had to be considered beyond the scope of this study although they are indicated at various points in the analyses of environmental factors.

The World Fellowship movement, the discussion of which constituted a major part of Chapter 3, included characteristics of a pre-emptive move (in Bachrach/Baratz' terms, a "nondecision") by church leaders in North America facing overt expressions of nationalism in the churches overseas. The subsequent decline of interest in the World Fellowship, after the passing of the immediate crisis, lends some support to this conclusion.

Significant changes in philosophy and in the policies of the General Missionary Board in its dealing

with the overseas churches coincide with the change of missionary secretaries. It appears, however, that the modifications were not entirely due to the change-over of personnel but that, along with the idiosyncratic differences in the philosophies and administrative styles of the respective secretaries, two other events were influential. These were the reduction of scope imposed on GMB by the new structure resulting from the World Fellowship movement and the conservative change of mood in American society which was reflected in the supporting constituency of the church as it became more preoccupied with problems at home.

The values deduced as a result of the analysis in Chapter 3 are very carefully stated in an attempt to define as accurately as possible the basic value system of the denomination as that value system relates to the international character of the Free Methodist Church. The strong doctrinal and traditional attachments are noted. These include a dual emphasis on Christian discipleship and social service. The historic involvement in a mission program which is quite large in respect to the denomination's size testifies to the desire to propagate the confessional value system. There is willingness to allow for cultural modifications of form or expression of doctrinal or ecclesiastical emphases but they are assumed to be essentially identifiable in their

varying cultural environments. Organizationally the

Free Methodist Church has shown itself to be quite

flexible (e.g. the World Fellowship modifications) and

quite attached to orderliness in change (e.g. the

insistence on conferral of authority). The willingness

to accept as valid churches in diverse cultures binds

the denomination to an obligation to listen and respond

to them and requires that Christians of other cultures

be received as brothers. This position is related to

the nonsectarian outlook of the church with respect to

other ecclesiastical bodies by which it declares itself,

along with others holding the fundamentals of the

Christian faith, to be part of the larger community

of Christians: the Christian Church. There is, however,

a marked fear of big or super-church authority.

Against this background the individual cases are presented. Some variables in each case will relate to the shared value system.

The Burundi Case

The Burundi case illustrates a conflict situation involving a traditional, mono-linguistic and culturally homogeneous society. This assessment led to an investigation of underlying themes and role patterns which are postulated as having some influence on the conflict encounter. Combined with the traditional values involved

were the complex of national independence events and moods. From the shared macro value system (the church system) the Burundi leaders drew their appeal to brotherhood and sharing equally in the ministry (and resources) of the church at large. On the mission side there were contingencies of missionary morale and the attachment to a formal western-type contract arrangement. shared value system provided an appeal to authority (the Book of Discipline) and established policy. The applicability of the Bachrach/Baratz Political System model to this case reveals the nature of the interaction and the kind of resolution which was reached. The postconflict persistence of the issues suggests two not mutually exclusive possibilities; (1) that the bargaining was sufficiently successful to secure compliance but was nevertheless short of an amicable solution or (2) that residual core values were sufficiently involved on the Burundi side so as to limit the appropriateness of the bargaining approach. These observations apply the general principle that, where core values of a society are involved, the bargaining approach is limited in its efficacy. The principle is further elaborated below in references to the India case and in the generalizations over the whole study, numbers two and three.

The Brazil Case

The Brazil case is marked by the fact that it presents two related conflict episodes taking place in a culturally pluralistic environment. The two interactions test the skill of the researcher and the adequacy of the case study method in trying to capture adequately the processes involved in the interactions. The ways in which the actions of the various parties involved change the reaction fields of the others require careful study and analysis. The variables in the two episodes are charted onto the Pondy model (p. 42) which provides a good framework for comparison. Key elements in the constitution issue were the input from the World Fellowship movement, both in the generation of the issue and in the resultant confusion among the missionaries over policy, and the fact that the conflict issue was a direct result of policy charges at GMB headquarters. The cultural interplay in the personnel episode is interesting in that, first, a North American agency is sponsoring the candidacy of a Brazilian citizen for a position in his homeland and, then, at the end, North American mediation is rejected and the subject is instructed to deal directly with his culture peers. The implied cultural rebuff gives significant indications of the persistence of culture distinctions in spite of the church's stated ambitions to transcent such barriers.

The India Case

The India case concerning the design of a selfsupport plan for the church in India represents a special kind of conflict, i.e. a conflict encounter involving mainly a value dimension as distinct from "interest" conflict. GMB felt that the plan as conceived was too commercially oriented and therefore violated New Testament principles of church support based on spiritual renewal and sacrificial giving. The India church leaders, on the other hand, exhibited a strong commitment to their plan generated out of long hours of consultation and prayer and ratified by unanimous vote of the conference. The resolution of the problem illustrated two principles from conflict and value theory: (1) a true value dissension may not be resolved by bargaining; (2) in a church framework irrevocable commitment is virtually assured of victory.

Generalizations Over the Whole Study

The following points summarize the conclusions reached as a result of the study:

1. For organizations whose sub-units relate to a shared value system a dynamic assessment of modifications in that value system for the period under investigation is essential to an understanding of individual interactions between organizational units.

This conclusion is sustained by the observation that in the Burundi case and in the constitution episode of the Brazil case the situations were to some extent provoked by changes in the rank ordering of values in the North American church so that while the two overseas churches were operating on the basis of World Fellowship ideology the church leaders in North America were reflecting a conservative turn to a "partnership" arrangement as distinct from "fusion" or "integration."

2. The definition of a set of core values which remain relatively constant in the shared value system assists in determining the parameters of non-negotiable issues, i.e. issues concerning values which make normative statements about preferences for means or ends. Such normative statements are often found in popular aphorisms such as, "My rights are not for sale" or "You cannot bargain with the truth." In traditional societies they are contained in rituals and proverbs; in religious life, they are written into articles of faith and confessional standards.

This principle is best illustrated in the India case where the parties issued indictments each against the other on virtually pure value dimensions. The Missionary Secretary said, in effect, "You are commercializing church support which is a violation of

New Testament principles." The India church replied,
"You refuse to recognize our mandate from God to pursue
this plan." As the case shows both positions were nonnegotiable and the efforts to introduce new information
from the respective sides failed. The conflict was
terminated by the exercise of irrevocable commitment by
the India church. In the second episode of the Brazil
case, the reservations over the subject's orthodoxy
could not be negotiated; those fears were only allayed
by his presence and personal confession of faith (i.e.
by the introduction of credible new information which
modified the conflict field).

3. Identification of sources of conflict is essential in determining appropriate resolution procedures. Of particular benefit is the distinction between conflict of interest arising from a situation of scarcity (whether of autonomy or resources) and conflicts of values involving normative statements. Conflicts of interest imply the use of a bargaining model. Conflicts of values may be treated, where there is a shared value system, by reference to more ultimate common values and by sharing perspective on means or intermediate ends values. For churches and missions, especially those within one organizational framework, general congruency of ultimate values may be assumed (since they are voluntary associations). For this

reason all conflicts may be considered as limited to subordinate levels, i.e. to means or intermediate ends values. From the church's point of view, therefore, while conflicts may be encouraged or modified by extraneous forces (e.g. nationalism, historical events, cultural inputs) they are essentially generated and shaped by the shared value "church" system. This conclusion is derived from the fact that the conflict takes place in the church's field of action.

In the strongly contested Burundi case the end values of establishing a strong national church and even the intermediate value of having missionaries there to help in developing the church were never disputed. The heat generated came over the kinds of relationships and distribution of resources which would best accomplish the goal. In the Brazil constitution encounter the issue was over instrumental values: Who could best administer and coordinate the seminary program? In the personnel problem in Brazil: Who was the best judge of a man's fitness? In the India case: Which self-support schedule would bring more progress and less disruption to the church? All of these examples deal with means or intermediate ends values.

4. Stating that the essential generation of conflict issues between sub-units of a religious organization must be located in the shared value system

does not at all discount the importance of extraneous factors in their bearing on the latent conflict stage and throughout the interaction. Investigation of crosscultural conflict requires a process analysis of environmental factors.

The Brazil case illustrates this principle most forcefully because of the involvement not only of a cross-cultural interaction (North American/Latino) but of a pluralistic cultural situation in Brazil. Given these diverse parties interacting in a (1) period of intense political activity in Brazil and (2) in a time of major structural modification in the denomination worldwide, it is easy to see the importance of a careful charting of the confluence of events in time and the changes in the field of conflict brought about by the actions of the interacting parties.

5. Organizational changes in structure may entail fundamental changes in policy in an organizational sub-unit such as a mission board.

The development of the World Fellowship with the related changes in the structure of the general church greatly restricted the scope of the mission board.

Where before it had been charged with the whole task of developing the churches overseas it was now relieved of much of this aspect of its activities as supervision was turned to the bishops and the planning for general

development was given to the World Fellowship organization. These events shifted the mission board toward
a much narrower concentration, turning it into an organization concerned mainly with missionaries—their recruitment, administration and maintenance. The new orientation
shows up most clearly in the concern over missionary
morale in both the Burundi and Brazil constitution cases.
At the same time, however, the mission board retained
almost complete effective control over constitutions of
the overseas churches. This situation makes the next
point particularly significant.

6. In the cases presented in this study there was evidence of an "image-lag" whereby the overseas conferences (and to a certain extent the missionaries) were not aware of the changes in policy and philosophy in the GMB. This was shown in the constitutional interactions mentioned above where the overseas nationals and missionaries were operating on World Fellowship ideology while the philosophy at mission headquarters was undergoing some fundamental revisions. The consideration of the time it takes for basic changes at the top to be communicated throughout the organization needs to be made an early and automatic verification in conflict analysis, a check to see if this is a source or contributing variable to the conflict.

7. A companion finding to the problem of "imagelag" is the importance of "image change" particularly as it relates to the occupants of the higher executive The analyses of both structure and processes of roles. the Free Methodist Church in North America and its Commission on Missions confirm that the occupant of the office of Missionary Secretary has wide latitude in determining both the philosophy of operations and policy with respect to the overseas churches. observation holds true in spite of the changes in role dictated by the creation of the World Fellowship and the delegation of overseas ecclesiastical supervision to the bishops. The Missionary Secretary's control of mission finance and missionary personnel and his substantial authority over the overseas constitutions make him a very influential figure.

The Missionary Secretary's influence was shown clearly in the Burundi case and was, in fact, explained formally to the Africans with respect to approval of their constitution. The basic changes in operational philosophy and policy which accompanied the change in secretaries in 1964 demonstrate the role possibilities in instituting substantial change. The conclusion is that the office of Missionary Secretary is so defined as to make it more person-determined than role-determined.

8. The Free Methodist Church considers itself to be in the New Testament tradition, standing as a critic of society in a prophetic role. The analyses of the sources and processes of conflict in this study appear to indicate the contrary—that religious organizations or religious groups are highly vulnerable to their respective social matrices. This observation is confirmed in all of the cases by the substantial environmental inputs and in Chapter 3 by the Free Methodist Church's close reflection of societal trends in North America during the conservative change of mood in 1964.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section contains two parts; a discussion of the relative applicability of the models used and some recommendations which seem to be indicated by the study. Theoretical and methodological suggestions will be included in the last division of the chapter under "Suggestions for Further Study."

Utility of the Models Used

The research model developed to give general shape to the study (p. 13) served to illustrate the orientation of sub-units of a religious organization to a shared value system. The model also emphasized that the sub-units, while they are formally and dynamically related to a shared system of values, are also

operating in an open system which exposes them to disparate inputs from their respective environments. What was not adequately shown in the model is that the shared value system as well is subject to modification either from intra-systemic activity or as a result of forces from the nonchurch environment.

The Pondy model, referred to frequently throughout the study, served as a general structure for the presentation of the case material. Particularly where there are a large number of variables, the exercise of charting onto the model helps in defining relationships and in classifying the variables with regard to their place in the conflict life cycle. The model proved itself to be practicable and flexible although, as Pondy has stated, the categories may not always be discrete. In practice, therefore, events in the conflict cycle frequently fall on the lines between the stages; this occurs when an event or situation contains a mixture of elements some of which belong more appropriately to a subordinate stage and others which belong more properly to the next higher stage.

The Bachrach/Baratz political system model and the discussion of power-authority-influence systems related to it were very helpful in defining organizational values and in identifying important issues. The model per_se applies most appropriately to extended political

processes where conflict is involved. In this study it was especially useful in understanding the Burundi case. The ultimate usefulness of the Bachrach/Baratz model for Christian organizations may be called in question simply because it is a "power" model which sets out to explain conflict situations in a political system as a reallocation of values (where values are defined not as a set of preferences which quide behavior but as things sought or preferred). The Bachrach/Baratz model is a bargaining model which attempts to account for powerauthority-influence inputs which determine a new allocation of desirables as a result of an interaction between parties seeking respectively either maintenance of a favorable status quo or favorable change. In contrast to the underlying assumptions of this model the New Testament, while allowing for conflict, counsels seeking for reconciliation on the basis of good will not power. The common element was early confrontation. This principle is seen in the cases treated in this study through the frequent use of face-to-face encounters -- in the World Fellowship consultations, in Burundi, in Brazil and, even after the conflict, in India. It would appear that the extent of applicability of the Bachrach/Baratz model could be a measurement of the failure of preferred methods of conflict resolution according to the New Testament example.

Implications

It is probable that the core values of a religious organization are relatively stable over time. The frequent appeals to history and tradition cited over the World Fellowship years in the early 1960s seem to indicate that this is true of the Free Methodist Church. Chapter 3 which dealt with the problem of identifying a fundamental set of values which had special relevance for cross-cultural church relations, also surveyed a dynamic period where processes of modification abroad in the organization were making substantial structural alterations. The changes in structure were not, however, viewed as representing rejection of certain values and adoption of new ones (which is a possible hypothesis) but rather as a re-ordering of values within the system in terms of rank of importance. The choice of the latter viewpoint rests on the observation that the earlier actions were not repudiated (i.e. the World Fellowship continues to function, the mission program is maintained, etc.) but that other emphases rose to more prominent places of attention (e.g. development of the "home These changes in selection of relevant elements base"). from the shared value system were not made universally throughout the system but only by the North American The fact that the North American church has church. been historically the mother church and the major source

of financial power for the world-wide system meant that this re-orientation in values-ordering contributed to policy modifications which in turn produced disequilibriums in remote extremities of the system. Notable examples have been cited in the Burundi and Brazil constitutional issues. The importance of these observations would seem to be that in a cross-cultural organization major reorderings of values by any important segment should be communicated over the entire system so that appropriate adjustments could be made and a new equilibrium reached. The alternative is to have conflict situations which arise wholly or partly from informational deficiencies. Where the communication problem is not, or cannot be, dealt with adequately the sources of conflict should be examined to see if they arise from communication problems. In such cases the resolution will involve the presentation of the lacking information.

A second implication of this study for crosscultural organizations calls for the careful identification of sources of conflict. The cases presented show
a major preoccupation on the part of the participants
with issues and procedures. The major weakness of
the "symptomatic" approach is that it does not always
indicate the appropriate kind of method or procedure
to apply in the attempts to resolve the conflict. The
India case shows that bargaining over values is useless.

A superficial analysis could have concluded that the issue was simply one of dispute over authority/autonomy or perhaps an "interest" conflict over allocation of resources. In fact, all of these elements appear to have been present to some degree but the central problem was revealed as a difference of perceptions leading to the respective applications of separate non-negotiable values by the parties involved. Two other possible sources of conflict to which international organizations are particularly susceptible are "image-lag" and occupant change in high executive positions. The importance of extraneous factors as contributing to latent conflict is discussed in the next section below.

from this study emphasizes the importance of the influences exercised by extraneous variables from the historical, cultural, social environment, i.e. from the total environmental matrix of a situation. In common with much of management theory, strategists in missions have assumed that the environment of cross-cultural interactions is co-terminal with the "church" environment (see Fig. 5, p. 63) and that it is relatively static. Such an approach repeats the error frequently encountered in international management studies where the environment is assumed away or held as a constant. This study has confirmed the importance of consideration

of external factors in understanding cross-cultural interactions. The changes discussed in Chapter 3 owed much to nationalism which gave impetus and urgency to the World Fellowship movement. In each of the cases external forces contributed to the generation of issues and the process of interaction.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A study of this kind which ranges across many related fields of investigation cannot fail to leave a sense of frustration at promising avenues left unexplored along the way. Some of these will be indicated in this section along with some observations on methodology which might be helpful to other researchers working with similar problems. The comments on methodology are given first, followed by some suggestions for further investigation.

Methodology

The backward look over this study leaves this researcher firmly convinced of the value of the case study method for handling the complexities of cross-cultural material. The construction of a model sufficiently sophisticated to integrate such a diversity of variables along with time factors and changes of conflict field into a meaningful representation of a process remains as mindboggling at the end of the study

as it appeared at the outset. If anything, the experiences of the study make the formulation of such a model seem more formidable. Perhaps in the near or distant future some Einstein of the social sciences will appear but, until then, the case study seems to be the most useful instrument at hand. The correlation of different kinds of data which it affords does lead to what appear to be valid insights, hypothesis building and new areas of investigation.

In a study organized on the general plan of this investigation methodological problems begin in the selection of cases. One difficulty with the case study method is that it requires a considerable investment of time and work before the germaneness of specific cases to the overall design can be determined. It is possible to expend a lot of time and effort in fruitless explorations. Preferably cases could be selected according to some taxonomy of types, for example as to source of conflict or as to issues on a "means," "intermediate ends," "ultimate ends" scale. The problem is that a nearly complete analysis of the case is necessary before these identifications can be made. A similar situation exists in regard to hypothesis formation because hypotheses are formed, rejected or confirmed along the path of the investigation. The net result of these characteristics seemingly endemic to the case study method is

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that, in order to have a neat and consistent research result it would be necessary to undergo the pain of allowing much of the work to remain invisible and the paper would need to be written from back to front working toward a fine list of hypotheses and a symmetrical problem statement in the introductory chapter. These aspects of the case study method which are sometimes so frustrating to the researcher also contain substantial advantages toward eventual theory building in that the method works upward from empirical investigation rather than downward from re-combined pieces of management theory.

Suggestions for Further Investigation

to the present study but represent aspects which, for practical reasons, had to be ruled out as beyond the scope of this study. Had it been possible to follow them up it is almost certain the value of the study would have been enhanced and it is possible that some conclusions would have been modified. Six promising areas are mentioned here with a brief explanation of each.

l. <u>Culture identification</u>. This suggestion is based on the distinction between traditional and complex societies as described by Useem, Useem and Donoghue

(Chapter 1, footnote 14). If a taxonomy of cultural characteristics could be constructed so as to facilitate classification of any given culture in terms of a continuum between these polar extremes it would then be possible to hypothesize as to the behavior of that culture in cross-cultural conflict interactions and to proceed to hypothesis testing by means of case studies. A corollary of this proposal could involve investigation of the personal value systems of third culture people who, as elites, are often involved in the cross-cultural conflict situations. Is there an identifiable set of shared third culture values? To what extent do people moving into the third culture environment permanently modify their values? Under pressure situations do they revert to a more basic value structure?

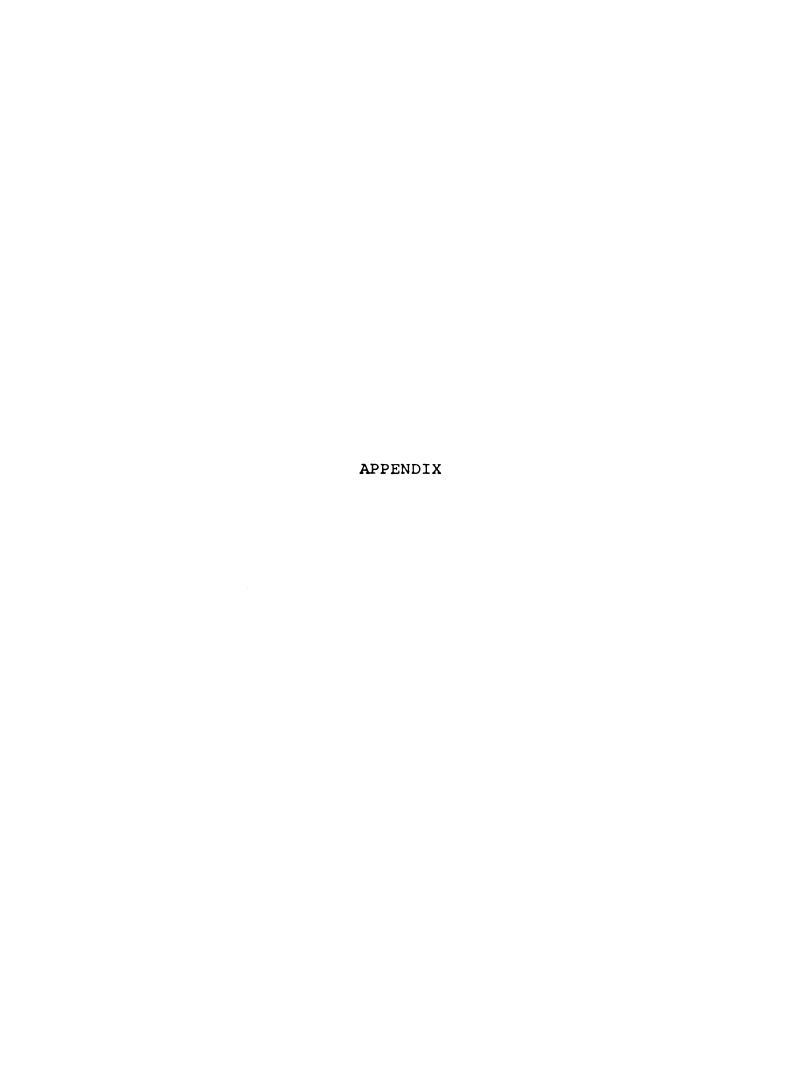
2. <u>Deficiency motivated cultures</u>. At the outset it was hoped that this study would provide more information in the area of economic differentials between interacting cultures and the resultant effect on values selection. These elements appeared in the Burundi case and in the Brazil case but were not sufficiently elaborated to warrant a major place in the conclusion. In view of the increasing assertiveness on the part of the world's poor nations this area of potential and/or latent conflict deserves attention.

- 3. Classes of participants in conflict situations. In future studies on the same general pattern as this one it would be useful to analyze the perspectives of respondents or informants according to class, i.e. by educational level, age, experience or perhaps by some composite measure of "third cultureness."
- 4. Managerial style of principal executives.

 A study using some of the current instruments for analysis of managerial style would provide an interesting comparison against the executive's performance in cross-cultural conflict situations.
- 5. Values determination of the organization.

 Values deductions such as those made in Chapter 3 could be strengthened by the use of survey methods of selected sub-sets of the church population. The results of such an investigation could then be compared with executives' and overseas leaders' perceptions of these values.
- 6. Model building. At the conclusion of the Burundi case (p. 203) a reference was made to the possibility of combining the Pondy and Bachrach/Baratz models into one model whereby the Pondy sequence of conflict stages would lead to the "group seeking reallocation of values" point on the Bachrach/Baratz model. Such a model could refine the "sources of conflict" area and incorporate the insights of these two models

into an integrated framework. The resultant model could be tested on published cases or applied to the researching of new cases.



APPENDIX

Free Methodist World Fellowship

By Dr. V. James Mannoia

In January, 1962, the Free Methodist World Fellowship was organized on the campus of Greenville College, with thirteen nations representing world Free Methodism. Officers elected were Bishop L. R. Marston, president; Bishop Kaneo Oda, vice-president; Hugh A. White, secretary-treasurer.

The purpose of this organization is to coordinate the worldwide activities of the denomination. It seeks to promote close fellowship and mutual understanding among all the branches of Free Methodism. It functions as the agent for joint planning and cooperative action and promotes studies that are helpful to the member conferences.

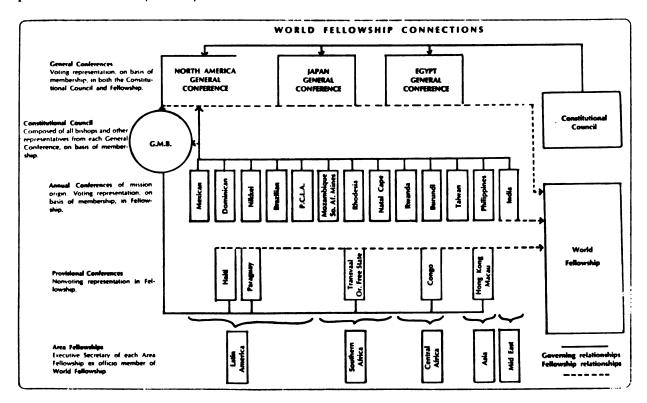
World Fellowship is a connectional structure comprised of general conferences and overseas annual and provisional conferences (see chart). At the time of each

North American General Conference the World Fellowship body also meets, represented by the World Fellowship board and officially elected delegates from the conferences.

During the quinquennium area fellowships are held for the purpose of relating overseas conferences to each other in fellowship and mutual understanding. The outreach of each conference, its training programs, and its general development toward self-sufficiency is studied and encouraged.

Each area has an executive secretary: Asia, Dr. Elmer Parsons; Africa, Dr. Victor Macy; Latin America, Dr. V. James Mannoia.

Dr. Mannoia is also executive secretary of World Fellowship, which has its headquarters at Winona Indiana.



MARCH-APRIL 1972

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