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**The Success Story of
Pentecostal Business People in
West Papua / Indonesia.**

An Empirical Research



**Transformative Entwicklungszusammenarbeit
Working Paper 11**

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Publication Notes

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Introduction

This research is the result of my passion to examine the relationship between religion and economic development, which has existed for years.

Modern economic theories and the history of economics rarely ever mention that religion has an impact on economic development. Through my studies of church history I became aware that this blind spot is caused by secularism, which assumes that God has been created by humankind and religion will soon disappear. Meanwhile, I met quite a lot of development workers, missionaries and scholars who share my thoughts. But because of the lack of empirical data usually only conjectures about the religious influence on development have been made.

During my time as head of the research department and department for social services of the STIE Ottow and Geissler Business-College I became aware of the fact that Pentecostal business people in West Papua are noticeably successful. The results of this report show in a clearer way than I assumed that the worldview sharpened by religion has a strong impact on economic behavior and development.

The interest in sociological issues of Pentecostalism is fairly recent (Shepperd 1996:794). For a broader spectrum of scholars it presumably did not become obvious before Martins “Tongues of Fire. The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America” in 1990 that there is a partial consonance between certain Protestant values and the observable economic success of the Pentecostals in Latin America.¹ Pentecostal churches “are experiencing some social uplift of adherents because of the lifestyle mandatory within these churches” (Bundy 1999:322). Whereas the scope of literature concerning Latin America is continuously growing, almost no empirical research has been done in the African (Bergmann 1992:116-120) and Asian context (Satyavrata 1999:203). This article focuses on West Papua², the eastern most province of Indonesia and investigates whether these findings are consistent with the broader body of already existing literature.

¹ The discourse about the relationship between religion and economy is of course far older. Max Weber’s famous sociological inquiry *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* in 1905 released an intensive discussion taking up bookshelves. However, there seems to be no convergence of the different points of view whether there is a relation and if yes, what kind of links exist between religion and development. That may have its roots in the fact, that very little quantitative statistical research is carried out, which could help to objectify the discourse. A summary of empirical results is given by Bergmann (1992:45-49) and Heath, Waters and Watson (1995:129-135).

² In January 2000 the name Irian Jaya was changed to become Papua Barat and later West Papua.





To get a comprehensive picture about the relationship between Christian faith, worldview and economic success an empirical quantitative approach was chosen. This investigation is based on a survey (carried out in 1998/1999), in which 159 small business people have been interviewed in three urban regions of West Papua. They were chosen by random sample and stand for three Christian movements, which are the Catholic, Pentecostal and Mainline Protestant churches. The latter are represented by Christian business people of the GKI (Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya), which to the present time is the biggest Protestant church in West Papua. In order to be capable of making conclusions about the business success factors, non-religious factors such as ethnicity, profit and education are comparable in all three groups.

2 Christianity in West Papua: A Short History

The island of New Guinea has been known of and mentioned from ancient times. However, for most of the period that the political entities to its west were developing expansionist cultures and political groupings, New Guinea remained largely untouched (Neilson 2000:10). This changed during the time of colonialist expansion and in 1824 the British acknowledged Dutch claims to the western half of the island. Their formal control was definitively proclaimed in 1848 and in the following time government interest increased.

Seven years later in 1855 two German missionaries sent by a Dutch mission established the first mission station on Mansinam island, near present day Manokwari. This encouraged other missions to become interested in working in New Guinea. However during the initial phase it was a self-sacrificing ministry. By 1890 there had only been twenty persons been baptized of whom only fourteen still were alive in that year. Seventeen missionaries or mission family members had died during the same period (Neilson 2000:52). And 17 years later there were only 300 Protestants in six congregations. The Catholics built up their first mission base in New Guinea in 1894, when a Dutch Jesuit settled near Fak Fak and by 1902 they had 250 adherents.

This disappointing reality, however, began to change in 1907. During the last two decades messianic movements arose. In this situation, a redeemed but unbaptized slave living on the island of Roon, was critically injured in an accident. Three days before this accident, he had a vision by which became clear, that this new Christian religion was the appropriate religion for his territory.³

³ Visions or myths, which were fulfilled by the arrival of missionaries, sometimes occurred in West Papua and opened the door for the gospel in these tribes.





After his death the vision triggered off an increasing interest in Christian faith in Roon, its surrounding area and even the coastal areas. By 1920, most of the coastal areas and islands had been contacted and the beginnings of a church organization had been established by the Protestants in the north, and by the Catholics in the south. Schools became an important part of the mission work. There were reported to be 25,000 baptized members in 1931, and by 1940 this number had risen up to 80,000 (Neilson 2000:71). During this time the Catholic mission also started growing and began to expand into former Protestant areas. Also later in the mid thirties the first wave of evangelical missions opened their base.

The Japanese occupation in 1942 was only for a short period of 4 years, afterwards the political control was taken over by the Dutch again. Although in December 1949 Indonesia was released to political freedom, the Dutch determined to maintain Dutch New Guinea as a separate colony with the promise that its integration would be discussed “at a later date”. The following negotiations with the Dutch to hand over the territory passed without a solution. In this situation the United Nations took the initiative and influenced the Dutch into handing over the territory to a special ‘United Nations Temporary Executive Authority’ (UNTEA) rather than pursuing their idea of granting independence to the people of New Guinea. In 1963 Dutch New Guinea became the 26 th Province of Indonesia, which was confirmed through an ‘Act of Free Choice’ in 1969 despite widespread reports of irregularities in the voting procedures.

Despite the temporary setback under the Japanese occupation, the mission activities in the 1950s and 60s were intensified and additional efforts were made by all denominations to evangelize the highland. Mass conversions combined with burning of the sacred objects occurred. New mission societies were permitted to enter New Guinea and usually they started in areas where existing missions were weak or unrepresented. Especially many different Evangelical missions and the Pentecostals started evangelizing during this time.

A short time before the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church had to leave New Guinea because of political problems, the German United Evangelical Mission took over their activities. In 1956 their congregations formed the first independent church, the Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya. By 1962 the Catholic Church was represented in most of the towns, and was ready for the changes that integration with Indonesia was to bring. The Pentecostal Churches were especially growing by the influence of immigrants from other Indonesian islands after the integration. Their belief and evangelistic crusades popularized Charismatic and Pentecostal faith all over West Papua. Usually these churches began in cities and spread later to the rural areas.

Much of the early socioeconomic development was church-sponsored. Starting from the early beginning, mission work was always done in a holistic way. Schools, medical work,





agricultural projects, transport and even trade was an integral part of the Evangelical, Reformed and Catholic mission even though in different intensity. It is no exaggeration to say that the churches up to the 1970s were the main source of socioeconomic development which helped the people to cope and adopt with the changes that every culture has to face.

The political integration of Dutch New Guinea into the larger republic under the conditions of Soehartos dictatorship actually meant the forced cultural and social assimilation of this province into Indonesia. By this the Papuans, who ethnologically are related to the Melanesian culture, have slowly but surely become a marginalized minority on their own territory. Violations of human rights were normal and occur to the present day. The key-positions in public life largely have been taken over by West-Indonesians with their Asian cultural heritage and religion. Large scale transmigration programs flooded the province with Moslem farmers and day laborers. Official Statistics claim that there are 56.6% Protestants⁴, 23.0 % Catholics, 20.3 % Moslems and 0.3% Hindu/Buddhists (Bappeda 1997:199). But these figures reflect more political fiction than religious reality. More than three fourths of the population in West Papua live in cities and it is estimated that, for example, in the city of Jayapura/Abepura over 60% (Kreuw 1999) and in the administrative district of Sorong over 50% (Neilson 2000:375) of the population are Moslems. The churches found themselves in a quite difficult situation. Although the Protestant Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya occasionally raised concerns, the Catholic church was the most outspoken advocate for human rights and social problems. The Evangelical and Pentecostal churches were silent and had no intention of getting involved in social activities which were not explicitly related to evangelism.

3 Religion, Worldview and Economic Behavior: A Theoretical Framework

3.1 Interdependence of Culture and Economics

In each culture people are forced to use the resources and goods that are considered scarce in the best way possible according to their worldview. The economic activities of individuals therefore have the goal of making decisions based on certain criteria and to use their economic activities in such a way that the privation and shortage of goods will be reduced in the best way possible. But these activities of the individual do not happen in a sphere of unrelatedness or a social vacuum, because they are always integrated into a system of social relationships.

⁴ The Pentecostals are a tiny minority, just 3-6 % of the Protestants.





A central characteristic of social behavior is its relatedness to other people. In this sense also the economic processes consist of uncountable actions and reactions of the participants in the market. The price- ratios and quantity-ratios which are so important in economics not only stand for interconnections of technical terms, but for the intentions or results of social interactions as well. For this reason the price is not primarily a reflection of a mere objective-technical shortage, but the result of the socio-cultural interpretation of this shortage. Economic development can be defined as comparing two conditions of shortage in a period of time in monetary terms and realizing a reduction of shortage.

Economic development generally can be achieved in two ways⁵: 1. By innovative activities, which means creating and applying new knowledge and 2. By higher performance, which means a higher level of economic performance at a given time of work or through a longer time of work.

Each culture develops preferences based on it's worldview, whether and how the factors of production such as work, land, and - as far as available - capital are being combined within the framework of economic activities (allocation of resources) and how the achieved results are to be distributed and by which criteria this distribution is carried out. Concerning the modes of distribution one should not primarily think in terms of modern marketing, but more about the question of who the persons are that have the moral right to make requests to the producers and how these requests influence the process of production.

3.2 Culture, Religion, Worldview and Economic Behavior

People that build a society in a particular territory are representatives of a culture. Culture is an integrated system of learned patterns of behavior, ideas and products characteristic of a society (Hiebert 1997:25). In this sense culture evolves organized procedures to fulfill certain functions in society. These structured cultural traits can be labeled as institutions. They guarantee that the rich fund of values, norms, sanctions and knowledge in the society is preserved or even changed and passed over from one generation to the next.

For the sake of analytical lucidity two kinds of institutions are differentiated in figure 1 (Kusch 1993:27): On the one hand are those which explicitly take over the metaphysical interpretation of life and reality. Here we could name institutions with religious or ideological intentions and functions. On the other hand there are institutions which focus more on guaranteeing the socio-biological survival in the widest sense, notably diverse economic, political and social institutions. Of course there can not always be a clear distinction made between the religious interpretation of reality and social or material well-being. Often political and social institutions use religious or secular concepts of interpretation in order to legitimate

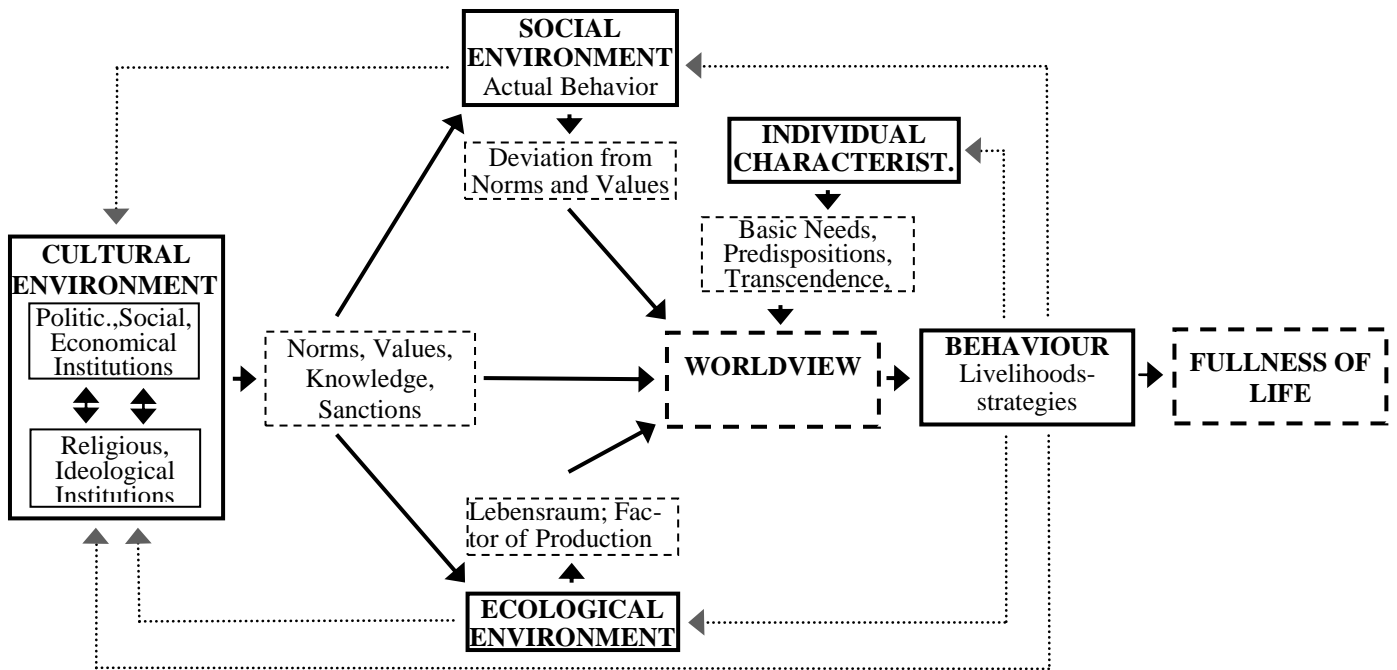
⁵ Under the condition of stationary balance and absolute competition





their own power. Moreover, the most religions do not simply give a concept for individual life and personal matters; they also bear in different ways implications about how social, political and economic life should be. Shepperd (1996:799) states that up to now there is no adequate theory to explain the interaction which takes place between religion and society. Fred Hirsch (1995) confirms this opinion for the economic institutions. Consequently the economists excluded religion out of the economic sphere and by this covered up the role that religion plays and always has played in economics and economic development.

Figure 1: Religion, Culture, Worldview and Economic Behavior



Both kinds of institutions, the political, social and economic ones as well as the religious ones have an influence on the worldview of the individual by passing on values and information. A worldview can be defined as the culturally structured assumptions, values and commitments/allegiances underlying a people’s perception of reality and their response to those perceptions (Kraft 1989:20). Concerning economic behavior, worldview is the basis on which the business people make decisions about whether, why, when and in which way to act or not to act.

Furthermore, worldviews are influenced by whether and how a society sanctions individual divergences from the ideal moral standard, either in a positive or negative way. For the individual it is not only important to know which moral expectations exist, but also whether there will be consequences if one does not meet them. There might be the religious value that a business people should not cheat. But if he or she realizes that another transactor successfully offends against this value, he or she might be tempted to take advantage of this





divergence of the standard as well because there is no effective sanction. The tax evasion that is growing in some countries is just one example of the fact that an individual is tempted to measure his or her moral standards by the conduct of others.

The worldview of an individual is influenced as well by the natural environment. This environment can be understood as “Lebensraum”, as a locality to which the individual feels emotionally connected because it has been experienced as a home and safe place. But a natural environment can also be characterized by quantitative terms such as temperature, rainfall, condition of the soil and mineral resources. In dependence upon the available knowledge and the worldview, these attributes can become the objects of human manipulation in the process of economic activities: the natural environment becomes an economic factor of production. The degree to which it will become a monetarily judgeable factor depends on the respective culture.

It would be incomplete to suggest that the worldview of the individual is only formed by the cultural, social, natural environment and by personal characteristics such as genetic make-up, age, sex and basic physiological needs. A person is not only shaped by different factors, but it actively shapes its environment itself. Each behavior has its effects, even though they might be marginal. The individual is not only member of a society whose social rules it has internalized and by this contributes to the stability of a culture, but is also capable of changing his or her behavior if it seems necessary.

3.3 Worldview Change and Economic Development

The worldview is the basis on which an individual reflects and evaluates behavioral patterns and anticipates possible future alternatives of behavior. Certain aspects of the future behavior are evaluated to be attractive, others repulsive. The aspects that are valued to be attractive form an encouraging positive force to carry out those specific actions; on the other hand, the feelings and thoughts to avoid or to get round a situation build up negative forces and block specific anticipated behavior patterns. The result of these opposite inner forces determines the behavior that will be carried out (Lewin 1951).

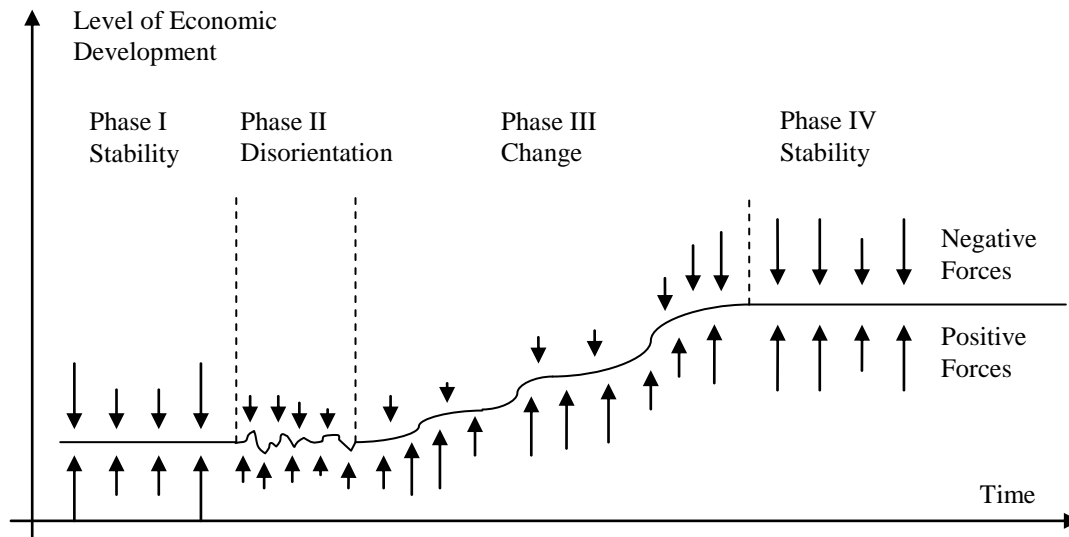
In figure 2 (Kusch 1999) Lewin’s field theory is adopted to the process of economic development. In Phase I there is a balance of those forces that contribute and those that avoid change, so no behavioral changes can take place. But changes in behavior are necessarily required for innovation. That is why in this stage no economic development can be realized.

During phase II an innovation process starts as a social disorientation concerning traditional economic behavior patterns. The inner balance is disturbed by new situations that occur. This may happen through factors that avoid change becoming stronger or weaker or the other way



round, factors contributing to change gaining or losing influence. In this phase the entrepreneur is in a delicate situation. For economic development (Phase III), those factors that contribute to change have to be strengthened and those factors that avoid change must be weakened.

Figure 2: Worldview Change and Economic Development



In the following those factors are addressed that make this change possible, that contribute to the introduction of innovation. An important catalytic factor is the vital necessity to ensure physical survival. The intensity in which the basic needs are experienced is culturally influenced. Each society has its own ideas about what is necessary for survival. Contact with other cultures always creates new, different ideas about what has to be included to these basic needs. If, for example, societies which traditionally did not know formal education are integrated into the global culture, they start experiencing an immense need of finances in order to be able to guarantee the next generation a ground-level formal education. But this contact with global cultures can create motivating factors which start from the sphere of consumption as well. New products and services can build in the individual a motivating force to make greater efforts in order to be able to afford more products and services. Another possibility is the restructuring of personal preferences. Through changes in the worldview that are caused by a process of dawning consciousness, preferences are changed and the forces to act are guided to a new direction. Motivating energies to act from the sphere of production can be released as well. Complex evaluation processes can be triggered in an entrepreneur by seeing or hearing of innovation. He or she balances the advantages and disadvantages this innovation will have, and by this the self-evidence of the standards of the behavior patterns in the present situation is lost. If the transactor feels that this innovation will bring an improvement, he or she will make the necessary steps and the takeover will occur.



Phase IV clarifies that a situation allowing economic development is always endangered by change-avoiding forces. If these forces increase, a person that actually is very open towards innovation will give up carrying them out. A new equilibrium is achieved and further innovation will not be realized.

4 Faith, Worldview and Business Success: Empirical Results

4.1 Faith, Piety and Syncretism

Religiosity in West Papua is the most natural thing in the world. Nobody would ever say that he or she does not have a religion or that he or she is an atheist. Nearly all Christians know very well to which district of their church they belong and in all denominations the involvement in Christian piety has been quite solid up to now. Pentecostals have a strong emphases on praying, Bible-reading and Sunday service attendance. Protestants are far less engaged in individual piety and Catholics bring up the rear (Chart 1 and 2; Kusch 1996:17-21).

Chart 1: Sunday Service Attendance (%)

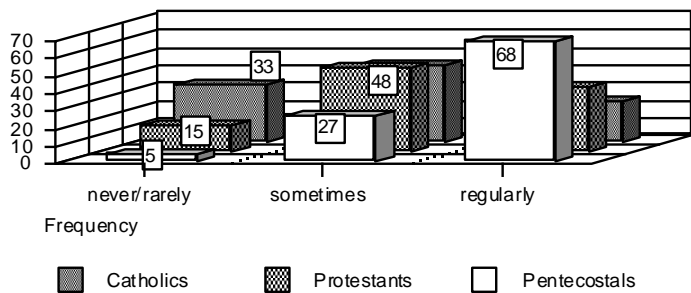
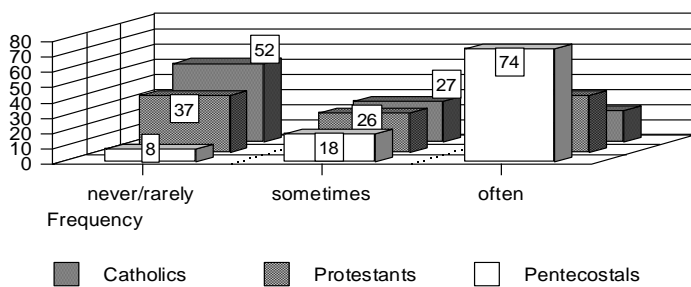
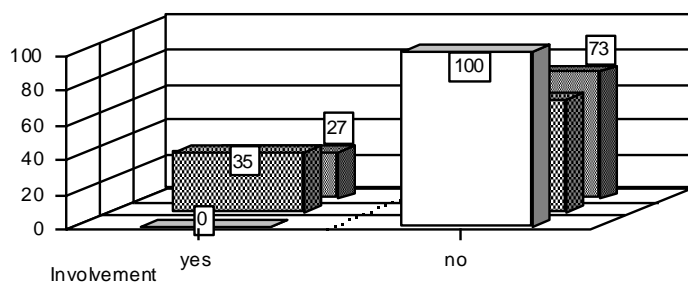


Chart 2: Bible Reading (%)



In all churches exists a firm common sense about doctrinal statements. Only a small minority of the Christians would question the reality of eternal life in heaven or Jesus' birth by the virgin Mary (Kusch 1996:22-25). But widespread agreement to church-doctrines and personal piety often goes along with syncretism (Chart 3). About one third of the Catholics and Protestants openly admit that they use magic power to arrange their daily lives. Ukur and Cooley estimated at the Protestant GKI General Synod meeting that close to 70% of the people were involved in syncretistic activities

Chart 3: Participation in Animistic Practices (%)





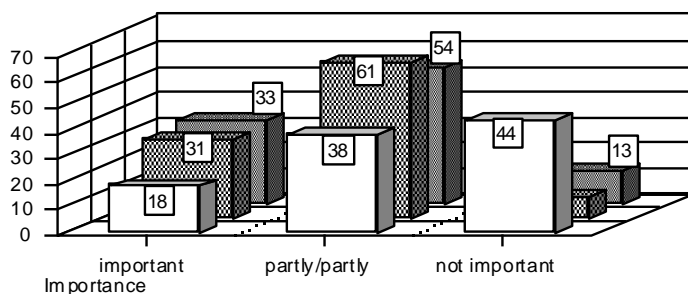
(Neilson 2000:307). Presumably, this figure is nearer to reality than the results of this questionnaire.

It is not uncommon that for an entrepreneur who is a loyal elder in his congregation to possess a secret fetish, which shall guarantee further business-success, or for another elder to bring sacrifices to the grave of his child in order to appease his spirits. But syncretism is never addressed in these churches nor is help offered on how to deal with these problems. However, none of the Pentecostals said that he or she was involved in animistic practices.

4.2 Faith and Adat

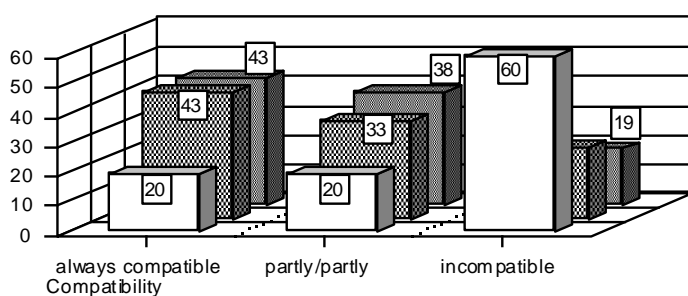
Another challenge for the Christians consists in how to deal with Adat. Adat can be explained as a comprehensive collection of values, norms and sanctions that controls the daily life and the relationship among the people. For example, Adat tells for example who has the authority over whom in the family and how rights and duties have to be shared. Besides this more social-functional aspect, it must be considered that Adat has its roots in the traditional religions. It is important to know that Adat can not be separated from traditional religion in daily life (Haire 1992:179). Adat not only dictates that a woman has to clean the courtyard before sunset, but also implies that by disobeying this norm the spirits will punish her with sickness. Social rules which may be quite helpful to regulate social life nearly always have a religious foundation. Therefore, it is a significant challenge for the Christians to deal with Adat.

Chart 4: Significance of Adat (%)



It is evident that Pentecostals give Adat far less meaning in their daily life than the members of other churches do (Chart 4). This attitude surely has its basis on their strong conviction that Christian faith and Adat are not always and everywhere compatible (Chart 5). They see that in certain spheres of daily life a conflict of allegiance between Christian faith and the religious dimensions of Adat can arise. It is not astonishing that

Chart 5: Compatibility of Faith and Adat (%)





Pentecostals are very much against the statement that obeying Adat will bring blessings (Chart 6). This brings us to the conclusion that even when they obey Adat because of its interhuman significance, they try very strongly to reject for themselves the religious dimension of Adat. Protestants and Catholics esteem Adat far more, and are convinced to a higher degree that Adat and the Christian faith can always be harmonized. They see their obedience to Adat connected with a blessing which may be seen in their large number of children, material secureness, high age and health.

4.3 The Social Integration of the Entrepreneur

Often those Christians who criticize the extensive demands that Adat has on human life are said to destroy the social understanding and the harmony among the people through their skeptical view about tradition. The empirical data lead to quite a different conclusion: It is especially the group of Pentecostal believers that are very interested in good relationships (Chart 7). They name about twice as many groups of persons with whom they want to have good relationships than the others. Furthermore, it is very important for them to honor old people (Chart 8). Their aim to live in healthy relationships with as many people as possible coincides with the wish to avoid quarrels whenever possible (Chart 9). Altogether the other denominations are less interested in social harmony.

Chart 6: Blessing by Obedience to Adat (%)

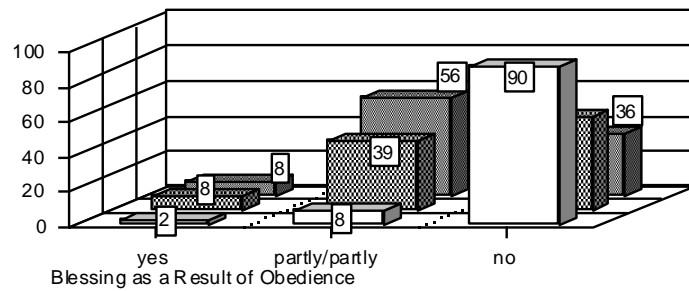


Chart 7: Fostering Good Relations (% multiple responds)

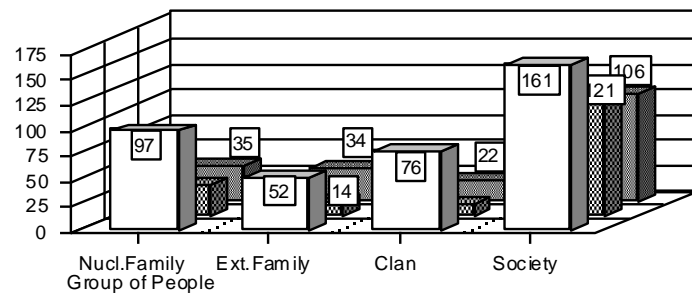


Chart 8: Assessment of Honor Given to Old People (%)

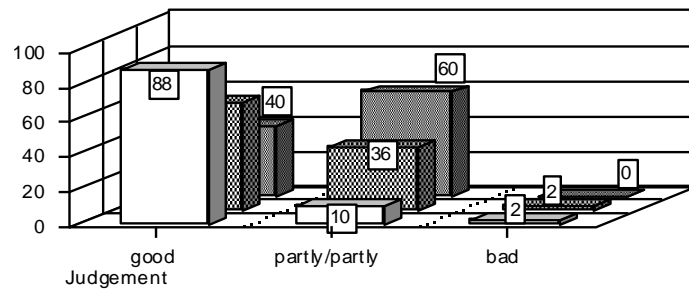
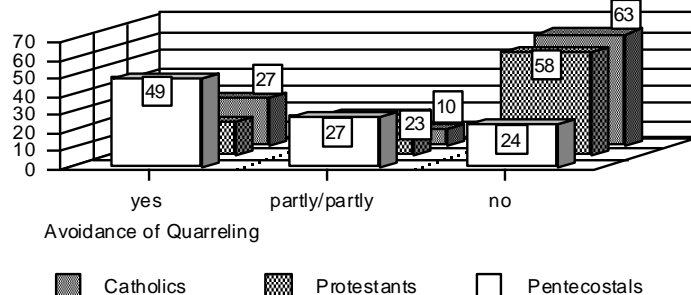


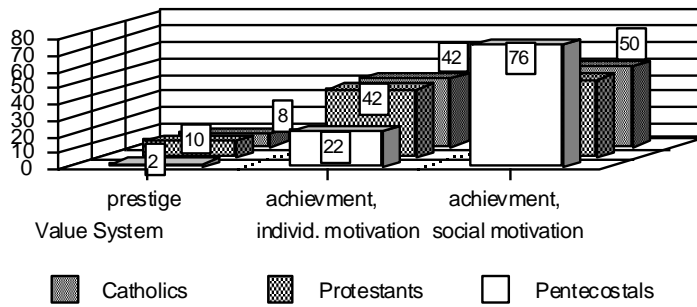
Chart 9: Avoidance of Quarreling and Disputing (%)





The high esteem of human relationships becomes evident by the motives the entrepreneurial activities are based on (Chart 10). Pentecostals are driven by a high “achievement motivation”, which is integrated into social goals. They want to attain something in life because this enables them - among other things - to help others. Achievement is not seen as an end in itself, rather it is a means to realize well-being for the business people’s families and their extended families. Protestants and Catholics show an achievement motivation that much more emphasizes individualistic goals like possessing more money or having higher consumption. A motivation that is based directly on acquiring prestige, honor and reputation is rarely found in any of the denominations - but most rarely among the Pentecostal respondents.

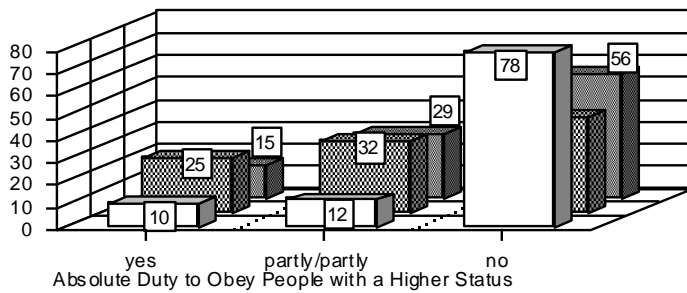
Chart 10: Value System (%)



4.4 Human Power and Innovation

The longing of the Pentecostals to live in good human relations and in harmony has its limits. When questioned whether people have to obey a person with a higher status at all costs they denied the question much more frequently than the other denominations (Chart 11). This reflects that for them human power and authority has its clear limitations. Human beings are no longer granted the right to demand absolute obedience.

Chart 11: Absolute Duty to Obey (%)



This idea is strengthened through a strong emphasis on teaching about a personal relationship with God. The more clearly a positive relationship with God is preached and celebrated in the services, the more human claims to receive absolute obedience become relative. Another interesting point is that Pentecostals are far less afraid of the destructive works of the spirits. As a result, resentful people are no more able to threaten them with the revenge of the spirits, for the spirits’ claim to rule over humankind became relative as well. All authority, may it be human or by evil spirits is now subordinated to the power of God.

This limitation of spiritual and human powers induce freedom for the individual to act creatively. That is why economic innovation is judged by Pentecostal transactors far more positively than in the other groups (Chart 12). Not only do Pentecostals assess innovation in a





more positive way, but they are also more willing to resist the social pressure of the society that wants to prevent any change (Chart 13).

A typical problem with introducing innovation occurs, for example, when a son wants to apply a new and better method of production and the father opposes this new idea. What should the son do? The most popular method is to emigrate. The son separates from his father and tries to build up an own livelihood in another town. Pentecostals favor this behavior pattern very much. A rather large number of their competitors in the control groups see a solution in giving up their own ideas and surrendering to the father's will. Choosing confrontation, which means to introduce the innovation against the will of the father, was named by the same number of people - very few - from all denominations.

Chart 12: Effect of Innovation towards Society (%)

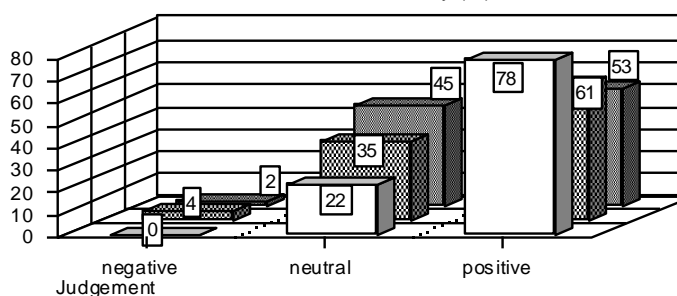
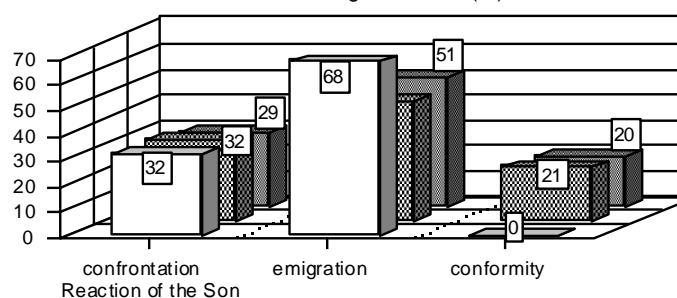


Chart 13: Paternal Ban on Realizing Innovation (%)



It can be concluded that the members of Pentecostal churches more strongly put innovation through against resistance than the others, however not in an aggressive and direct way by confronting the family, but in choosing an indirect approach. This shows that a strong desire to have good family relationships must not be contrary to the strong wish to do innovative work in a social context that often blocks new ways and methods.

4.5 Obligatory Solidarity or Compassion?

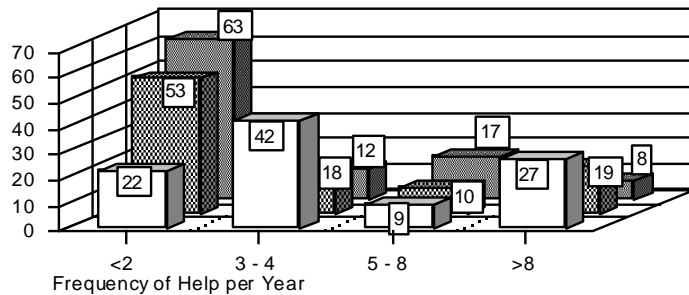
The central question of the cultures in West Papua is how to receive “fullness of life” (Mantovani 1991:68-69). It comprises security, health, wealth, fertility, prestige and good relationships. The striving for and realization of those values is integrated in the community of the nuclear family, extended family and the clan. The community assures the biological survival of the individual and the individual contributes to the biological survival of the others. “To live together” over many generations has been the only safe way to attain biological survival and fullness of life. Sharing the resources is seen as a kind of insurance: My abundance today supports the people that are now needy - tomorrow I will get help from them.





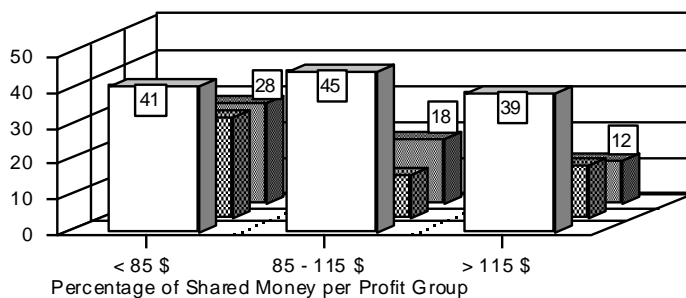
It often occurs in daily life that the needy approaches a richer relative because of a financial plight and asks for money. How do those who are richer react towards those who have less? It is not uncommon that on payday some relatives are already waiting at the home of the earner expecting his or her help. Or relatives happen to know when a debtor has to pay back money to the entrepreneur and take advantage of that information. Whenever cash is in the house it will be very difficult to resist those who are seeking help. The results (Chart 14) show that Pentecostals are more generous than the comparative groups. Catholics are willing to help a relative 3.2 times a year, Protestants 4.3 times and Pentecostals 5.6 times. Comparing the percentage (Chart 15), Pentecostals are willing to share about 40% of the available cash, the members of the other churches 20%. Knowing the fact that a trader has a profit margin of about 30-50% of his or her turnover, one gets an idea of how heavy the burden can be. In this situation Pentecostal transactors need deep compassion. Without such a strong conviction, this high financial obligations can lead to a lack of motivation to work. People are in danger to reduce the work load in order to avoid sharing what they have earned (Kusch 1997).

Chart 14: Willingness of a Wealthy Family to Help (%)



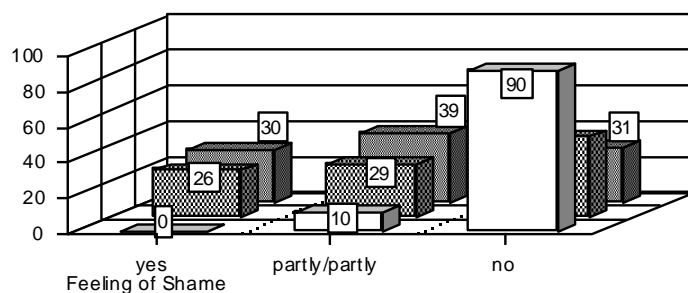
It is interesting to see how large this burden is in relation to the different profit groups. Do the rich give more or less? Does the willingness to take over social responsibility increase or decrease with a higher profit? In the Pentecostal group the percentage remains nearly constant at 40% (Chart 15). In the other groups the people of the lower profit groups are willing to share about 30% and in the upper about 15% of the cash. The richer they are, the less they are willing to share.

Chart 15: Willingness to Help Financially (%)



From the understanding of the Pentecostal giver, the family member who receives money in the extended family does not need to feel ashamed (Chart 16). A person that is willing to

Chart 16: Asking for Help and Feelings of Shame (%)



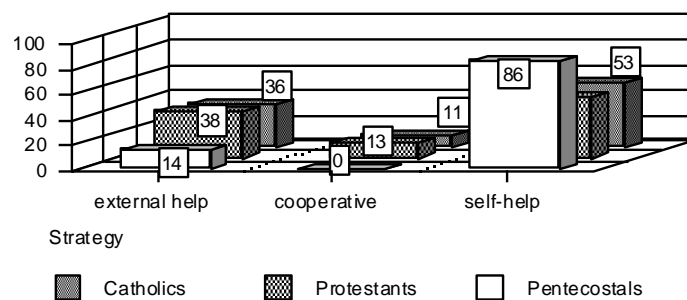


work and needs help through no fault of his or her own can ask for help without losing face. If the business people don't want to help, they will show this during the conversation. A person can always come and ask for help, but he or she must be aware that this request might be refused. This is different among the Protestant and Catholic Christians. Here asking for help is more related to feeling ashamed. If a relative comes to a wealthier member of the family and the request is refused he or she will lose face. And losing face means a kind of social death. By this the relationship between these two family-members will experience a deep disturbance and certainly both of them will try to avoid that.

4.6 Poverty, Strategies of Success and Faith

West Papua is one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia. It can be assumed that more than 40% of the population lives under the government-fixed poverty line. This does not mean that the people are always threatened by famine. Up to the present in most parts of the country there is still soil available that can be cultivated for food-production. In trade there are still profit margins possible that can not be achieved any more in the other provinces. Because of the people's independence movement in West Papua the government feels forced to make high public investments in order to calm down the population's political hopes. So West Papua still is regarded as a province in which one can make one's fortune!

Chart 17: Overcoming Poverty (%)



In this context Pentecostal entrepreneurs put their trust very much on the individual's initiative to overcome poverty (Chart 17).⁶ The members of the other denominations expect more help from others, especially from the government: e.g. courses for small business people, laws and regulations that encourage entrepreneurs and particularly, financial support. To some extent they expect an improvement of their situation by joining together with others in cooperatives as well. Though it must be said that those special kinds of cooperatives in Indonesia generally are not very successful and have to be sponsored in strong measures by the government.

Having such a strong emphasis on their own initiative, it is no wonder that Pentecostals, who usually are so willing to help within the family, are very much against supporting relatives who are able to work but out of whatever reasons do not want to (Chart 18). Their helpfulness reaches its limits if they become aware that family members do not rely any more on their

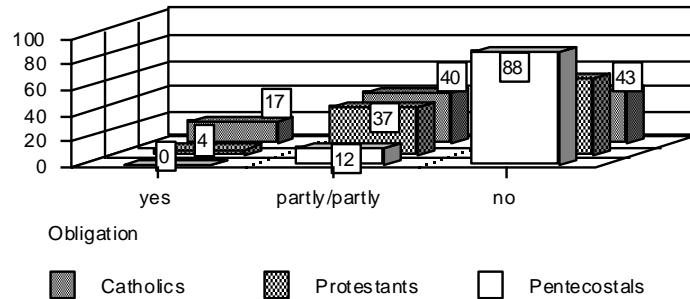
⁶ Burdick (1993:23) and Mariz (1994:148) observe the same fact in Brasil.





own initiative but passively expect quick cash from others. Protestants and Catholics do not have the same freedom in this matter. Half of them feel obliged to support family members that are known to be workshy. This can create motivational problems: the giver feels that his or her generosity is being misused and his long-term reaction might be to reduce the own readiness to work. Who would be willing to save money over a long period of time to buy a radio if he knew he would be forced to sell it afterwards because a workshy relative was not able to pay for his own hospital treatment?

Chart 18: Obligation to Help Workshy Family Members (%)



How far does the personal spiritual life play a role concerning the different strategies to overcome poverty? To find an answer to this question the respondents were asked, to what extent is prayer asking for God’s blessing a part of their strategy to be successful as an entrepreneur. For a little less than two thirds of Pentecostal entrepreneurs - and for Catholics - prayer is part of their success-strategy. Protestants however regard prayer as much more important (Chart 19). If the question is reshaped to which is the most important part to bring success, very few Pentecostals, a few more Catholics and a quarter of the Protestants name prayer (Chart 20). This fact might indicate that although Pentecostals have an intense spiritual life the question of economic success is a minor issue of their personal piety. And indeed one will hardly find in West Papua a full blown prosperity gospel as is sometimes found in Latin America. In West Papua you will hardly come across believers who are “thinking up new ways of earning money all the time while praying for prosperity” (Martin 1995a:115).

Chart 19: Prayer as a Success-Strategy (%; multiple response)

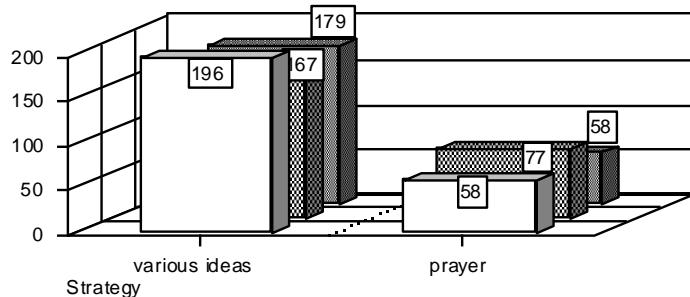
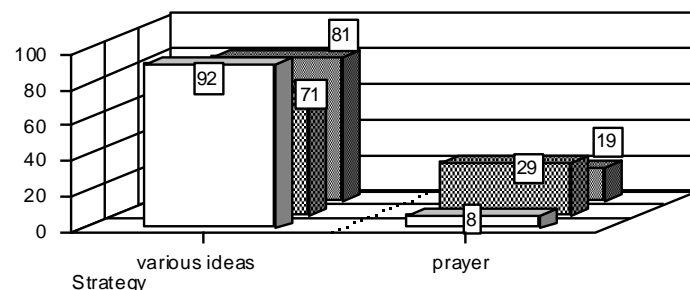


Chart 20: Prayer as the Sole Success-Strategy (%)





4.7 Work and Capital of the Business as Factors of Production

The economic activities in West Papua are based on small-sized business. About 99% of all enterprises are small or even very small businesses, which employ 80% of the employees in the sector of economic activity. Entrepreneurial activity in this context not only needs initiative, boldness and innovative ideas, but also the readiness to do manual work. First of all, the owner of an enterprise has to run the business by his or her own hard physical work. Even when the small enterprise is going well, the owner must continuously be present, train new employees, help wherever help is needed and supervise the business. The experience in West Papua shows that without the entrepreneur’s presence, the businesses are always in danger of breaking down.

Nearly all of Pentecostal entrepreneurs and two thirds of the members of the other churches do not agree with the statement, physical work is not fitting for people with higher education (Chart 21). It becomes evident that Pentecostals have a work ethic that is very much appropriate to the conditions of small enterprises.⁷ The customers expect a quick delivery of goods or provision of services. Who will still be interested in having his hair cut at a hairdresser if when he calls at 10 o’clock in the morning to make an appointment, he is told it is impossible because the boss is still sleeping? Pentecostals are less interested in hierarchical decisions, rather they thrive on flexibility and quick execution of the work to be done. The boss is part of the whole enterprise and is willing to get his or her hands dirty if necessary. Moreover, their readiness to start new work immediately after the old work has been finished is higher than that of their competitors (Chart 22). That means their productivity is higher because they take greater advantage of the empty phases of time.

Chart 21: Judging Physical Work of Good Educated People (%)

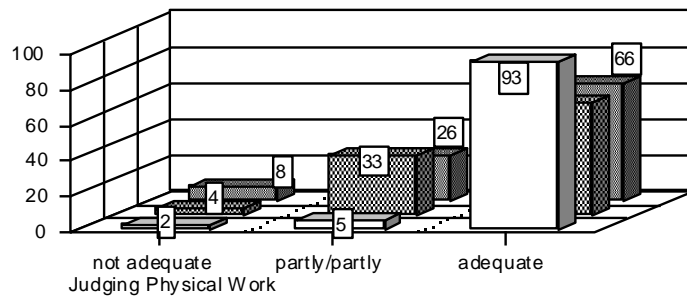
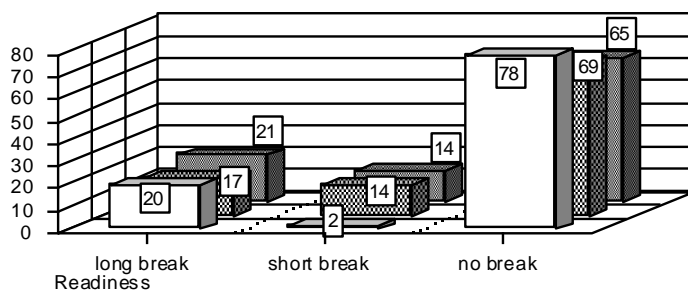


Chart 22: Readiness to Start a New Work (%)



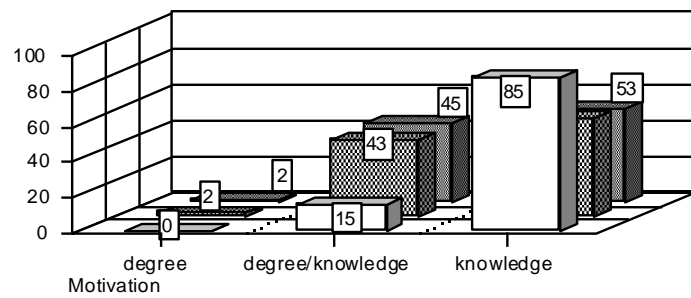
⁷ But it must be mentioned that work is not attached to a special religious meaning like in the Calvinists work ethic (see also Chesnut 1997:116)





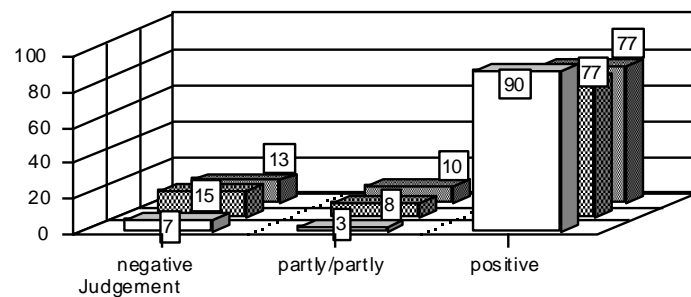
In this context Pentecostal transactors, much more than their Protestant or Catholic competitors, see educations as an equipment with instrumental knowledge rather than the acquirement of a gain in prestige through an academic title (Chart 23). Pentecostals focus on the fact that the university or place of training transfers knowledge that is adoptable and helpful in practice. The corporate identity especially grows when family members and employees see that the entrepreneur himself is ready to lend a hand and is not so concerned about his or her prestige, honor or academic title. The employees appreciate, if in daily life the boss emphasizes the social hierarchy among them less. One can clearly see that the Pentecostal entrepreneur's readiness to sacrifice their traditional right to exercise authority or power clearly corresponds with their tendency to think in relative terms about the power people with a higher social status have.

Chart 23: Motivation to Study at University (%)



In production or trade other factors besides work is important as well, namely capital. Small business people usually do not get a bank-loan easily, so the most important way for them to accumulate capital is saving. Saving is judged very positively by all denominations, especially by Pentecostals (Chart 24)⁸. It is consistent that those who judge it most positively are also the ones who actually save the most. Pentecostal entrepreneurs save 15% more than Protestants and 20% more than Catholics. Interestingly, as their profit increases, Pentecostals save a higher percent of their profit, which is in contrast to Protestants or Catholics, whose savings-ratio remains the same or even goes down. A rising savings-ratio has a special dynamic: a small sum that is saved and invested in the start-up period of a business incrementally increases with time. Rightly Martin (1990:206) characterized the underlying behavior pattern as 'penny capitalism'. In a rather short time a person can achieve quite a degree of prosperity.

Chart 24: Judgement on Saving Money (%)



Defining consumption as the residual amount after the profit has been reduced by the monetary help given to the family and by personal savings, the previous data imply that in the Pentecostal group consumption as a percentage is reduced with increasing profit, but in the

⁸ See also Mariz (1994:129) concerning Brasil.





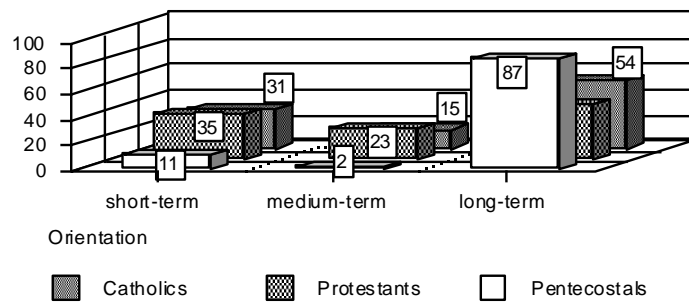
Protestant and Catholic group it is increased. In summary, this means that a Pentecostal entrepreneur, with an increasing profit, will help and save more, but consume less. Protestants will help less, save the same percentage and consume more. Catholics will help less, save less and consume more. These results are comparable to Stoll's (1990:47) insights concerning Latin America that Pentecostals follow a self-limitation that corresponds to Max Weber's Protestant Ethic.

4.8 Business Practices

Another important factor for business success is the willingness to see actions from a long-term perspective. In Papua there are heaps of new business ideas, and during the first months the entrepreneurs usually are full of enthusiasm. But often it does not last long, and the initial motivation is lost. The first year is the most critical time for the development of an enterprise, and this is the reason why many of the economic activities never get out of the initial phase or even die quickly.

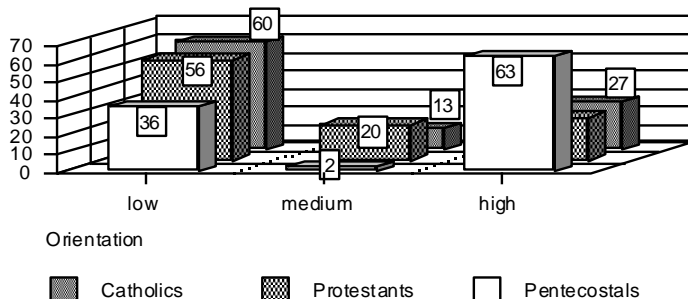
Pentecostal transactors also have more of a long-term perspective. The attitude to take each day as it comes and not to bother too much about tomorrow's problems is criticized by them more than in the control groups (Chart 25). It is a sign of successful entrepreneurship to have the motivation and the will to anticipate future events. That helps, not to be surprised by problems that arise, but to see them in advance in the process of formation and to be able to act appropriately.

Chart 25: Time-Orientation (%)



This Pentecostal future-orientated attitude goes together with a high readiness to take risks (Chart 26). They are willing to try out an innovation even if they have not mastered all of its technical aspects at that point. The other entrepreneurs have much more difficulty taking risks. They are much more afraid of being confronted with the difficulties that go along with innovation and losing face if it does not succeed.

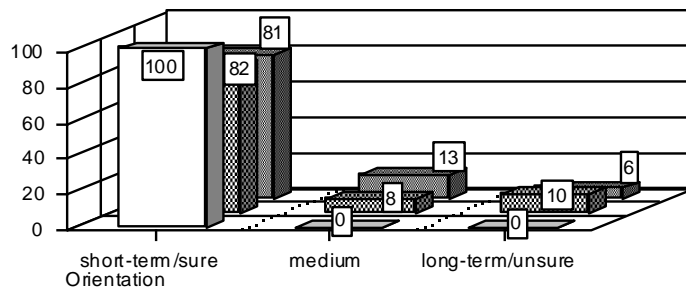
Chart 26: Risk-Orientation (%)





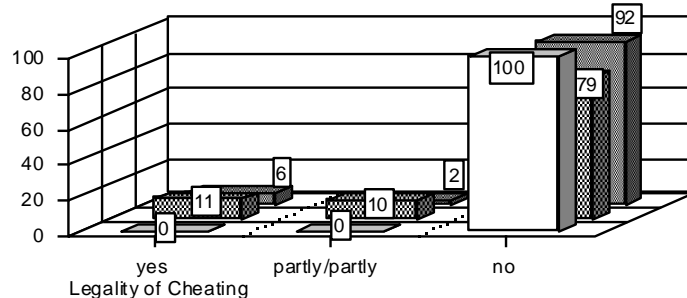
Of course, this higher readiness to take risks by members of Pentecostal churches does not mean that they start businesses in a non-defined, diffuse way. This becomes clear by the fact that they prefer a small and secure receivable profit instead of relying on vague hopes to get a huge but uncertain profit (Chart 27). Too many businesses in Papua start with the hope of making lots of money and then end up with nothing as quickly as they started.

Chart 27: Profit-Orientation (%)



Another important aspect of running a solid business is a sound business moral. All Pentecostal entrepreneurs are opposed to unethical business practices. Their competitors are not as committed to that point (Chart 28). Especially in a country that is worldwide number three on the scale of corruption, solid business relations cannot be estimated highly enough. The more a society is organized according to market principles and based on the division of labor, the more it needs an ethical foundation that can not be created by the economic system itself (Griffiths 1984:64). In the small world of a village, social pressure can reduce manipulation of weight, quality or other forms of fraud. But in an open society morals are needed in order for not to cheat the anonymous business partners.

Chart 28: Cheating as a Business Practice (%)



5 Business Success and Economic Development: Unintended Result of a Spiritual Process

The results show that entrepreneurs who live in comparable socio-cultural conditions develop very distinct worldviews on the basis of their different denominational backgrounds. It becomes obvious that the Pentecostal worldview more closely matches the challenges of the modern economic system than that of their competitors. They have freed themselves to a much higher degree from the spiritual roots of the traditional religions in West Papua. This implies that as well their relationships to human authorities have partly lost the power of their metaphysical sanctioning. The inner freedom is experienced as liberation and releasing of





creative energies. Readiness to take risks, initiative of one’s own and staying power are only a few aspects to describe this dynamic entrepreneurship.

In order to be more able to describe this process of breaking away from the spiritual roots of their traditional religions, one has to focus on four important aspects of the Christian witness, namely truth, allegiance, power and love.⁹ As mentioned above, the truth claims of the gospel are not questioned by the Christians in West Papua. Few will ever feel tempted to doubt propositional statements, which are acknowledged as biblical truth. But when the question arises of whether or not allegiance is exclusively bound to the Triune God, a clear difference is evident: Protestants and Catholics are shaped by a double loyalty to God and the spirits and powers of their traditional religions; whereas, Pentecostals see themselves bound to God. A central point of their strong exclusive alignment with God is their experience of the power of the Holy Spirit. Many of them became Christians because of healing experiences, deliverance from demonic bondage or other supernatural experiences. The predominant conversion-motive for people all over West Papua is power. Power enables people to live a humane life (Dye 1984:71). In this way the concept of “fullness of life” is indissolubly connected with this search for and chase after spiritual power. Aigbe (1991:167) calls this inner dynamic a “power-acquisition syndrome”.

Figure 3: Hierarchy of Power

Non-Pentecostal Spiritual Self-Awareness		Pentecostal Spiritual Self-Awareness	
God ↓ ↓ ↓	mighty but far away	God ↓ ↓ ↓	mighty and present
Spirits ↓ ↓ ↓	mighty and present	Christian ↓ ↓ ↓	empowered
Christian	powerless and helpless	Spirits	powerless and helpless

This experience - that God’s power is greater than the power of the spirits, demons or spells of the neighbours - is not only an important part of their conversion experience,¹⁰ but also of their life in church (Figure 3). In worship songs are devotedly sung, which emphasize the fact that Satan and the demonic powers have been dethroned and that the Christians now rule in Christ over them. And when church members give their testimony of how they experienced Christ’s love and power in their lives, there will be no doubt any more: dedicate yourself to

⁹ In order to formulate the implicate ethical dimension of Kraft’s model (1992) in an explicit way, we enlarged his model by the dimension of “love”.

¹⁰ Mariz (1994:146) points out for Brazil that protection from the supernatural powers is an important source of attracting converts to Pentecostalism.





the Lord, he loves you, he is near to you, he empowers you and helps you to resist the evil, for in him is victory! To see the experiences of victory in other people's lives motivates the church members to move on and live their own faith in an active way, searching for similar experiences. They are convinced: The power of the Holy Spirit is available for everybody.¹¹

In this sense conversion means "your life comes to be valued through the experience of being personally delivered in the core of your being" and as a result people "have a God-given validation of the value of their own lives and persons - then their life chances are genuinely enhanced" (Martin 1995b:27). This change in spiritual self-awareness (Mariz 1994:141) also impacts the entrepreneurial activities of the Christians.¹² The qualities that make Pentecostal believers successful are the unintentional consequences of their faith (Martin 1995a:103). Of course, every entrepreneur wants success and a majority are praying for success, but material success is not a tempting motive to become a Pentecostal because this means they would have to give up certain habits and vices now, but visible success may only be realized in one, two or many years.

Focusing on the time in which the improvement occurs, a short-term benefit can be seen. The "don'ts" like no smoking, no drinking, no gambling are not just a new moral behavior pattern, but they also save the scarce financial resources. In West Papua a man can spend 20 percent or more of his income on these items. So it is not surprising that Pentecostal business people are able to consume less and save more (and invest more) than their competitors. But there are long-term changes as well. The new faith also indirectly transforms the believer's worldview and behavior. The experience of spiritual deliverance makes a person less afraid of human and spiritual powers and gives a new openness to innovation, knowledge, the future, and as well a higher responsibility and endurance.¹³ This change occurs slowly and people often do not even see the connection between faith, worldview change and new patterns of behavior for themselves.

Pentecostal churches as a community of believers reinforce these new values. For example, small entrepreneurs who experience a set-back gets new motivation by the message of the Sunday-service: Trust the Lord, he loves you, he has a perfect plan for your life, don't give

¹¹ The intensive search for power in traditional religions is one of the main reasons why "Pentecostalism is most effective among the animistic people"(Ma 1999:194). Aigbe (1991:172-173) shows how the animistic search for power is systematically answered by the Pentecostal missions by proclaiming and demonstrating the presence and power of the Holy Spirit.

¹² Hollenweger (1997:93-95) gives an instructive example from Mexico entitled "Conversion and Development".

¹³ Despite virulent messianic hopes in the cargo cults, Christian eschatology is not at all a theme in church life and people are not driven in their behavior by speculations about parousia and the life in the hereafter. Chesnut (1997:167) also sees for Latin America no parousia influence, Bastian (1999:447) a strong one.





up, and live in the power of the Holy Spirit. So setbacks interpreted in spiritual terms assure the entrepreneurs of having God on their side and he provides them with further motivation to cope the problems of the survivalist economy. Besides the spiritual, emotional and psychological support, a vivid church life also has an impact on practical skills transactors need in the course of business. Cox (1995:231-234), drawing on a Korean case, shows how the involvement in an evangelistic campaign helps the entrepreneur learn the bottom-line abilities of a modern market economy. On a lower level this insight is also true for West Papua. Pentecostals show the highest church involvement and it is obvious that an intense church life spills over into the socio-economic sphere of life. A devoted woman, leading a prayer group or an enthusiastic lay evangelist will unintentionally develop organizational skills in their ministry which are certainly very helpful in running a business more effectively.

A further key element in Christian witness is love. Allegiance, truth and power lose their spiritual value without love. In the context of entrepreneurship, this brings up the question of how do successful business people relate to their family and society. A problem often consists in the fact that people who become successful and wealthy are interested in getting rid of social responsibilities. They want material success without taking over responsibility for others. What is the foundation of business activities: Do people build upon an ethical foundation or are they just driven by egoistic motives?¹⁴ The results show that the worldview of the Pentecostal Christians in West Papua creates both a dynamic entrepreneurship and social responsibility. They show care better than all the other denominations for their nuclear and extended family. With increasing wealth the difference among the denominations concerning monetary help becomes evident.

The ethical behavior of the Pentecostals shows that their faith is able to solve a central problem of economic development: people become active in business, they are dynamic and successful and at the same time take responsibility for their social environment. This is exactly the point where many national government programs which try to stimulate economic activities fail: they create people who only care for themselves. Even development projects done by Christian churches and organizations with a Christian motivation are in danger of promoting more selfishness through their project-design than helping towards a holistic development. A project of the Pentecostal churches in Burkina Faso by which the poorest of the poor in the villages were helped to finance donkeys and ploughs in order to rise the crop-production could serve as an example. This aspired effect never occurred. The farmers became aware of the fact that the work on their fields could be done now in a much more

¹⁴ The founder of the classical theory of economy Adam Smith was very aware of the fact that economy needs a moral basis (see also Griffith 1994:64-70), for he himself was as well a moral philosopher. In the time to come people separated moral and economic issues. Egoism became the driving force of economic activities.





effort-saving way. But this did not stimulate them to work more, instead they withdrew partly from this work and let the children do the task of ploughing (Kusch 1992:159-168).

The problem of egoism can only be solved if economic development is seen as a social process with an inherent religious dimension (Geest 1997:66-68). This means on the one hand that theology and belief have to be included in the methodology of development theories and development projects, for instance, as a holistic development (Bradshaw 1993) or transformational development (Myers 1999). On the other hand, Pentecostal theologians are challenged to reflect in a critical way upon socioeconomic changes and developments that are based on and released by personal faith (Petersen 1996:186). Although the Pentecostal church's social involvement has increased significantly, very little serious theological work has been devoted to the development of a Pentecostal social ethic (Dempster 1987:129; see also Hollenweger 1994). But such a theological foundation could be helpful for Pentecostals not to become a victim of their own material success in the long term, the "redemption-and-lift-effect" therefore degrading to the level of a mere "lift-effect".

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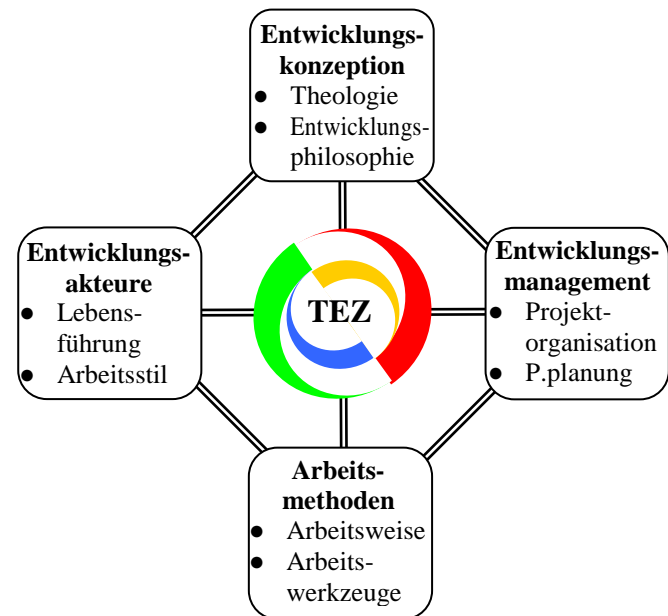
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