

University of Delaware
Disaster Research Center

REPORT SERIES
#8

THE SALVATION ARMY:
ITS STRUCTURE, OPERATIONS, AND PROBLEMS
IN DISASTERS

James L. Ross

December 1969

This report prepared for the Office of Civil Defense, Office of the Secretary of the Army, Washington, D.C. 20310.

OCD REVIEW NOTICE: This report has been reviewed in the Office of Civil Defense and approved for publication. Approval does not signify that the contents necessarily reflect the views and policies of the Office of Civil Defense.

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FOREWORD

This document is one of a series of publications prepared by the staff of the Disaster Research Center, The Ohio State University. This aspect of the work of the Center has been sponsored by the Office of Civil Defense under contract OCD-PS-64-46, Work Unit 2651A. Below is a listing of the materials which have been included in the monograph and report series.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE SALVATION ARMY

The Salvation Army is structured and functions in particular ways in current disaster situations in the United States. These ways stem from its two basic orientations, which are essentially social welfare¹ and religious in nature. In turn, these orientations are the results of the historical development of the organization. Thus, to understand its present structure and functions requires an examination of the growth of the Salvation Army from a local group with a goal of making religious converts to its emergence as a complex, international organization with multiple tasks. This development is very briefly sketched in this chapter.²

The roots of the Salvation Army are in the last century. England around the 1850's was a land of contrasts. There were sharp differences in style of life between an extremely wealthy upper stratum, the comfortable middle classes, and the abject poverty of large masses of the population at the bottom of the social scale. Into this social climate were born William Booth and Catherine Booth, the founders of the Salvation Army.

Booth himself also had a somewhat contrasting early life. His father, an illiterate, speculative builder, attained initial success in business and started to give his son a formal education. However, an economic depression reduced the fortunes of the family and the younger Booth had to be taken out of school and was apprenticed to a pawnbroker. In the pawnbroker's shop in Nottingham he became quite familiar with the hard realities of the English poor, and was later to report that one out of every ten persons (the "submerged tenth" as he referred to them) was close to starvation. This personal experience undoubtedly was a major factor in the Salvation Army's later major concern with the more unfortunate segments of the population.

For a brief time Booth paid some attention to politics, being particularly impressed by the Chartists, a group pressing for many social reforms. However, his political interests soon declined and he turned to devoting himself to a personal form of evangelism which was to become and remains to some extent a distinguishing feature of the Salvation Army. Although his parents had not provided a strong religious background, Booth became a Methodist with the intent of becoming an ordained minister.

His interest in the poor led him to street preaching, a pattern of going to people where they were at, which was later also to become a mark of the organization he was to develop. He took the converts to his own Methodist church, but was strongly criticized by other members for doing this. His apprenticeship over at 19, he went to London and worked there as an assistant pawnbroker while continuing to train for the ministry.

At this time the Methodist Church was involved in internal controversy and dispute. Booth stood on the side of those who pressed for a continuation of strong evangelical activities. He finally entered training for the ministry through a Methodist faction called the "New Connexion" and was ordained in

1858. Once again he offered himself for evangelical duties at the annual Methodist conference in 1861, and when his request was refused, resigned his position and freelanced as a preacher for several years.

To the extent that the very first origins of an organization can be traced and identified, what was later to become the Salvation Army had its beginnings in London in July of 1865. At that time Booth began holding meetings in London's East End, a slum area of the first magnitude. He was very successful in obtaining converts. Initially the group Booth headed was called, among a sequence of names, the "Tent Mission of the East London Special Services Committee," and then later the "Christian Mission."

Important for the later organization of the Army was the role played at this time by Booth's wife whom he had married in 1855. She took a very active part in her husband's activities and established herself, quite contrary to middle class Victorian conceptions of women, as a full-time, working member of the group. As shall be seen later, the very important, equal and yet distinctive role that women have in the structure of the Salvation Army today can be traced back to the activities of the wife of the founder of the organization.

Booth's first intent was to send the people he converted to the various churches around London. This plan however could not be implemented. Many of the converts did not want to go where they were sent and often were not accepted when they went. In addition, Booth found he needed help simply to handle the large number of people that came to his frequently held open-air meetings. Organization was required. The consequence was a gradual formalization of operations, or in sociological terms, the start of the institutionalization of the Salvation Army.

Within four years after the first meetings in the East End, Booth had established a fixed headquarters for his group, a magazine (The Christian Mission Magazine, later to be known as The War Cry), 14 preaching stations, soup kitchens, and 140 services each week. Booth said of the soup kitchens which appeared somewhat different from the other aspects of his organization:

It is primarily and mainly for the sake of the soul that I seek the salvation of the body. . . . What is the use of preaching the gospel to men whose whole attention is concentrated upon a mad, desperate struggle to keep themselves alive?³

The intermingling of the spiritual and material is of course still a prevalent theme today in the Salvation Army and is largely responsible for its interest in social welfare, a point that shall be returned to shortly.

The name Salvation Army was not adopted until 1878, by which time the original London mission had expanded to 120 workers in 75 stations at various locations in England and Wales. The adoption of this name, as is frequently the case with striking symbols, had other very important consequences. It led to a renaming of other aspects of the work being undertaken, e.g., mission stations became corps, members became soldiers, evangelists became officers,

and so on. Gradually, with this image in mind, Booth set up his entire organization along quasi-military lines, "reasoning that it was just as valid to build an army of crusaders to save souls as it once had been to send armies to recover a sepulchre."⁴ The semi-military pattern was thought of as providing a direct line of authority and as a practical means for the training of personnel for Army tasks.

In the decades that followed, the Salvation Army elaborated its organization and secured its place in society, established itself in new localities, and expanded its welfare activities. Thus, in 1879 the distinctive uniform for its personnel was introduced, and the first band corps was formed. A year later a training school for officers was opened. Formal and social recognition as a religious and respectable group also came after early legal attacks and imprisonment of members. In 1894 the Swiss Supreme Court granted the Salvation Army religious rights. In 1904 William Booth was received by the King of England, and an honorary degree was granted to him by Oxford in 1907.

Slowly the activities of the organization spread around the world. In 1880 the first contingent of Salvation Army officers went to the United States following lay members who had already commenced operations. In 1881 members were at work in Australia and France; by 1882 they had reached such countries as India, Sweden, and Canada. The first international conference was held in 1886. Right after the turn of the century the organization established itself in such areas of the world as Korea, Chile, and Sumatra.

The range of social welfare activities undertaken and social work agencies supported by the Salvation Army has constantly increased. As early as 1880 children's meetings had been started. In 1888 the first food depot was opened in London. Red Shield Services (for the military) were established in 1895. A missionary hospital was founded in India in 1901 and an anti-suicide bureau was created in 1907. These were all forerunners of the current work and groups that are a part of the Salvation Army. These include Evangeline Residences for young women, Harbor Light Centers for alcoholics, homes and hospitals for unmarried mothers, food depots and shelters for homeless men, children's homes, settlement and day-care nurseries, maternity homes, camps and boys' clubs, lodges, general hospitals, dispensaries and clinics, men's social service centers, family welfare bureaus, Bible schools, a missing persons bureau, as well as a variety of activities in connection with correctional services, employment, immigration, foster home care, and family services, and also the League of Mercy, a women's volunteer group.

In America the Salvation Army particularly flourished. For about the first 20 years or so until the turn of the century, there was struggle and hardship in the process of establishing itself on a firm footing in a new society, but there was also rapid growth. The organization was incorporated in 1899 in New York state as a charitable and religious group. From then until the beginning of the depression there was further expansion with gradual, and finally mass acceptance. Since the middle 1930's the Salvation Army, while maintaining its autonomy, has been increasingly integrated into the complex of other national policy-making and fund-raising social welfare organizations.

Perhaps more so than in many other societies, the Salvation Army in American society appears to be viewed more as a welfare than as a religious group. This may stem from the strong social welfare emphasis the branch of the organization had from its initial start in this society about 88 years ago. Whatever the reason, the Salvation Army in America has a very elaborate organizational structure geared to welfare problems. The details of this are discussed in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter I

1. The Salvation Army tends to use the word "charitable" instead of "social welfare," but in keeping with more modern usage and the actual scope of work of the organization, the latter term is used throughout this report.
2. The historical details that are set forth in the next several pages were drawn from a variety of sources. Among the more important ones are The Salvation Army: Definition, History, Services, Organization (New York: The Salvation Army, no date); The Salvation Army Year Book, 1966 (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1967); Norman S. Marshall, The Salvation Army (New York: The Newcomer Society in North America, 1960); and Edward Bishop, Blood and Fire: The Story of General William Booth and the Salvation Army (Chicago: Mercury Press, 1964).
3. Bishop, op. cit., p. 68.
4. Marshall, op. cit., p. 11.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE SALVATION ARMY

In this chapter the organizational structure of the Salvation Army is discussed, with particular emphasis on its social welfare activities. While this structure is not primarily geared to emergency operations, it can and does become involved in large-scale community disasters. Some attention is also given to how this structure is affected by the dual orientation (i.e., religious and social welfare) of the organization.

General Organizational Structure of the Salvation Army

World and National Structure

The world headquarters of the Salvation Army is located in its place of birth, London, England. The general, the head of the organization, acting through the administrative departments of international headquarters, directs all phases of the Army's operations throughout the world. There is a chief of the staff, a commissioner appointed by the general to be his second in command, to whom each departmental head officer is responsible.

For administrative purposes the world is divided into geographic territories, each directed by a territorial commander, most often with the rank of commissioner, and formally responsible to the general. However, the overseas departments supervise, on behalf of the general and the chief of the staff, the activities of the organization in territories outside of the United Kingdom. In turn, the more than 40 overseas commands are divided into three groupings under the care of an international secretary who acts as a link between the general and the territorial commanders. As of 1964 the Salvation Army had 16,426 corps and outposts in more than 70 countries and colonies manned by 25,304 officers, 1,569 cadets, 32,304 full-time employees without rank, 37,036 corps cadets, and 116,925 senior and young people's local officers.¹

While the structure of the Salvation Army is semi-military in nature, and the overall command is located at the world headquarters in London, its sub-units have considerable autonomy. This is certainly true of the national organization in the United States. It is, for most purposes, an autonomous group and also the largest of all the operations of the Salvation Army. For example, a total of 5,087 officers or about one fifth of those in the total organization in 1964 were with the American branch.²

There is a national office for the Salvation Army in the United States. It is located in New York City and is composed of a national commander, with the rank of commissioner, a national chief secretary and five national offices: National Information Service, Service to the Armed Forces, National Christian Education, Women's and Children's Services Consultation, and National Welfare Consultation. The total staff is rather small (e.g., there were only 29

active officers stationed at the headquarters in 1964 and that included 19 on loan from four U.S. subterritories for USO and other services). Periodic conferences are held at the national level. However, while the National Commissioners Conference, which is composed of the national commander, the national chief secretary and the four territorial commanders and their chief secretaries, does involve basic policy matters, the day-to-day operations of the Salvation Army organization in the United States are on a territorial basis. The national headquarters primarily functions as an advisory and coordinating office and as the public spokesman for the organization in the country.

Because of the number of people involved (there was a membership count of 287,991 in 1964)³ and the extensiveness of the geographical area covered, the everyday operations of the Salvation Army are divided among four subterritories. These subterritories are referred to simply as territories within the United States and each has a considerable amount of autonomy; in fact, their power is practically equivalent to a full territory elsewhere. Thus, the Salvation Army in the United States is composed of four major components linked by a small national office.

Territorial Structure in the United States

There are four Salvation Army territories in the United States. They are the Eastern with headquarters in New York City and a staff in 1964 of 1,808 officers and 6,536 other employees; the Central with 1,254 officers and headquartered in Chicago; the Southern with 1,237 officers and its headquarters in Atlanta; and the Western headquartered in San Francisco and with 767 officers.⁴ An original goal had been to divide the country into four approximately equal parts in terms of membership and services. However, because of population shifts it has been impossible to bring this about.

The major authority figure in a territory is the territorial commander. He has the rank of commissioner or lieutenant commissioner. His assistant is the chief secretary⁵ who is equivalent to an executive officer in the United States Army and often acts for the commissioner. The departments in territorial headquarters are equal in terms of authority. At different times decisions are made by the commissioner and/or his secretary or are made by a particular department for that unit only. Officially decisions affecting multiple departments must be made by or with the consent of the commissioner or chief secretary. Organizational communications likewise would follow this same pattern with departments going through the commissioner and/or chief secretary to get to other departments.

Because of the nature of their jobs, three departmental heads have more authority and prestige than the remaining department heads. These three are the field secretary, who is responsible for all officer personnel outside of territorial headquarters (assignments, transfers, etc.); staff secretary, who has the same responsibilities as the field secretary in relation to territorial headquarters' and divisional headquarters' personnel; and the financial secretary, who is responsible for all Salvation Army funds including pensions, insurance, and so on. The latter officer therefore supplies financial information and advice to all other territorial personnel.

Specific departments in the four territories vary somewhat and are called departments, administrations, consultation or field and program services, with the particular designation depending on their perceived importance in that territory. These may include any or all of the following: Youth, Men's Social Service, Women's Social Service, Legacy and Endowment, Field, Staff, Finance, Public Relations and Service Extension, Editorial and Circulation, Evangeline Women's Residences, Women's Home League, League of Mercy, Audit and Statistics, Officer Training Schools, Music, Education, Property, Missing Persons, Supplies and Purchasing, Legal, and Correctional Services. In addition, there are territorial-level boards and territorial commissions.

Intermediate between territorial headquarters and local operations is a divisional headquarters level. However, there are some exceptions to this pattern. That is, there are some Salvation Army subgroups that are under the direct administrative control of the territory even though they may function in a local area.

One such territorial operation involves the centers for rehabilitation of men (and related activities), of which there were 124 in 1963. These centers provide shelter, food and clothing for the homeless and jobless and rehabilitation in the form of training in the collection, repair and resale of used furniture as well as a basic religious program. The core of this organization typically consists of a director (a Salvation Army officer), and an overall supervisor, a secretary, a bookkeeper, as well as a receptionist (the latter four paid employees, but not necessarily Salvation Army members). The remainder of the organization is composed of some key employees, i.e., truck drivers and men who are being rehabilitated. These men help on collection trucks, rebuild and refinish furniture, and work in retail thrift stores and other assignments incident to the operation of the institution.

Two other Salvation Army service operations that the territorial headquarters directly controls are homes and hospitals for unwed mothers (34 of them in 1963) and residences for young businesswomen (15 of them in 1963). Salvation Army administrators say the direct control of these three services is intended to provide competent professional supervision and to prevent a local or divisional Salvation Army unit from having more than its share of influence in these kinds of social welfare operations that are supposed to serve a whole territory and not just a particular area.

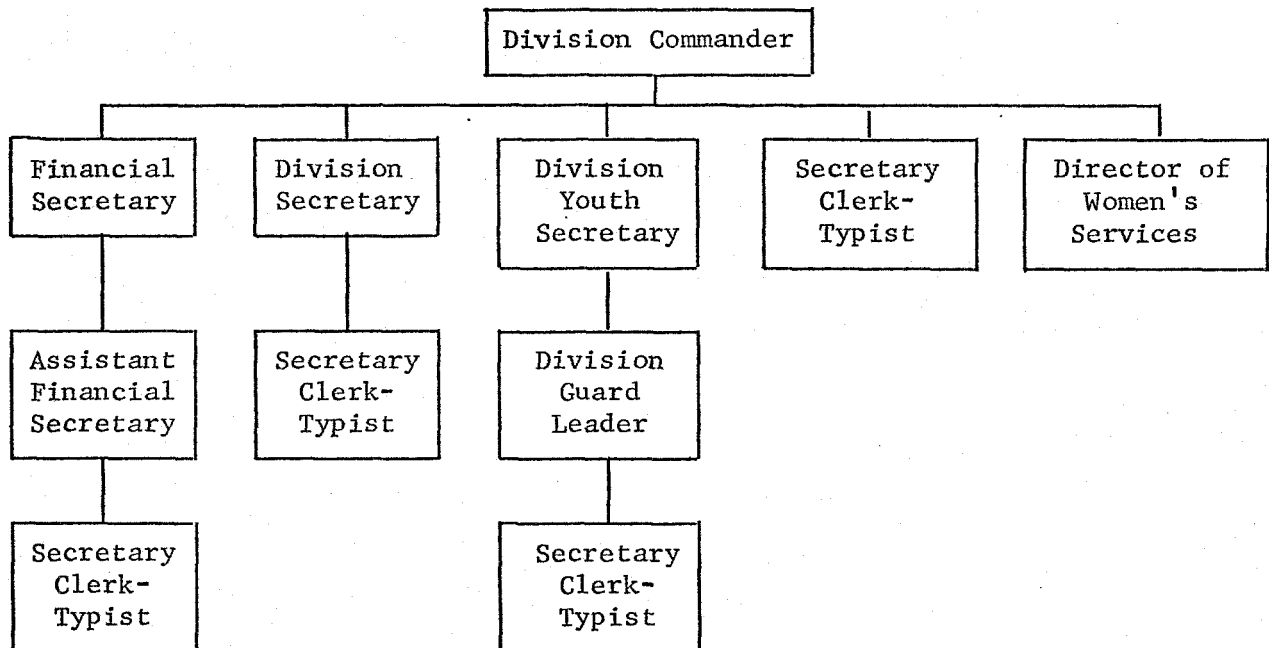
Some intraorganizational problems have arisen because of separation of administration. These rehabilitation centers are not always self-supporting. Furthermore, coordination occasionally becomes a problem in places where other Salvation Army units with separate authority lines are located in the same general area or in cities with rehabilitation centers. This coordination problem particularly comes to the fore in emergency operations and will be discussed later.

Divisional Structure in the U.S.

As already indicated, divisions are the next level of authority under territories. In 1964 there were 44 divisions, almost one per state. Divisions serve to administer and coordinate Salvation Army operations within their state (or area for those few divisions controlling more than one state). A division's organization and operations are similar to those of a territorial headquarters. The major difference is that divisions have less policy-making power and are smaller in size (i.e., in staff as well as in geographic area covered). The type of departments and number of personnel in a division varies. Figure 1 below is a representation of the structure of a typical Salvation Army division. Religious, welfare, financial, youth, and the rest of the operations are distributed in a variety of ways among the division personnel. One additional unique operation of a division is the development and administration of service units. This will be discussed shortly.

Figure 1

A Typical Salvation Army Division Structure



Local Operational Units of the Salvation Army

The Salvation Army's history and its present overall organizational policy make it obvious that it is an urban kind of organization. Because different urban areas often have unique and special problems as well as different resources, there is considerable diversity among the various local organizations. The basic religious group -- the corps program -- is virtually the same wherever it exists, but there the similarity ends. Whether or not the local Salvation Army unit, for example, supports Boy Scout troops, builds a maternity hospital for unwed mothers, or establishes transient lodges, depends on the requirements of the community, its access to other Salvation Army groups which could perform the same function, and the degree of public support available. The programs that seem most often present are some type of youth activity and a limited welfare service (usually in the form of Christmas dinners and baskets, and toys for the underprivileged).

Although no consistent pattern exists, there are three distinct types of local Salvation Army units. Which type will exist in any given locality depends on the factors indicated above. The traditional organizational unit is the corps. It is found in cities and is based upon the religious function.

Increasingly, a newly developed kind of local unit is being established. This is the city command. This kind of group seems to be a response to the organizational complexities of metropolitan areas, for it appears in places where several Salvation Army units are operating concurrently.

The third type of local unit is the service unit. It typically exists in villages and towns where the population is under 10,000. This kind of group is made up entirely of volunteers who provide Salvation Army programs to local residents.

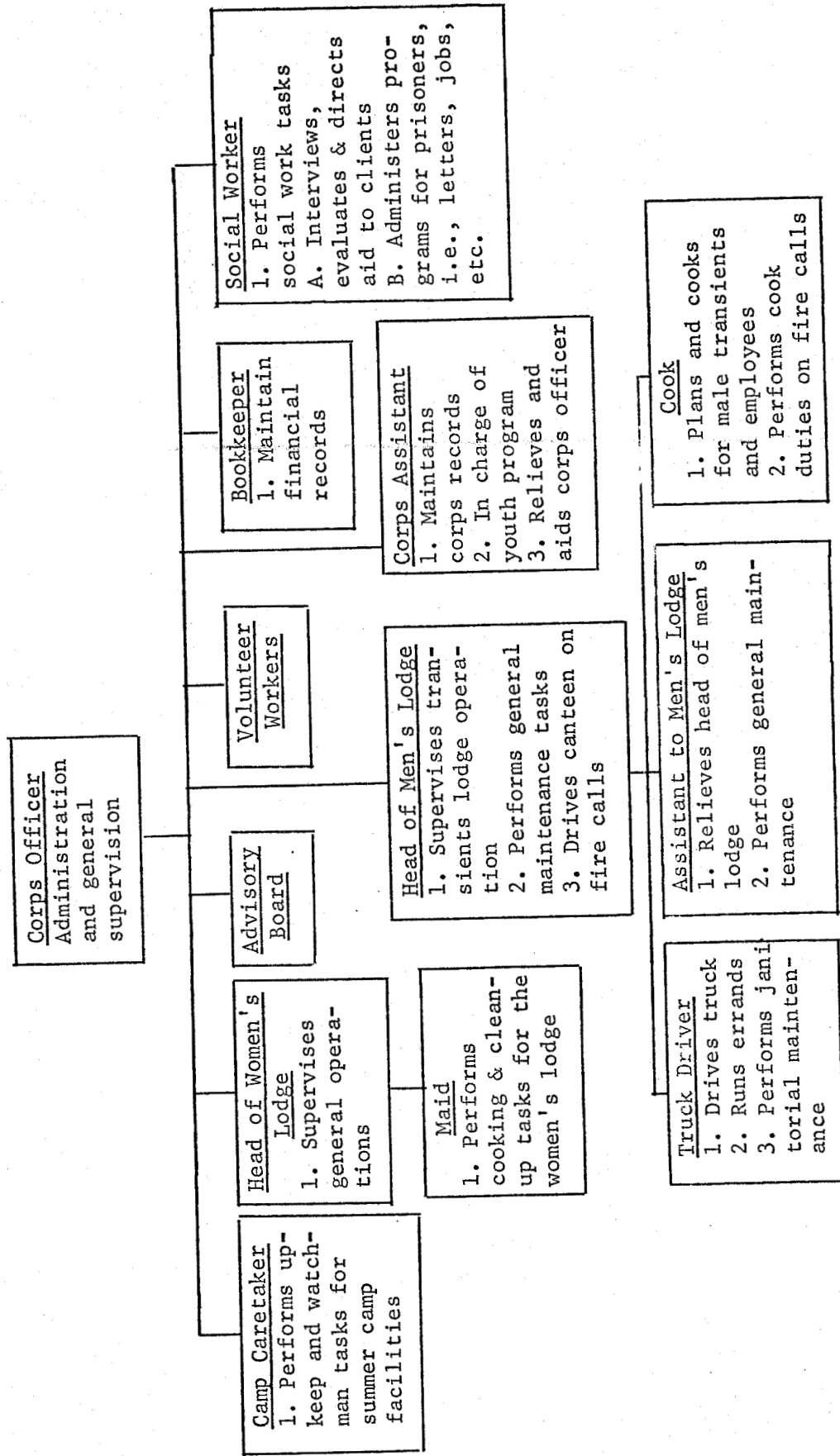
The Salvation Army Corps Program

The corps program is the oldest of all the Salvation Army activities as well as the largest. Thus, there currently are more than 1,120 corps units in the United States. The corps is basically a religious unit and is equivalent to a church in other religious groups.

Incorporated in the corps program in addition to the religious function is the neighborhood center program. The religious activities carried on are essentially the same anywhere they are found. This, however, is not true of the neighborhood center program, which can vary greatly in size and scope. It may have only one officer (particularly in towns having a population of 10,000 or less) who conducts religious services and, using part-time employees and volunteers from the congregation, may administer as many as 25 different Salvation Army programs. He may also act as a liaison to Salvation Army services anywhere in his territory. Obviously every corps could not provide all possible services; therefore, many Salvation Army activities are carried out in this manner.

Figure 2

A Typical Salvation Army Corps



Larger corps units may have many subdivisions within them to carry on such activities as youth services, hospitality and shelter care, correctional services, public relations, social and general welfare services, finances and statistics, rehabilitation services, outposts (religious missions), and emergency and disaster services, among others. Figure 2 on the next page presents the structure of a typical corps operation. It has been drawn somewhat larger in terms of the number of personnel an average corps would have in order to illustrate the range of possible tasks that could be undertaken.

The corps officer and corps assistant would be the only necessary Salvation Army members. Other staff members or workers might be part-time volunteers or transients who were given jobs at small salaries. Usually the social worker is a full-time Salvation Army officer (often the corp ^{OFFICER'S} leader's wife), but in recent years some professional non-Salvation Army members have held this position. The particular arrangement given in the diagram would technically require 11 part- or full-time employees, but as just stated such activities are often carried out with only a corps officer, his wife (if he is married), and part-time and volunteer workers. The tasks mentioned are hypothetical in that they are services typically performed by Salvation Army corps units but not always performed by every local unit, and they are not the only possible services a corps might provide. Furthermore, some tasks, such as the preparation of Christmas baskets and dinners, kettle collections, etc., require all available personnel and are, therefore, not mentioned as a particular task for a particular member. The chain of command and communication in a corps unit follow the same quasi-military pattern as in division and territorial operations. The corps officer is the person through which all decision making must be performed, and all decisions involving the group must have his actual or tacit approval.

The Salvation Army City Command Program

The city command concept in Salvation Army operations is relatively new and currently there are about 15 organizations of this type in the United States. The purpose of a city command is to consolidate most Salvation Army operations in a metropolitan area under one easily accessible authority structure and thereby make the overall operation more effective through integration and coordination of a variety of activities.

The development of a city command organization tried earlier in smaller communities, was initiated in New York City approximately 10 years ago. It proved so successful there that similar organizations were developed in other large urban areas such as Boston, Philadelphia, etc. The pattern has spread to the Southern and the Central territories where some city commands have already been developed and more are in the process of formation; the Western territory has the least number but they are being established there also. If the trend continues, it is clear that all major metropolitan areas in which the Salvation Army has multiple activities will soon have this type of organization.

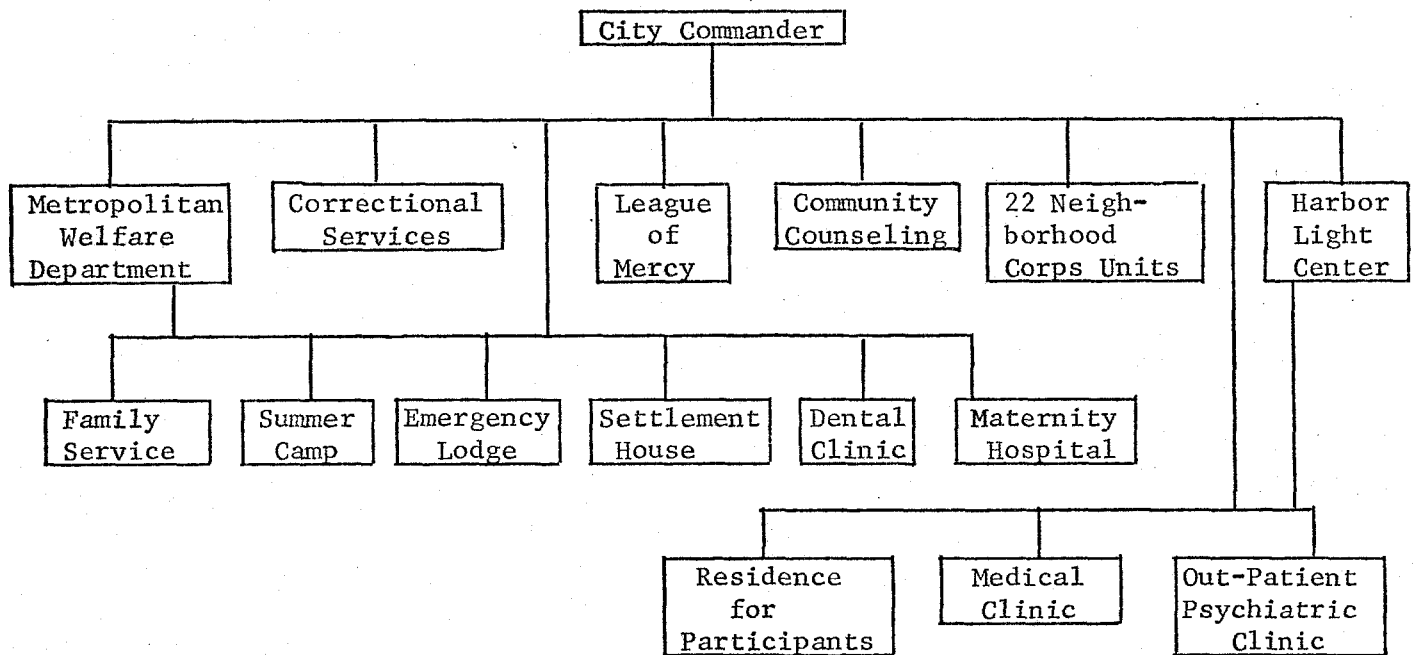
Figure 3 below illustrates the structure of a typical Salvation Army city command. There is considerable variation in such groups but this is a table of organization that could be found. The following are some of the more typical services offered.

Corps Neighborhood Centers

These groups carry out the religious program for Salvation Army members and hold "open air" meetings in addition to providing other organizational services. They serve as central points through which all facets of Salvation Army service can be reached. Each corps has its own program of religious and social welfare activities. Religious services and a religious education program are conducted, and scheduled recreational activities are planned. These activities may include the sponsorship of Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, Sunbeams and Guards (the Salvation Army groups equivalent to the Scouts), athletic teams, educational programs for adults, and recreation for the aged.

Figure 3

A Typical Salvation Army City Command



Welfare Departments

This department may include, for example, many of the following:

- A. Casework and Counseling. Professional social workers provide help by directing individuals to appropriate agencies and, thus, enable them to utilize all available resources. Immediate financial assistance is provided during emergencies and long-term casework is arranged when needed.
- B. Homemaker Service. This is a specialized service for families with illnesses or incapacitated individuals and couples. A Salvation Army worker goes into the home and performs necessary household duties.
- C. Missing Persons. This is an international service of the Salvation Army whereby individuals and families can receive help in finding missing persons.
- D. Emergency Lodge. Emergency lodging, food, beds, and clothing are provided for individuals and families. This service works closely with the other services to which it usually routes its clients.
- E. Salvation Army Settlements. This unit is set up in underprivileged areas. Services provided may include dental work, medical work, day-nursery care, activities for youth, and similar matters.
- F. Alcoholic Rehabilitation Programs (Harbor Light Centers). Services offered by this unit may include residences (Harbor Light residences and Half-Way houses) which provide food and clothing, medical clinics, and out-patient psychiatric clinics.
- G. Correctional Services. This group works with penal institutions. It conducts religious services, provides counselors and serves as a sponsor in order to help released prisoners obtain jobs. This group also provides housing for released and paroled prisoners and aids their families.
- H. League of Mercy. The members of this group (primarily women) visit hospitals, old people's homes, children's homes, jails and mental institutions. They provide persons in these institutions with reading materials, write letters and perform other similar services for them.

There are many other additional services in which a city command may become involved, such as centers for aiding immigrants, homes for the aged, and summer camps for underprivileged children. The list mentioned is very typical and city commands generally provide a number of these services.

As previously noted regarding other Salvation Army units, the authority structure for a city command is semi-military in form. Some coordinating structures, such as a metropolitan welfare department (which coordinates all welfare activities) or an alcoholic center (which coordinates services provided for alcoholics) may be developed. However each element is directly responsible to the city commander. City commands, however, may or may not be responsible to a division.

Salvation Army Service Units

Salvation Army service units are generally found in small communities where it would not normally be possible to have a full-time Salvation Army officer. A local committee (service unit) is organized and usually contains three to five prominent community individuals. Committees are initially established by division commanders on authorization of the territorial commander. However, they are usually self-perpetuating in that they select replacement members themselves. Currently there are more than 6,000 service units in the United States, more than half of them in the Central Territory.

Service units are allocated money from amounts raised in their community for the Salvation Army to provide aid to people in their "community." These services include providing glasses, dental care, medical care, and Christmas baskets for persons in need, as well as referring individuals to other Salvation Army units when necessary. Service units are rather different when compared to other Salvation Army groups in that they are completely welfare oriented. (There is no obvious religious orientation: members can be and are from different religious backgrounds.) Likewise, the semi-military structure of other Salvation Army organizations is not necessarily duplicated in service units.

The Financial Operations of the Salvation Army

As is true of any complex organization operating on a nation-wide basis, considerable financial resources are required by the Salvation Army. Mention has already been made of the financing with regard to the centers for the rehabilitation of men, and hospitals and residences for businesswomen. The remaining financial support for the organization is derived from contributions (obtained from fund drives, Community Chest allocations or gifts from individuals) and endowments.

Local Salvation Army units are locally supported; in fact, the range of their operations depends on their ability to acquire funds in the local community. There are a few exceptions to this (operations in large-scale disasters being one of them), but the general rule is that local operations must be financed with local funds. Divisions receive ten per cent of the funds coming from local corps operations. In turn, ten per cent of the division's funds goes to territorial operations. National operations are financed on a formula basis. This formula is computed yearly and includes the number of active corps, number of institutions and number of officers in a territory, as well as economic and other factors. Using this formula, each territory is assessed a certain percentage of the cost of national operations. Thus, from a financial viewpoint, the Salvation Army is dependent on local units and any failure at that level affects financial support up through territorial operations.

General Social Relationships in the Salvation Army

There are some distinctive aspects to certain of the social relationships of the participants in Salvation Army activities. There is a distinction

between officers and lay members, women have an unusual role, and volunteers are used extensively. Each of these aspects will be briefly examined.

Officers and Soldiers

The distinction between officers and soldiers is similar to the distinction between ministers and laymen in other religious groups. Soldiers are those individuals who have joined the Salvation Army to become salvationists. The term salvationists refers to both soldiers and officers, but is most often used when referring to soldiers. These people attend religious meetings and may or may not work as volunteers or paid workers on Salvation Army projects.

Officers in the Salvation Army are ordained ministers and workers in the Salvation Army (exceptions are officers who have retired), and they live in Salvation Army owned houses (officers' quarters). For a soldier to become an officer certain procedures and training programs must be followed. The soldiers must have served at least six months -- a longer period is preferable -- before making application to be considered as a candidate for officership. The prospective candidate's case is prepared at divisional headquarters and includes his preliminary application, a narrative account of his personal religious experience, and his commitment to officership. References are required from divisional officers, corps commanding officers, and local officers. Additional information is also required: medical examination, health history, dental data, a transcript of the candidate's education and job experience, a citizenship questionnaire, birth certificate, photograph, and entrance fee. The case is then presented to the territorial candidate's secretary who summarizes and evaluates it and passes it along to the candidate's council.

If accepted the candidate is categorized as "accepted-candidate" and begins a course of preparatory study of the Bible and Salvation Army doctrine in his home corps. When the session begins he enters the School for Officers Training (in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco, Puerto Rico, or in Mexico City, which is part of the United States Salvation Army Command), and starts his "academic two years of in-residence study and basic training." Courses include Salvation Army doctrine, sociology, social work, psychology, Salvation Army regulations, homiletics, public speaking, Bible studies, church history, composition, public relations, business administration, accounting, and vocal and instrumental music. After completing the two year course, the candidate is commissioned as a lieutenant and assigned a post. Correspondence study is maintained for at least four years and, in addition, regular post-graduate institutes are held. Promotion is based on length of service and ratings of character, efficiency, devotion to duty, and capacity to cope with increased responsibility. Successive ranks for officers in the Salvation Army are lieutenant, captain, major, brigadier, lieutenant colonel, colonel, lieutenant commissioner, commissioner, and general (the latter is reserved for the elected world leader). Thus, the primary qualifications for officer selection and training are religious commitment followed by administrative ability.

The Role of Women

Compared to the positions they hold in most other organizations, religious or otherwise, women have a unique standing in the Salvation Army. This, as indicated earlier, is partly related to the important role Catherine Booth played in the founding of the organization. From the day of its formation, women have been formally accepted as equals with men within the group. In fact, the Salvation Army has had one female general (Evangeline Booth, daughter of William Booth); few other women in history ever have attained the top command position in their organization.

The equalitarian position of women is further emphasized in marriage. While the woman's duties as a wife and mother take precedence, she does have the same rank and thus authority as her husband. In some respects this means that there are many situations where there are two officers for each position. The marriage requirements within the Salvation Army reinforce this tendency. Officers are not required to marry but they are encouraged to do so. Furthermore, mates for officers must be Salvation Army members, preferably selected from fellow officers as distinct from soldiers. Wives are referred to by husbands' rank (e.g., Mrs. Major Smith) and formally at least are responded to in the same way. As we shall see later, this means that there are circumstances such as emergencies where the wife can and often does perform certain duties for her husband.

Salvation Army Volunteers

Volunteers are vital to the operations of the Salvation Army. There are two types. There are groups of volunteers organized by the Salvation Army from among its soldiers, and there are outside groups and individuals who volunteer their help at different times.

The service units mentioned earlier would be one kind of the first type of volunteers. A similar kind of groups of volunteers organized by the Salvation Army is the advisory board or advisory council. These boards are associated with corps, city commands, various institutions, divisional headquarters. Most charitable groups have a lay board which at least nominally has a certain amount of power over the activities of the organization. However, in the Salvation Army, the advisory board at whatever level is supposed to be just that, i.e., advisory only. (Some deviations from this pattern occur especially in disaster situations and will be discussed later.) Final decisions and control are in the hands of Salvation Army personnel, although it is expected that members of the advisory boards will be called upon for contributions, manpower, and counsel in organizational projects.

The advisory board is non-sectarian and members are selected, as is typically the case for almost all kinds of welfare groups, for their power, prestige and wealth in their communities. There seems to be an effort to obtain in particular such persons as executives, businessmen of different backgrounds, mass communications people, professionals, etc., who can provide specialized aid and advice in their respective areas. One large city command, for example, had the following advisory board: newspaper editors, investment bankers, manufacturers, insurance company executives, physicians, telephone company executives, public welfare administrators, and grocery chain executives. In smaller communities there is a tendency for members to be also small businessmen.

The range of outside groups and individuals who volunteer their services to the Salvation Army at different times is very large, and a list would be impossible to present. Every program of the organization, with the exception of the religious function carried on by the basic corps, utilizes volunteers. Groups such as Scouts, women's clubs, businessmen's groups, and other religious organizations, often aid the Salvation Army. This is particularly true in major community emergencies as will be documented further later on. Individual volunteers come from lay members of the Salvation Army, recipients of Salvation Army services, housewives, students, etc. In addition, the organization at times seeks out volunteers for particular specialized programs. Involved in this would be such occupational categories as physicians, dentists, social workers, psychologists, nurses and other specialists in similar areas.

This chapter has discussed the overall structure of the Salvation Army and its semi-military structure. Also emphasized were the religious and social welfare orientations of the organization and how these are reflected in its various components and operations. Certain aspects of the social relationships of persons involved in Salvation Army groups and functions were likewise noted.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter II

1. The Salvation Army Year Book, 1966 (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1967), p. 74.
2. Ibid.
3. As in the instance of most complex organizations and especially religious groups there are always problems of defining membership. The figures cited are from the 1966 Yearbook of the organization.
4. These figures are also from the 1966 Yearbook.
5. The title "secretary" does not carry the usual connotation. Historically, when William Booth was organizing the Salvation Army, his first major administrative assistant was a man who was also his secretary. This man had much administrative authority and in fact often spoke for Booth. As the organization increased in complexity new departments were added. Heads of these departments were designated secretaries. Thus, Booth's second in command was called the chief secretary.

CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCY OPERATIONS OF THE SALVATION ARMY

This chapter first briefly discusses the factors affecting the historical involvement of the Salvation Army since its formation in disaster relief operations. It then considers the general conditions influencing the participation of the organization in contemporary major community emergencies in American society. The chapter concludes with an examination of Salvation Army tasks in different kinds of disaster situations.

Past Involvement in Disasters

There are few historical accounts of Salvation Army disaster relief operations in the nineteenth century; this makes it difficult to understand exactly how the organization began to participate in such activities. Its emergency operations, in general, consist of the same basic services as are provided daily. Viewed this way, disaster activities could be seen as a logical outgrowth of the Salvation Army's initial provision of services other groups or agencies did not provide. Thus, the beginnings of Salvation Army disaster operations might be thought of as dating back almost to the formation of the organization.

Among the earliest recorded emergency operations of the Salvation Army are those in the 1890's when organizational members began to give help and comfort to family members as they waited at the "pit heads" when coal miners were trapped. In 1900, the Salvation Army provided relief services on a large scale, perhaps for the first time in the United States, at the great Galveston hurricane and flood. In 1904, a shipwreck off the coast of San Francisco created a problem when around 700 men were left without shelter or homes. A Salvation Army woman collected money after the tragedy and with the gifts she obtained fed and cared for the men. There is some evidence that this provided an impetus for disaster relief work becoming somewhat more organized and an accepted responsibility of the organization.

Salvation Army personnel, of course, are expected to reflect the religious concerns of the organization. Its ideological system emphasizes religious values, hard work, dedication and unselfishness. The members are supposed to have a humanitarian and service orientation towards the world. All this in itself would probably have been enough to lead the Salvation Army to become involved in disaster operations. In fact, at one level, no further explanation is needed.

However, two other factors also probably played a part. The Salvation Army in its everyday operations deals in the main with the kinds of persons most likely to be disaster victims. Furthermore, the daily services of the Salvation Army are quite similar to many of the emergency tasks it historically undertakes in disaster situations (at least until very recently).

Since its inception, working class persons and indigents have been the major recipients of Salvation Army activities. In fact, the charter for the organization in this country specifically states that it was established: "For the spiritual, moral and physical reformation of the working classes; for the reclamation of the vicious, criminal, dissolute and degraded; for the visitation among the poor and lowly and the sick." Formally at least, the Salvation Army has a more delimited segment of the population as its major concern than some other welfare organizations, such as the Red Cross. The historical roots of the Salvation Army, as described in the first chapter, explain its focus and those that are seen as the major recipients of organizational attention.

While disasters are not respectful of class and other status differences, it is a fact that victims of natural disasters are not likely to be a cross section of the population in general. Working class segments of a community are in some respects more likely to be affected. Harry Moore studied this matter systematically and suggested that in the tornadoes of Waco and San Angelo, Texas:

Poorly constructed homes were much more vulnerable to destruction than were other homes, increasing the problem of moving for residents in the lower economic areas and classes.

Families who moved had certain characteristics different from those not forced to move: (1) lower family income, (2) more employment of multiple family members, (3) larger number of children per family, (4) greater probability of a disorganizing experience (death, divorce, separation) in the family history.¹

Moore further noted that those families who moved had suffered greater financial loss, physical injury, and more emotional disturbances. Their disaster-related problems included:

1. Greater economic loss -- four times as large in Waco, twice as large in San Angelo as those families who did not move.
2. Added expenses of moving and establishing the family in temporary and, later, new permanent residences.
3. Greater loss through interruption of employment.
4. Less insurance protection. (This factor was offset somewhat by the aid these families received through the relief agencies.)
5. A larger proportion incurring debt, and the average debt incurred being larger.

6. More family members injured in the disasters.

Thus we see a general picture of the most vulnerable class of families in these cities and of the greater loss and damage they suffered because of the disasters.²

Moore's study was restricted to tornadoes, but there is little reason to suspect that his conclusion would not be as relevant in other types of disaster events. Working class populations, as well as minority groups, are often isolated both physically and socially from dominant groups and other segments more integrated into the society. This adds to the likelihood of their greater exposure to dangers because of a failure of being exposed to warnings of possible threats.³ Such segments of the population also typically live in more vulnerable areas (e.g., flood plains) and in housing less able to withstand physical stress and strain. Persons in these socio-economic circumstances, of course, have less resources to fall back upon in times of emergencies.⁴ There is thus somewhat of a coincidence between typical victims of disasters and much of the population range that the Salvation Army normally services. This certainly has reinforced the increasing tendency of the organization through the years to get involved in disaster operations.

As already indicated, the daily functions of the Salvation Army include among many other things, the giving of temporary housing and meals to transients and indigents, the providing of clothing for the needy, the granting of money for individual emergencies, and so on. Many of these activities are quite similar to the services needed in a major community disaster. This similarity obviously would have made it easier for the Salvation Army in the past at least, to shift over from daily tasks to emergency operations.

Involvement in Emergency Tasks

Whether emergency tasks will be undertaken in a major emergency is greatly influenced by the local situation in the affected community. The pre-disaster degree of support, the types and amounts of services provided by other local groups, the number of organizational personnel -- especially officers -- available, the equipment and supplies present in the area, and the community perception of aid required, are all important factors in Salvation Army emergency operations. They determine if and to what extent the organization will become involved.

As discussed previously, Salvation Army organizations and services for everyday operations vary greatly from area to area. The overall organizational policy is to provide those services considered important given Salvation Army goals and objectives and which are not provided by other groups and agencies. However, it is also general policy that local units should be self-supporting. Thus, not all that is important and desirable can often be achieved. In this way, the pre-disaster degree of support in a given locality is a factor in the amount and types of services Salvation Army local units may provide in emergencies. The existing group on the scene or in the area, functioning on

an everyday basis, often becomes the core for any expansion in a major disaster. To the extent it is well established, the greater is the possible involvement of the Salvation Army.

Many of the welfare services typically provided by the Salvation Army are also given by other community groups. Obvious examples are such organizations as the Red Cross, private welfare groups (such as the Volunteers of America, Goodwill Industries, etc.) and church groupings and affiliates. To the extent other groups are active and their operations are seen as meeting the needs of the community there is an attempt to avoid duplication. In terms of disaster-related tasks, the Red Cross, and in recent years, the Seventh Day Adventists, are the most frequent providers of the same kind of assistance that the Salvation Army could give in an emergency. Their operations are a factor in the involvement of the Salvation Army in a disaster, but not by itself a major determinant. (As we shall later discuss, the possible overlap in disaster relief activities is sometimes a source of difficulty and strain between the organization and other groups, particularly the Red Cross.)

As already indicated, the manpower available to a Salvation Army unit in any given locality varies considerably. Initial personnel would have to come from the immediate area of an emergency. Many corps are manned by one or two officers, and service units of course generally have none. This will also affect the involvement of the organization in a community disaster.

Since corps or city commands usually carry out disaster operations for the organization, stocks of Salvation Army emergency equipment and supplies are widely dispersed around the country. The stored items are kept as much as possible ready for quick use. Personnel are pre-assigned to handle emergency equipment, in order to facilitate rapid utilization. An additional source of possible equipment is the men's social rehabilitation centers. For example, trucks used in these centers for daily operations can be made available for emergency use. Thus, whether there is Salvation Army involvement and the degree of it in a major community emergency is partly dependent on the relevant organizational resources present in the affected area.

The help that a community perceives is required, of course, also plays a part in Salvation Army involvement in disasters. The greater the disaster is, the more all the organizations in a community come under increasing pressure to give aid; this may be as a result of official, direct requests or may stem indirectly from citizens taking actions that implicitly assume that assistance will be forthcoming from certain groups. The Salvation Army, as other groups and especially one that is widely known to have some kind of welfare focus, is subject to this kind of community expectation. This along with the other conditions mentioned becomes a major factor affecting the involvement of the organization in disaster-related tasks.

With these qualifications in mind, Salvation Army tasks in emergency situations will now be looked at briefly. To facilitate this, community disasters or crises are categorized in terms of their extensiveness and period of duration. There are, of course, many other variables but these two are among the most important affecting possible Salvation Army tasks.

Instantaneous-Focalized Emergency

Limited explosions and fires are examples of this type of emergency. No warning is ordinarily possible and thus no specific preparation can be undertaken. The scope of the disaster would normally be quite limited; thus, the surrounding area and its component organizations could readily respond.

For a number of years, in many communities, the Salvation Army has responded by prior arrangement to this type of emergency. In these cases the organization usually works with the fire department and occasionally police or other law enforcement or governmental agencies. In most instances the Salvation Army is contacted by the fire department. (The Salvation Army unit may however have an alarm in its own headquarters in the community.) In large fires or major emergencies where firemen, policemen, and similar personnel may be involved in intense work for an extended period, the immediate services provided are coffee, tea, doughnuts, and the like. If emergency activities are continued, sandwiches, soup, and even meals may be served to workers. In this type of emergency the Salvation Army also provides ministerial services (counseling, giving moral and spiritual support, notifying families of injuries and deaths, etc.). Depending on the ramifications of this kind of emergency, the Salvation Army could become involved in a number of other services. Lists of injured and dead may be collected and a system set up whereby people can inquire about friends and relatives. Residents of the emergency area may be provided with food, clothing, a temporary residence, and possibly a small loan. It would be very unusual for Salvation Army personnel to engage in operative tasks such as directing traffic or providing transportation for supplies.

In summary, in an instantaneous-focalized emergency the Salvation Army may, in order of probability: (1) provide refreshments and possible meals to workers, (2) give spiritual support and counsel, (3) provide victims of the disaster area with emergency welfare services, and (4) set up a missing-persons system to obtain and distribute information about people in the affected locality to inquiring friends and relatives. In providing these services Salvation Army welfare personnel and transient lodge personnel, as well as their facilities, could become involved and undertake fairly close to the same tasks that they perform daily.

Instantaneous-Diffuse Emergency

Massive explosions à la Texas City and tornadoes are examples of this type of emergency. There is little or no warning and, thus, no specific organizational preparation is possible. However, in this kind of disaster the area of impact and consequently of distress might be rather extensive. The greater the area affected the less likely the capability of the immediately surrounding area for handling the emergency problems.

Typically, initial Salvation Army operations in this kind of disaster would be similar to those noted for the types of emergencies just described. Food and spiritual comfort would be provided to firemen, police personnel and other relief workers in the area. The same services, in addition to clothing

and possibly small loans, would be provided for residents of the area. A missing-persons system might be set up depending on whether or not other organizations provided this service and on whether or not the Salvation Army felt it had sufficient personnel available to do an effective job.

However, as the emergency operations extended over time, some extensions of organizational activities would probably appear. The local Salvation Army unit, early in a disaster of this kind, would most likely notify division and territorial offices, request help from other nearby units, and also possibly make periodic announcements of its services and needs over the local mass media. Requests for assistance would also be channeled through various official and business contacts. Arriving Salvation Army personnel from other units would bring with them canteens that could be used to mount extensive feeding operations. Bedding, clothing and food goods obtained through local donations, through advisory board members, and from other Salvation Army units, would also become available and sorting and distribution to those needing these items would be carried out. After people begin to return to their homes in the disaster area, furniture, cleaning supplies, additional food supplies and clothes might be distributed by volunteers who also could help in clean-up activities. Funds from local donations and territorial headquarters would also make more loans and services available for those needing them. In general, this would be a typical pattern of organizational response in the usual instantaneous-diffuse type of disaster.

However, in recent years Salvation Army operations have sometimes gone beyond this point of emergency relief. In one major disaster within this last decade, the nearby local areas were not able to support, in full, emergency operations. Too many communities had suffered damage. As a result, the Salvation Army became involved in extended rehabilitation operations that included many financial transactions in an attempt to help restore local economies as well as to provide immediate emergency services. This was a division-level operation (somewhat unusual in emergency operations of the Salvation Army) and it provided money (obtained by special permission from territorial funds) to local corps and service units. Ten thousand dollars was initially sent to all local corps and service units. In time, some of these groups returned surplus funds whereas other units had to ask for additional support. The money was used by the Salvation Army to underwrite community projects and business rebuilding, and to purchase different items of equipment needed by some industries to return to normal operations. The Salvation Army also supplied money to move a whole village, and individual welfare grants for rebuilding and restoring living quarters were extensive. All these activities of a rehabilitory nature were in addition to the traditional, previously mentioned disaster services.

In summary, usual Salvation Army operations in an instantaneous-diffused disaster include all services typically provided in an instantaneous-focalized emergency. However, to the extent that the disaster is very diffuse, the organization might become more involved in extended relief and welfare operations. In multiple community disasters, the Salvation Army has shown a capability to undertake rather extensive rehabilitation activities, although up to the present this has been a rare pattern.

Progressive-Diffuse Emergency

To the extent that a disaster agent progressively moves upon an area, a warning period is possible. Extensive floods and hurricanes are examples of this kind of disaster. By their very nature, their impact tends to be diffused, thus affecting the ability of local organizations to meet immediate emergency needs.

The major difference in operations of the Salvation Army in this type of disaster and the previous type -- the instantaneous-diffused kind -- is that a warning period permits some preparation. During this period of time, as predictions become more specific, the local Salvation Army unit will probably keep division and territorial headquarters aware of its possible needs. In most cases canteens and personnel will be on the way and positioned such that they are easily accessible by the time the disaster agent strikes some locality. (Because the locale of hurricanes and floods can not be completely predicted, it is the policy of the Salvation Army to deploy canteens and personnel in such a way as to maximize their possibility of moving immediately to an area directly after it is hit.) Salvation Army quarters in this type of disaster are often used as shelters during the time of impact. In these cases, organizational personnel care for the needs of those refugees using their facilities as a shelter. This assistance may include providing emergency medical aid as well as food and clothing. Before and during impact, emergency personnel (i.e., police, fire, etc.) will likely be provided the organization's usual relief services.

Progressive-Focalized Emergency

This kind of disaster is different from the instantaneous-focalized type only to the extent that it continues to grow. That is, there is progressive destruction and/or casualties even after the first initial impact of the disaster agent. Mine explosions, cave-ins, or ship sinkings after collisions would be illustrations of this kind of disaster.

In general, Salvation Army operations would be fairly similar to those undertaken in an instantaneous-focalized disaster. This has been discussed earlier. The major difference possible would be that more organizational personnel might be utilized as the emergency period grew longer.

From its initial historical concern with providing spiritual comfort to bereaved persons, the Salvation Army has considerably extended its activities in emergencies. As indicated, in some recent disasters the organization has even undertaken long-range, community welfare tasks. But generally speaking, the Salvation Army is a short-run, emergency relief group for affected individuals more than a disaster rehabilitation organization for impacted localities.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter III

1. Harry E. Moore, Tornadoes over Texas (Austin: University of Texas, 1958), p. 137.
2. Ibid.
3. How a less well integrated segment of the population may remain outside of emergency activities and planning is discussed in T. Ktsanes et. al., Community Structure, Organizational Structures, and Citizen Participation in Community-Wide Activities (New Orleans: Urban Life Research Institute, Tulane University, 1955).
4. The general notion that disasters strike hardest at those least able to absorb them is documented in Harry Moore et. al., Before the Wind: A Study of the Response to Hurricane Carla (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1963), p. 81.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXAMPLE OF SALVATION ARMY OPERATIONS

Salvation Army activities in daily and emergency operations have been discussed for the most part in the abstract in previous chapters. A specific concrete example will now be presented. Since this particular disaster -- a hurricane -- was of the progressive-diffused type, the Salvation Army units involved undertook most of the operations the organization would participate in during a large-scale community disaster. The normal pre-hurricane activities as well as emergency operations are described.

Pre-Disaster Operations

This locality has three different types of Salvation Army groups: a men's rehabilitation center, a division command headquarters, and a city command.¹ While this is not a typical configuration of units in a given area, it is not a rare Salvation Army pattern in a metropolitan community.

The rehabilitation center, located at the outskirts of the city, is composed of four staff persons with the men who are being rehabilitated comprising the rest of the unit. These men drive trucks, rebuild and refinish furniture, and work in retail stores. The men's social rehabilitation center is independent of the rest of the Salvation Army organization in the city; it is a self-sufficient group which takes orders only from the territorial headquarters during normal times. Its sole function is rehabilitation.

The division command, the smallest Salvation Army unit located in the city, is one of the 12 divisions in the whole territory. Its staff of eight members coordinates Salvation Army services, controls finances, and supervises corps religious programs for the city command.

While the largest Salvation Army unit in the city is the men's social rehabilitation center, the most complex is the city command. The number of city command personnel varies from eight to 14 excluding wives of officers. The city commander coordinates the activities of these persons and is advised by a 45-member businessmen's board, composed of lay people who help with the business, financial, and charitable functions of the local organization.

During the hurricane, the city command became the central functioning unit of the Salvation Army in the community. The city commander was the disaster zone commander² for the area, and had extensive social and business contacts with the mayor's office, the advisory board, etc., enabling him to get outside business help. The focus of the following discussion will be the city command because of its extensive involvement in disaster relief during the hurricane. The other two Salvation Army units in the city, the men's social rehabilitation center and the division command, will be discussed primarily in terms of their relationships to the city command. First, an examination will be made of normal, daily Salvation Army operations in the city. This will be followed by a discussion of emergency operations.

Decision Making During Normal Times

In the city command unit, the city commander makes, or approves in some manner, all meaningful decisions in his organization. These decisions concern the following areas: welfare services (finances, food, clothes, special programs for Thanksgiving and Christmas, summer camp) and the men's and women's lodges, the corps programs, and emergency services (serving coffee and doughnuts to workers at a large fire or other emergency). In general, decisions are the responsibility of the city commander, but he has delegated individuals to make decisions with his approval in the areas of religion, welfare, and care for transients. This approval is most often implicit and not overt in nature. However, decision-making areas are not always specifically defined; there is therefore a good deal of overlap.

As for the other two Salvation Army units in the city, all important decisions for the men's rehabilitation center are made by its director. For his part, the division commander supervises divisional headquarters, while his second in command, the division secretary, relieves and helps him, acts as office manager for division headquarters, and acts as property manager for all properties in the division.

Tasks During Normal Times

During normal times the tasks of personnel in the Salvation Army city command seem to follow closely the positions in the chain of command. Each position, except the lowest, generally has specific, unique tasks. The city commander is the general administrator of the city command; his tasks include supervision of personnel, important decision making for city command, and coordination of the city command with division headquarters, with the social rehabilitation center, with officials, with the public, and with the city command advisory board.

As to the various Salvation Army units in the city, the division of labor is as follows: the city command is responsible for religious, welfare and minor emergency functions within its area. The men's social rehabilitation center has one major function: rehabilitation. Many subtasks, such as furniture collection and refinishing, stem from its primary function. For example, the unit is partly financed by the resale of the collected and restored furniture. The divisional headquarters is responsible for organizing, directing and coordinating the religious, welfare and emergency functions of the Salvation Army within its assigned area. In addition, divisional headquarters acts as a communication base and insures that instructions and decisions from divisional and territorial levels are disseminated throughout its jurisdiction.

As in many other organizations, a number of tasks are unofficially handled in a way different from that called for by the formal structure. For example, in the city command a corps staff member has informally assumed the task of maintaining vehicles in good mechanical condition. Although these vehicles are

assigned to the city command, this task should properly be a function of one of the city commander's maintenance men. However, the corps member performs this work because of his own personal choice.

Communication Patterns in Normal Times

There is nothing very unusual about the communication patterns within and between the various Salvation Army units in the city. Standard means of communication are used. The content is what might be expected in this kind of organization.

The city commander has the most complex pattern, using in his daily communications the following means: face-to-face, telephone, letters and messengers. The topics of his communications include the internal operations of his command, relations between the city command and the other Salvation Army units in the area, and the relationship among the city command, the advisory board and the general public.

Division headquarters' communications are conducted primarily through reports or letters -- occasionally telephone calls or face-to-face -- to and from city commands and to and from territorial headquarters. Because of the small size of this group, communications within it are mostly face-to-face.

Most of the men's social rehabilitation center communications are internal or between them and the public. The rest of the communications are reports to and from territorial headquarters and occasional communications with the other two Salvation Army groups in the city.

Disaster Operations

Before the hurricane, Salvation Army activities centered on general preparations: obtaining supplies, readying equipment and assigning general tasks. Before the severest part of the storm, volunteers made a canteen trip, took in some evacuees from the neighborhood of one of the Salvation Army units, and prepared sandwiches and coffee. During the height of the storm early on a Thursday morning, most activity as well as outside communications ceased. After winds decreased, canteen runs, sandwich-making and coffee-making resumed. Disaster relief operations soon exceeded facilities and equipment at the main Salvation Army operating unit. On Saturday, an advisory board member donated a warehouse; 18 canteens arrived from outside the city; and personnel set up food and clothing distribution. During the next week, a convent in a nearby town prepared sandwiches to be distributed by the Salvation Army; various firms contributed cleaning materials to be distributed by the organization; and personnel from the police department made up food boxes to be distributed by them and by Salvation Army personnel to evacuees as they returned home. About a month later, all operations except some welfare were ended, and the period of intense involvement of the Salvation Army in disaster activities had ended.

In more specific detail the chronology of events was as follows:

BEFORE HURRICANE

Time prior to Tuesday	General alerting of Salvation Army personnel in the territory. Specific alerting by phone, telegraph, by the division office when radio weather reports indicated that the hurricane was going to hit the general area.
Tuesday	Meeting of civil defense organizations (Red Cross, city government agencies) at the mayor's office attended by the city commander and advisory board members.
Wednesday morning	General preparation of the Salvation Army: (1) supplies and sources for possible additional supplies obtained (coffee, sandwich materials, etc.); (2) red light placed on Salvation Army car and police permission obtained to use light; (3) radio and television announcements of services available, the need for help, and the preparations made.
Wednesday 4:30-5:30 a.m., 10:00 a.m.	Requests received from officials to furnish coffee and sandwiches to workers and also to some centers where evacuees had reported.
Wednesday	Meeting of organizational personnel at Civil Defense command center. The Salvation Army reported that all of its local personnel as well as Salvation Army personnel throughout two nearby states had been alerted and were on standby. Also contact had been made with divisional commanders in five states requesting that they alert some of their personnel and vehicles to be moved into the local area in case they were needed. After meeting at the Civil Defense command center, the Salvation Army city commander held a meeting with Salvation Army personnel, made definite assignments and was advised that three mobile canteens were enroute from several out-of-state cities.
Wednesday evening-Thursday morning	The city commander acted as Salvation Army liaison at Civil Defense command center.

Wednesday 9:00-11:00 p.m.

The city Salvation Army corps assistant delivered doughnuts and coffee to sewage and water board personnel after an official request was made to the city commander.

DURING HURRICANE

Wednesday evening-Thursday morning

Sandwich making increased beyond the point reached in any previous local disaster.

Wednesday midnight

The Civil Defense command center, and therefore the city commander, lost communications with the outside except for two phones to the coroner's office. At this point most relief work in all organizations was at a standstill because of storm intensity.

Thursday morning

The main Salvation Army center received some evacuees from the neighborhood.

The Salvation Army helped in evacuations of flooded areas but lacked proper equipment and personnel.

Thursday 4:30 a.m.

The city commander returned to the main Salvation Army center from the Civil Defense command center and had conferences with his organizational personnel to clarify functions at this point.

Thursday 6:00 a.m.

The first canteen from outside the metropolitan area arrived.

AFTER HURRICANE

Thursday morning

Personnel and equipment outgrew Salvation Army facilities at the main organizational center.

Thursday

The demands on Salvation Army resources exceed capacity.

Ice obtained through an arrangement with an advisory board member to meet problems caused by a lack of electricity, refrigeration, etc.

Thursday night

Night demands on the Salvation Army were met without too much difficulty. Note: Demands decreased at night while the majority of personnel continued to work during the first few nights.

Friday 5:00 a.m.

The Salvation Army disaster center moved from its main building to a building owned and temporarily donated for their use by an advisory board member.

Friday 7:00 a.m.

The sandwich assembly line set up at this building escalated to approximately 17,000 sandwiches in a 12-hour day.

Friday

Fork lifts obtained to handle increase in receiving and dispensing of supplies at donated building.

News media requests for Salvation Army volunteer help resulted in individuals and groups reporting to donated building. Included were members of organizations and groups from the YMCA, scouts, college organizations, high school groups and church groups.

Friday afternoon

A total of 18 canteens arrived in the city throughout the afternoon. With police help they were led to areas where they were most needed.

Friday

Some prepared foods received at the donated building.

Initial preparations made for food box distribution to families. Some boxes distributed at the donated building and by the police.

Initial preparations and some distribution of clothes at the donated building. Clothing distribution and food box distribution was completely organized by the afternoon of the next day.

First two weeks after hurricane

Special water purification equipment arrived from out of state. At first it was used in flooded areas of the city, but later it was sent to a nearby suburb.

First three weeks after hurricane

The Catholic convent with the help of local groups at the location of the Salvation Army summer camp began to make and send all sandwiches to the donated building. By this time, the Salvation Army center at the donated building had become primarily a distribution center. After the demand decreased to 1,000 sandwiches per day, commercial sources were relied upon for supply.

First three weeks after hurricane

Meals fed to evacuees returning home.

Cleaning equipment, including soap, mops and brooms, distributed to evacuees returning home.

Food boxes, clothing and other equipment distributed by vans, temporary distribution centers and police department personnel to evacuees returning home.

One week after hurricane

The division secretary organized clothing and canteen centers in a small nearby community.

Five weeks after hurricane

Canteens discontinued operations.

Six weeks after hurricane

Clothing and food box distribution ended.

Decision Making After the Hurricane

In general two things happened to the decision-making process during and after the hurricane. Higher echelon officials in the organization extended their decision making into activities, and to some extent areas, in which they did not operate during normal times. Personnel in the lower levels of the Salvation Army also made decisions regarding matters over which they usually had no concern.

The city commander made all major decisions, including the assignment of personnel, deciding the extent of Salvation Army involvement (such as how many and what kind of services to render), and arranging and purchasing supplies. The division commander and the division secretary worked with, and occasionally made decisions for, the city commander. In addition, the division commander alerted Salvation Army personnel outside the city for help, made decisions concerning public relations and decided where and what services would be offered outside the city. The decisions of the division commander were at the official level; the division secretary actually made and carried them out. In essence, the city commander made local decisions and the division secretary made decisions affecting areas outside the city. The city commander and the division secretary occasionally consulted with each other. The director of the men's social rehabilitation center, in addition to his usual tasks, handled excess clothing donations and transportation of emergency supplies. Officially, during a disaster, men's social rehabilitation is subject to the orders of the disaster zone commander. However, for the most part, the director of men's social rehabilitation maintained the independence of his unit and aided in disaster work only when it was necessary and when it did not interfere with the goals of his group.

Salvation Army personnel normally lower in the hierarchy of command made important organizational decisions regarding hurricane-related activities. Sometimes this decision-making process was engaged in by a number of different

persons. For example, at different times, the wife of the city commander, the division Girl Guard leader, the divisional financial secretary, and the wife of the corps leader supervised the making of sandwiches and the distribution of clothing.

Tasks After the Hurricane

The tasks of the Salvation Army during and after the hurricane have already been indicated in the chronology of events. Organizational personnel took on new tasks. Various components of the organization likewise assumed new responsibilities.

As an example, the camp caretaker during normal times performed a number of very important tasks during the disaster period insofar as communications, purchasing, and dispatching were concerned. Purchasing, for instance, included the signing of all orders -- a practice authorized in advance by the city commander, normally the only person in the city command who can sign such orders -- initiating orders when necessary, making decisions on where to purchase supplies, quantities to be purchased, and the transportation of the acquired items.

As already illustrated, city command, divisional headquarters, and the men's social rehabilitation center in varying degree participated in expanded and new tasks. The city command changed its activities most. The major religious services of the Salvation Army were continued, and the men's and women's lodges remained in operation, but emergency tasks occupied by far the greatest amount of time and personnel.

Communication Patterns After the Hurricane

From the very beginning of the emergency period to the end of the disaster relief period, communications was a major problem for the Salvation Army. In normal times, means and content are relatively simple and straightforward. After the hurricane, communications were complex and problematical; this started when contact with the civil defense command was cut off and telephone lines were either knocked down or became overloaded.

After the winds had died down, the Salvation Army began to use new means of communication which included the following: television and radio requests to the public (a means very rarely used before the disaster), police radios, amateur and citizen's band operators, hot line telephones to division headquarters and the mayor's office, messengers to suppliers and intercom and memos within the Salvation Army group. But despite this extensive growth of communication means, the lack of direct communications with canteens and staff personnel, with public officials and with suppliers proved to be one of the most critical problems experienced by the Salvation Army during the entire disaster relief effort.

The city commander, in his role as zone commander, was the center of the most complex communications pattern. He communicated with the public (face-to-face, radio and television, newspapers), with city officials (face-to-face, telephone, police and private radios, messengers), with Salvation Army personnel in other areas (telephone, telegraph), with businessmen (face-to-face, telephone, telegraph, letters, messengers), with division personnel (face-to-face, telephone, police and private radio, memos, intercom), with the director of the men's social rehabilitation center (face-to-face, telephone, messenger), with the city command advisory board (face-to-face, meetings, telephone, messengers), and with city command personnel, with Salvation Army personnel from other areas working in disaster relief, and with volunteers (face-to-face, meetings, telephone, police and private radio, memo, intercom, messenger).

Two aspects of the city commander's communications pattern are of particular interest. First, the camp caretaker, in charge of communications and purchasing in the emergency period, routed many of the communications to and from the city commander. Second, most of the city commander's requests to the director of the men's social rehabilitation center were routed through the division secretary.

Next to the city commander's probably the most complex communications pattern was that of the camp caretaker. As purchaser, he communicated within the organization with personnel involved in sandwich making and food and clothing distribution. As dispatcher, he communicated with Salvation Army personnel through the following means: face-to-face, telephone, police and private radio, memo, intercom. Outside the organization, he communicated with suppliers and transporters (telephone, messengers). In his task as communications person, he routed incoming telephone and radio communications.

The division commander and the division secretary communicated with the public (face-to-face, radio and television, newspaper), with city officials (face-to-face, police and private radios, messengers), with Salvation Army personnel in other areas (telephone, telegraph, letters), with businessmen (face-to-face, telephone, telegraph, letters, messengers), and with city command personnel and those volunteers who were working with the city command (face-to-face, telephone). The division secretary communicated with many officials and individuals outside the city as he organized the relief effort in those areas. The division financial secretary acted as router for division communication and handled mail, telegraph and telephone communications at division headquarters.

The post-disaster communications pattern of the director of the men's social rehabilitation center remained essentially the same as it had been. Calls concerning the donation of supplies increased, but this did not affect the overall communications activities.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate, without giving all details, the specific operations of the Salvation Army in a major disaster. Differences between normal and emergency activities were especially emphasized. While the illustration was a particular historical case, many of the observable changes in the organization's adaptation to the disaster can be found in most Salvation Army operations in major community crises. The next chapter discusses this in general terms.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter IV

1. Although some changes since the time of the disaster have occurred in the Salvation Army in the particular city being discussed, for stylistic reasons the pre-hurricane description of the organization will be couched in the present time.
2. Zone refers to Salvation Army emergency disaster service disaster plans which modify the authority structure for emergency operations. Standard division disaster service manuals of the Salvation Army state the following about the position and functions of zone commanders:

At the time of disaster, all Officers will be alerted and specific instructions issued to those immediately concerned. Officers should not leave their appointments without prior consultation with Zone Commander. The Administrative Area of which any officer is a part is organized into zones, areas, or groupings of Corps under a Zone Commander who is responsible to the Divisional Commander for all operations in his zone.

ZONE COMMANDER'S RESPONSIBILITIES:

The Zone Commander will be responsible to the Divisional Commander or appointed Officer for all operations in his zone. Working under the Zone Commander will be Advisory Board Members, Auxiliary Board Members, Salvation Army personnel, and all volunteer workers. Duties of the Zone Commander should include the following:

1. Notify Divisional Headquarters immediately of any disaster.
2. Alert workers and volunteers (including appointed Officer personnel).
3. Call together those necessary to prepare food and equipment.
4. Proceed to the scene of trouble prepared to give service, establishing headquarters at some strategic point.
5. Determine if additional equipment is needed and inform Divisional Headquarters.
6. Locate sources of supplies nearest disaster.
7. Arrange workers into shifts so continuous service can be given. Don't hesitate to give responsibilities to others but make certain instructions are clear.

8. To see that such Officers or other personnel as have been assigned responsibilities for supplies, transportation, canteen supervision, clothing distribution, etc., will function in these various capacities.
9. Keep a record of donations received whether food or money. No special appeal to be made without approval of the Divisional Commander.
10. The Zone Commander will have in mind the four types of service to be rendered:
 - a. feeding
 - b. clothing
 - c. mobile services
 - d. spiritual ministry

CHAPTER V

SALVATION ARMY ADAPTATION TO DISASTER DEMANDS

This chapter discusses in general terms how the Salvation Army adapts to the demands of a major community crisis. Stable organizational factors affecting the adaptation, primarily prior disaster plans and experiences are first discussed. However, greatest attention is given to more dynamic organizational factors, i.e., the change in structure and function of the Salvation Army when it is faced with a large scale, major community emergency.

Disaster Plans and Experiences

Some groups periodically experience emergency situations and thus tend to institutionalize ways of handling them. Their personnel become skilled at operating in such emergencies and there is a tendency to acquire specialized equipment and facilities. Perhaps more important, members of such groups or organizations develop a common frame of reference about disasters involving a set of beliefs and values which provide for a more general set of responses in the group as a whole.

The Salvation Army certainly has this common frame of reference. This frame of reference is operationalized in terms of plans for Salvation Army operations in emergency situations. The national version of the organizational emergency operating plan includes sections on emergency disaster service, disaster procedures, changes in organizational structure and position responsibilities, interdepartmental relations, equipment, role of service units, public information, financing, communications, transportation, mass feeding, emergency housing, clothing, spiritual ministry, registration and identification, use of volunteers, civil defense and other organizations.

Territories have their own versions of this national plan. The major difference is that territorial plans also include addresses, names and phone numbers of Salvation Army personnel, government and law enforcement officials, and other crisis-oriented organizations. In addition, the territory is divided into zones (referred as "areas" in the national manual) with specific individuals assigned to take charge if emergencies occur in their zone. To facilitate the Salvation Army becoming aware of emergencies and being notified of their occurrence, the names, addresses and phone numbers of zone commanders are made available to public officials and key organizational personnel in each of the zones.

Divisions have their own versions of emergency plans. These plans summarize national and territorial plans, make references to aspects of national and territorial plans that are specific for their division and list names, addresses, and phone numbers of police, sheriffs, civil defense and other public officials in the communities covered by the division. In addition, divisional plans include lists of Salvation Army personnel (including addresses and phone numbers) to be notified in case of emergencies in each zone. Local organizational units -- corps and city commands --

sometimes have their own version of emergency plans, although it is typical for emergency planning at this level to exist in the form of verbal agreements based on previous experience, rather than a written document as such.

Because of the procedure of calling in other Salvation Army units during emergency operations, the vast majority of Salvation Army personnel have had experience in disaster and similar situations. In fact, most organizational personnel have participated in large-scale emergency operations. Furthermore, where Salvation Army units have canteen equipment and available personnel, they have informal agreements with community officials to go to major fires, accidents, etc. and to supply coffee, doughnuts, etc., to relief workers, firemen, policemen and other people working at an emergency site. This gives Salvation Army personnel additional experience in working in stress situations. Essentially this also means that large-scale disaster operations are often only a more intensified version of some of their almost daily operations.

Compared with other emergency-oriented organizations, the Salvation Army has relatively little special equipment for emergency operations. However, the Salvation Army does have much specialized equipment and facilities that can be used in community crises. There is of course a vast range. At one end are units with no specialized items or material at all, while at the other end some larger units may have a number of canteens (with facilities ranging from coffeemakers to full scale "restaurants on wheels"), vehicles with special accessories (e.g. spotlights, radios, etc.), readily available supplies (dry or canned foods, paper plates, arm band identifications, etc.) and even such items as emergency generators.

If there is any typical pattern, it is for a unit to have a canteen and the usual equipment and supplies that normally go with such a vehicle. In addition, many Salvation Army facilities used for other purposes are easily converted for emergency use. For example, transient lodgings can readily be used as shelters, and the cooking items and supplies in these can be used for preparing large quantities of food for canteens.

In short, the Salvation Army at practically all levels, has skilled personnel, specialized equipment and facilities, and clear-cut plans for utilizing them in stressful community situations. Also, organizational personnel have generally had experience in disasters. In addition, a number of routine, daily activities are basically the same kinds of operations, although on a smaller scale, as those performed during large-scale emergencies.

Structural and Functional Changes

Changes in Salvation Army units in emergency operations as compared with nonemergency operations can be very extensive. In fact, the difference in large scale disasters is so marked that we could say a quasi-new organization emerges with the old group providing primarily the name and a core or cadre of personnel. Organizations having these characteristics are often referred to as voluntary associations. These groups have traditional normal tasks not of an emergency nature. Additionally, some of these organizations such as the

Salvation Army have latent emergency functions. That is, apart from their everyday activities, it is clearly expected that these groups will participate in community emergencies and undertake activities somewhat different from their daily operations. In so mobilizing for disasters, the group acquires additional personnel and the latent emergency tasks take on great importance.

In a disaster a new emergency context emerges. That is, the organization has to operate in a situation somewhat different from normal. This change in context is a result of the disaster event and can be seen as having at least the following characteristics.¹

1. Immediately after impact, organizations have to operate under conditions of great uncertainty.

As seen in the summary of Salvation Army operations described in the previous chapter, early operations of the organization are characterized by the fact that little is known of what will be expected of them in terms of type and size of operations. In addition, in many disasters there is lack of knowledge of the unit's capabilities. How many personnel will be available and what are the unit's resources are two major concerns. This is apparent in the following examples.

In one major disaster some of the key Salvation Army officers were in the civil defense operations center and for a period of time had no communications lines to their own organization. They did not know to what extent their own personnel and equipment had escaped damage and destruction. In addition, they were unaware of the fact that Salvation Army personnel and equipment was coming into the city from outside of the stricken area. As it turned out, some of the incoming men and material might well have been better used outside of the city. Similar problems occurred in Salvation Army operations in a major metropolitan area after a massive snowstorm. Top organizational officials were unsure as to whom and what kind of equipment could get through the snow. In fact, many small corps units scattered around metropolitan area performed duties outside of what they would normally perform in emergency operations simply because no one could get through the massive snowdrifts. This uncertainty about the availability of personnel and resources is rather typical of early stages of Salvation Army emergency operations.

The increase in personnel is necessitated by the presence of emergency tasks. The first personnel needed are recruited from among those persons who are involved in ongoing daily operations. Regular organizational personnel, normally assigned to other tasks, are switched or reassigned to sandwich or coffee-making operations, or they may become involved in directing activities at the Salvation Army headquarters, or in delivering supplies to those who request them. Since emergency canteens are located in men's social service centers, personnel at such centers are often the first to become involved in disaster activities.

Also, since they have the same rank as their husbands, wives of Salvation Army personnel usually play an important part during the early stages of an emergency. In many cases they previously have undertaken the same duties

as their husbands. Thus, wives are immediate additional and experienced supervisory personnel. They may take charge of lay members of the Salvation Army who often become involved rather early in the emergency, as well as transients staying at the lodges. In some instances, the wives may come to supervise organizational personnel arriving from outside of the disaster area.

Various types of volunteers make up the remainder of the additional personnel involved in Salvation Army emergency operations. Most important among these volunteers are advisory board members. Serving the organization in an advisory capacity, they are not Salvation Army members as such. Instead they are as indicated earlier usually persons who have particular attributes that make them useful to the Salvation Army on a long term basis (e.g., businessmen, physicians, lawyers, governmental officials, real estate persons, bankers, etc.). ~~These persons are normally formed into different committees,~~ one of them being the disaster committee of the advisory board. This committee has the specific task of aiding the Salvation Army in emergency operations. This aid may include securing supplies and transporting them from their own or other businesses, obtaining financial support, arranging for the procurement of needed equipment, and recruiting individuals with specialized skills to work in disaster operations. Officially these persons have no formalized authority, and unlike in the Red Cross, serve completely in an advisory capacity. However, certain cases have been observed where advisory board members have acted informally as important decision makers in determining limits of services, and also where they have acted for local Salvation Army leaders who were absent from the scene. For example, in one large metropolitan area, a person who worked for the Salvation Army in public relations and was a member of the advisory board made important decisions and generally coordinated emergency services during the city commander's absence in a large-scale disaster.

Another important source of personnel are women volunteers often associated with the advisory board. These women normally aid the Salvation Army in its daily welfare operations, but during disasters frequently assist in sandwich making and clothing distribution. In one case, for example, a member of this group set up and generally directed the clothing distribution operation in a major disaster.

There are also many formal groups, agencies and organizations that have contact with the Salvation Army and consequently assist it during emergency operations. Often, for example, there is some agreement with the Radio Amateurs Civil Emergency Service (RACES), or citizen band radio groups to provide the organization with supplementary communications during a disaster. Scout groups, college organizations, church groups, etc., are also frequent sources of additional voluntary help to the Salvation Army. Church groups in particular collect clothes, canned goods or furniture, and frequently provide substantial amounts of volunteer manpower.

Augmentation of personnel is also provided by individual volunteers. Many such volunteers are persons who have worked with the Salvation Army before, either in a disaster or in connection with the organization's everyday activities. In a few cases, volunteers are persons who have responded to a

Salvation Army request for specialized skills (e.g., electricians to set up emergency generators, mechanics to perform repair work on emergency equipment, etc.)

Thus, most of the personnel and to some extent the resources are being increased while the type and size of the emergency operation that the Salvation Army will undertake is being defined. Under conditions of great uncertainty, the initial mobilization of the organization has to take place.

2. During the emergency period, organizations have to operate under conditions of urgency.

As seen in the summary of the operations of the Salvation Army in the previous chapter, actions frequently have to be taken without delay. There often is a sense of urgency. Decisions sometimes cannot be communicated through normal channels or made by the designated official in the authority structure. In the description of the Salvation Army organization, the semi-military or autocratic nature of the authority and decision structure was emphasized. In emergency situations, tasks are often performed because "I saw it had to be done" and decisions are made by individuals who would normally only take commands. Communications become as direct and simple as possible. We can see this in the following example.

In one massive disaster, certain emergency activities such as canteen operations and clothing distribution became central and very large-scale tasks. Salvation Army personnel who would normally not make decisions regarding such matters ordered and obtained supplies, dispersed and routed canteens, etc. Under the urgency of getting things done, normal authority patterns were changed. Thus, very early in the disaster, one man, who previously had been in the rather low authority position of summer camp caretaker, was made communications officer. As a result of this, he was able to direct communications between the Salvation Army and other organizations without following the normal official pattern of routing all communications through the city commander. If the communications officer had attempted to follow normal channels, little could have been done. In the same disaster, decisions were made and orders were given by organizational personnel in charge of specific field operations. This served the function of allowing the Salvation Army to provide many services without direct consultation and orders from the city commander. It also left the city commander free to coordinate, care for tasks that required the authority of his position, and to work on particular problem areas.

Members follow organizational directives for many reasons, e.g., coercive (in prisons, mental hospitals, etc.), utilitarian (jobs are performed because individuals are paid), or normative (in religious organizations, universities and voluntary associations). Most organizational compliance is the result of utilitarian reasons. However, in emergency operations there frequently is a shift towards a normative basis of compliance. But while this is true of most organizations, it is not true for the Salvation Army. The normal basis for Salvation Army operations is normative. For participating members the Salvation Army is a religion and thus the reason for their compliance to daily tasks is based on their religious beliefs.

A similar basis for compliance is true of most of their volunteers during normal activities. Advisory group members as well as individual volunteers see the organizational operations as legitimate in a normative sense and comply because of this and not because of coercion or remuneration. Thus, the basis for participation in Salvation Army disaster operations is basically the same as during normal operations. There are only some exceptions to this. For example, some organizations may pay their workers to perform tasks for the Salvation Army. This has been observed in the case of truck drivers, warehousemen, etc.

3. In a disaster, organizations have to operate in the context of the emergency consensus.

With the appearance of the threat of a disaster agent, certain values come to be seen as critical to the survival of the community. The problematic state of resources necessitates making a choice in the allocation of the time and energy of the community to the most salient values. In addition, certain norms become more crucial; behavior which is directly related to high priority values is positively supported while behavior related to lower priority values is considered inappropriate. The resulting system of priorities and the widespread agreement throughout the community on this priority system can be thought of as an emergency consensus. In such an emergency context, the task structure of the Salvation Army is often greatly changed. Some normal tasks are modified, eliminated or deemphasized, while other tasks which are emergency related become the central focus.

In the main, religious, welfare and rehabilitation tasks undergo the most modifications in Salvation Army emergency operations. Many formally scheduled religious services are eliminated while others are minimized, thus freeing participants to distribute food or clothing, make sandwiches, etc. Often the only formal religious service held during the disaster period is the traditional Sunday service. However, individualized spiritual ministry increases because of its importance for those experiencing personal tragedy. (In fact, the foreword in The Salvation Army Manual for Emergency Disaster Service states: "It must be remembered however that Salvation Army emergency disaster service is but another expression of deep-seated spiritual motivation.")

Welfare tasks are modified and also directed toward disaster victims. Maternity hospitals for unwed mothers are used for the general population and often expand their activities to include medical treatment of a far broader scope than is usually the case. Dental and other health clinics of the Salvation Army similarly may modify their tasks. At the local unit level, transient lodges may be reoriented for such tasks as food preparation centers or temporary housing for families suffering losses in the disaster. Social workers attached to the Salvation Army may become involved in added tasks such as renting houses, hotel and motel room for temporary evacuees.

Rehabilitation programs may undergo major changes during an emergency period. Collection, repair, refinishing and selling of used clothing and furniture may stop during the initial phases of the disaster releasing Salvation Army personnel to perform immediate emergency related tasks

(e.g., preparing food, driving and helping on canteens, etc.) However, after a short period, collection is often resumed to enable the organization to supply furniture, clothing, etc., to disaster victims.

Task changes are important for a number of reasons. One is the change of order in which tasks are to be performed. During normal daily operations formal religious ceremonies usually take precedence over all other activities. Some are, of course, considered less important and may be omitted for other programs such as those which take place at Thanksgiving or Christmas. However, the most important of these religious ceremonies, Wednesday night and Sunday services, are held regularly during nonemergency times. During disasters the order of tasks is greatly modified and emergency operations take priority over all other activities. At times of disasters formal religious activities are eliminated or greatly curtailed.

Change of overall tasks has ramifications for many Salvation Army workers with individuals performing tasks that are new to them or at least different from their normal everyday activities. Most Salvation Army personnel undertake such daily functions as registering transients into the lodge, interviewing welfare clients and prescribing aid, directing them to appropriate agencies according to certain recognized and standardized procedures. During disaster operations, the routine is radically different. Supervising, rather than performing operations becomes the major task of local Salvation Army personnel. Many, of course, have had experience in emergency operations and the change is not a completely new experience for them. However, many problems of authority, decision making, communication, etc., develop because the normative structure has to develop with the changes. Where changes of this type occur in non-emergency operations, they are less rapid and the organization is able to maintain clear definitions. This is, of course, difficult during emergency operations.

Decision-making procedures are greatly modified with task changes. New supervisory personnel have to make decisions which may pertain to unfamiliar areas and frequently must be made rather rapidly. The semi-military nature of the normal authority structure, discussed earlier, cannot work as well in disaster situations. Individuals who normally would not be required to make decisions are often given wide range, autonomous decision-making powers. Often it is impossible to consult or even communicate with superiors. This occasionally creates problems for personnel who become occupied with details. However, because most Salvation Army personnel have a rather general knowledge of the organization and its functioning in disaster situations, these problems tend to be minimized and personnel are shifted until operations run smoothly.

Methods and types of communication are also affected by task changes. Normal, formalized communications patterns are often useless. In fact, attempts to use written communications or to follow the normal patterns will often impede emergency operations. Because of this the National Emergency Manual of the Salvation Army suggest the assignment of one person to take charge of communications. This allows a more direct flow of messages and information. For example, a request for a canteen would be telephoned in to the communications person who would convey the message to the canteen dispatcher.

The normal procedure is for someone to convey the message to the local corps leader who would then give it to the proper person. Thus, many steps in the communication network are eliminated. Also, in emergency operations, verbal and "note" type communications replace formal written messages.

4. Organizations lose some of their autonomy in disaster conditions.

The ability to determine internal tasks is somewhat decreased in emergency operations. That is, there is a tendency for organizations to lose some of their distinctiveness and thus some of their internal control in the aftermath of a disaster. In fact, control by higher level Salvation Army authority is probably likewise decreased with the local unit merging into and becoming relatively indistinguishable from the overall community emergency response.

For example, Salvation Army personnel frequently are placed or locate themselves in civil defense operations centers, mayor's offices, etc. Requests for Salvation Army services thus can come directly from community officials or organizational heads, as well as from individuals. Where and when some degree of community organization of emergency operations has been attained, the Salvation Army typically becomes part of this community organization, and thus the types of tasks, extensity of operations, etc., are in large part determined by community definition. The degree of self-autonomy of the organization is considerably reduced.

Salvation Army regulations require approval for operational changes (e.g., for the addition of new tasks, the taking of personnel from other Salvation Army units, or for any nonroutine procedure). This approval in disaster situations is frequently only implicitly given or given after the fact. Even in cases where approval is given ahead of time for unusual activities, the result is frequently to give more autonomy to the unit involved. For example, following a major earthquake, territorial headquarters approved allocating an initial \$10,000 to each local unit with an indication more money would be approved if requested. In this particular case most financial decisions were made by the state organization. This example particularly illustrates the greater autonomy attained by lower level Salvation Army units during emergencies, since financial control is normally very tightly held by upper Salvation Army levels during nonemergency periods.

One additional point needs to be made concerning structural changes. Overall operations may be separated into three general categories. During normal times, Salvation Army personnel handle small-scale emergencies as a matter of course (i.e., canteens are sent to large fires, shelter is provided for the victims of the fire, etc.). The second category of operations is characterized by the entire local organization becoming involved in emergency relief operations. This involves providing food and clothing, etc. The third category, which is rather infrequent, is the involvement of the Salvation Army in long-term relief operations. The organization headquarters acts as a distribution center with various types of goods being accepted and distributed by Salvation Army personnel. This is the point at which differences with other relief organizations may occur.

In summary, there is considerable structural and functional change in the Salvation Army operations during disasters. The organization expands taking on a considerable number of additional personnel. Decisions are made by persons who normally do not make them, although compliance is facilitated by the general normative compliance pattern of the Salvation Army. Task priorities are modified and most personnel become involved in disaster focused activities.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter V

1. For a more detailed discussion of these aspects, see Russell R. Dynes, Organized Behavior in Disaster: Analysis and Conceptualization, Disaster Research Center Monograph Series (Columbus: Disaster Research Center, The Ohio State University, 1969), especially chapter iv.

CHAPTER VI

SOME ASSETS AND PROBLEMS IN SALVATION ARMY EMERGENCY OPERATIONS

In this report we have discussed the history of the Salvation Army, its structure and daily operations, and treated extensively its emergency operations in disasters. Now, by way of summary, we will look at some assets and problems in Salvation Army emergency operations. This discussion will be divided into internal and external aspects of the organization's activities.

Internal Aspects

Assets

Major assets of Salvation Army emergency operations include fast mobility, the principle of need, experience in stress activities, adaptable equipment and facilities and formalized associations with volunteers.

Mobility

The Salvation Army is very often one of the first organizations operating in disaster situations. The main reason for this is their ability to mobilize their personnel rapidly. Partially responsible for this is the extensivity of involvement of Salvation Army officers in their organization. Role conflict, a situation arising from allegiances and loyalties to different groups important to the individual rarely exists for Salvation Army members. They are members of a religion and because of the nature of the religion their participation in almost all activities, be they economic, social or religious, is with other members. Thus, most, if not all, of their major relations are involved in Salvation Army life. Wives are referred to by their husbands' title and often are called on to act in their husbands' capacity. In addition, most of the "clients" of the organization, the men being rehabilitated, transients, etc., are immediately available when a disaster occurs. Salvation Army personnel from other locations, because of the religious factor just mentioned, are likewise more easily moved to an emergency situation than would be the case of distant members in other types of organizations.

Another aspect of rapid mobilization is the fact that many immediate emergency operations are carried out daily on a smaller scale. Practically every day canteens go to fires, transients are sheltered and fed, clothes and other goods are distributed to the needy. Thus, early disaster mobilization is simply carrying out and expanding some of the daily operations of the organization.

The Principle of Need

The Salvation Army is easily able to adapt to emergency situations; many reasons for this were just stated above. Another important aspect of adaptation to disaster is the principle that, when able, the Salvation Army will meet any "genuine need" when other organizations can not (as interpreted by Salvation Army personnel). This is the principle that extends to many tasks the Salvation Army becomes involved with in emergency operations. This principle is frequently invoked; one often hears that something was done because "We (I) saw it was something that needed to be done." More formal directives and rules of Salvation Army operations are often circumvented in following this principle because it is essentially seen as a moral imperative and therefore takes precedence over more mundane considerations. This operating principle facilitates adaptation to disaster situations.

Experience

Stress-related experiences greatly facilitate both mobilization and adaptation. Most Salvation Army personnel, as mentioned previously, have had experience in small-scale if not large-scale emergency operations. Experience in daily operations (fire calls, welfare operations, etc.) is, of course, highly important. However, more important is the fact that, because of the procedures of sending equipment and personnel to more distant disaster areas, most personnel have had specific experience in mass emergency operations.

One indicator of experience is the existence of emergency plans. The national plan enumerates general organizational structural changes, procedures, etc. Specific plans for divisions enumerate certain organizations and individuals to contact in emergency operations. These plans are not just written but unlike in some other organizations are used in emergency operations. Furthermore, because of the practice of Salvation Army personnel going to more distant disaster areas, most have been involved in the utilization of the plan. Thus, while "uncertainty" is a characteristic of emergency operations, some degree of understanding of the problems likely to be faced is attained with previous experience and familiarity with emergency plans.

Adaptable Equipment and Facilities

The Salvation Army does not have extensive special equipment, apart from canteens, or facilities or highly specialized items. However, the equipment and facilities it does have are highly adaptable to emergency operations. Transient lodges are useful as temporary shelters. Cooking facilities for transients and persons being rehabilitated, clinics, hospitals, etc., are also adaptable. (In fact, most equipment is purchased with the provision that it be adaptable for emergency operations.) In other words, a great deal of the organization's equipment and facilities lends itself to disaster use.

Formalized Associations with Volunteers

Formalized associations with volunteers are an important aspect of Salvation Army emergency operations; they include lay members of the church and associated scout and church groups. However, the most important of such associations are those with the volunteer community leaders. These are called "service units" in small communities where there are no permanent Salvation Army members. In larger communities, this group is called the Advisory Board to The Salvation Army. Advisory boards exist on all levels of Salvation Army operations (corps, city command, division, territory and national). During daily functioning, these people personally take some part in Salvation Army tasks and give advice and aid. During emergency operations their tasks are quite similar. They work at field stations, obtain financial support, supplies, equipment and transportation, occasionally donate workers from their own businesses and advise and aid the organization in its operations. The extent of operations and services provided by the Salvation Army greatly depend on the advisory board. Localities with strong influential advisory board members are likely to have more extensive operations and better facilities and equipment. But in all cases the advisory boards provide a very important "backup" group of volunteers available to the organization in times of stress.

Problems

Certain aspects of the Salvation Army present problems in emergency operations. The more important of these are authority problems which occur where the Salvation Army has more than one unit in the same general area. The difficulties primarily result from bringing high ranking personnel into an operation directed and operated by equivalent or lower levels of authority.

Overall Coordination Problems

Disaster plans specify a different authority structure than used in daily operations. Zone or area commanders are to be in charge of emergency operations within a specified location. However, in situations where more than one operation is being conducted, there is likely to be some stress between the new and old authority structures. One possibility is an emergency where corps or city commanders are located in the same city as divisional headquarters. In this situation, the corps or city commander is probably the zone commander. However, his normal superior, the head of the divisional headquarters, is assigned rather specific tasks for any disaster in his division including one in his city. In this kind of situation, struggles to be in charge of emergency operations have occurred between a zone commander and the divisional commander. This type of occurrence could possibly develop in any location where (1) more than one corp unit is located, (2) a local unit (corps or city command) and a higher unit are located, or (3) multiple local units and/or multiple higher level units are located.

A similar potential problem occurs where there are different types of operations being carried out (e.g., at hospitals or men's social rehabilitation

centers). These establishments, for tax and other reasons, are directly controlled by territorial headquarters and do not come under division operations. Disaster plans specify that such activities are put at the discretion of the zone commander in emergency operations. This does not always work smoothly since these special units have high ranking officers in charge (they are equal to or have more rank than local officers) who have had a great deal of control of their own operations and are hesitant to be directed by local officers. In one case where this situation occurred, the director of men's social rehabilitation appeared to have given minimal aid to emergency activities. He said that his organization had itself suffered from the disaster agent and he helped the zone commander's efforts only where he deemed it necessary.

~~City commands were created to coordinate the activities of multiple~~ Salvation Army units in a locality. This has practically eliminated problems between corp units. However, it does not eliminate problems where multiple levels of authority or separate operations, such as men's social rehabilitation, exist. Thus, in areas where multiple levels of authority and/or separately directed operations exist, there is a potential for authority problems in the disaster response of the Salvation Army.

Rank Coordination Problems

In emergencies the Salvation Army calls in personnel, especially officers, from outside the immediate impact area. Many of these individuals have been involved in previous disaster operations and frequently are more experienced in such situations than local personnel and possibly even the zone commander. These officers often assume, or try to assume, authority because of their rank or position. As one local Salvation Army member said about a particular disaster operation,

some of the officers who came in from out of town, just because they were officers they felt they could give orders to other people, and we got a few conflicting commands from them.

Disaster plans do specify an authority structure in disaster situations. However, there is a potential for problems if the zone commander cannot assert his authority over the incoming personnel. The Salvation Army, of course, has other problems (i.e., communications, financial, etc.) but these two problems of authority are the internal aspects most likely to hinder the response of the organization to emergencies, especially large-scale emergencies.

External Aspects

Assets

Particularly important to Salvation Army operations are the number and quality of relationships it has with other organizations and its public image. These two aspects of Salvation Army activities will now be discussed.

Interorganizational Relations

A number of important interorganizational connections develop through individual advisory board members. This is, in fact, the way in which most business transactions are carried out. In addition, these people quite often have important governmental, religious and social connections as well which can be utilized during disaster operations. As mentioned previously, the Salvation Army is able to obtain financing, supplies, personnel, etc., through such contacts.

During normal operations the Salvation Army often performs emergency canteen service for various governmental agencies involved in fires, snow removal, etc. These connections prove to be quite important for full-scale community emergencies. These other organizations are usually heavily involved in control activities, rescue efforts, etc. at disaster scenes. They have worked with Salvation Army people during other periods and have developed working arrangements and quite often are on a first name basis with a number of personnel. (this is not necessarily true of other organizations such as civil defense agencies or the Red Cross who may have contact with upper-echelon officials but who would not have worked with others at lower levels in the organization.) Local policemen and firemen have often worked with Salvation Army personnel and, in fact, frequently perform tasks for the Salvation Army. In one emergency, police used their communications system to keep the Salvation Army informed of the whereabouts of personnel, canteen needs and anything else they thought important. Police and fire personnel also sometimes make delivery runs to canteens, and in one case the police department aided the Salvation Army in setting up clothing depots and distributing boxes of food and cleanup materials to residents in a disaster area.

The Salvation Army, although itself a religious group, maintains close relationships with other religious groups. It is not at all unusual to find other religious groups working with the Salvation Army in everyday activities such as donating food or clothes. During emergency operations these relationships also prove important. In one major disaster, a Catholic convent prepared all foods the Salvation Army dispensed on their canteens; B'nai B'rith donated money and many of its members worked in emergency operations; and a number of Protestants churches collected food and clothing for the Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army also has many relationships with social clubs. These clubs often work with the organization on its Christmas, Thanksgiving, summer camp and other programs. During disaster operations they are important sources of financing and personnel. In one case there was a turnabout of this pattern when the Salvation Army financially helped one social club to relocate an Indian village that was practically destroyed by an earthquake.

Officially the Salvation Army is recognized by civil defense. In the "Memorandums of Understanding" between the two organizations the Salvation Army is recognized as part of the civil defense welfare services. The Salvation Army takes part in civil defense planning and practice sessions, and organizational personnel have attended "civil defense schools."

In practice, the relationship between civil defense and the Salvation Army is on very good terms. The Salvation Army sees civil defense as legitimatizing its emergency operations. Civil defense at the local level particularly includes the Salvation Army in its emergency plans (both for natural and man-made catastrophes) and frequently allocates it space in emergency operating centers. During emergencies civil defense is often the source of requests and definition of tasks for Salvation Army operations.

Public Image of the Salvation Army

The public image of the Salvation Army is very positive indeed. One person in a disaster area who was not a Salvation Army member, seems to have fairly accurately described the Salvation Army public image.

I don't think in twenty years I've heard ten people say an unkind word about the Army. This, I think in many instances is a result of people admiring the Salvation Army without understanding it. They have a very strong personal feeling for the Salvation Army without having more than the vaguest notion of what it is or how it works.

Further he stated:

There is among the general population, I think, an almost childlike conviction that if nobody else can do it, somehow the Salvation Army can.

This image is carried over into emergency operations. Salvation Army personnel are readily accepted by those in the disaster area. One researcher in explaining this said:

acceptance of persons who are formally outsiders seems to be based on the appearance that they share the sentiments of insiders. Salvation Army workers who shed tears with the victims are insiders; Red Cross workers who maintain professional poise are outsiders.¹

Thus, Salvation Army personnel are accepted as quasi-primary group members. Part of this image and acceptance might be due to the religious nature of the Salvation Army. The United States has a rather positive respect for religion regardless of the nature of the religion. However, it is doubtful many people realize that the Salvation Army is a religion. Whatever the reason for the image of the Salvation Army, it is certainly not due to public relations activities. One of the few public relations men that does work for the Salvation Army repeatedly expressed his difficulty in getting organizational personnel to report their operations. Most Salvation Army members see their work as expressing itself.

Problems

There are some problems the Salvation Army has in its relations with other organizations, but by far the most important in emergency operations is the organization's relationship with the Red Cross. The basis for this can not be understood without examining in some detail the procedures and policies of both organizations in disaster situations.

The Salvation Army and the Red Cross provide somewhat similar and overlapping services, with both organizations offering immediate disaster relief services, food, clothing, and so forth. The responsibility of both organizations in disasters is rather vague although to some extent the programs provided by the Red Cross are more sharply defined and are based on the Red Cross's Congressional charter. Thus the Red Cross, although operating with rather vague responsibilities, has policies and limitations on its program defined by law. The Salvation Army, on the other hand, is limited only by the situation: which services it sees as being needed, whether it is able to finance these services, and what controls if any community officials may place on its operations.

Thus, both the Salvation Army and Red Cross have a problem of definition, and in addition both have to be accepted. This problem has been referred to as that of legitimization. Because of the history and legal aspect of the Red Cross, it is much more self-conscious about this problem and therefore actively seeks to show that the organization is performing its job. In addition, the Red Cross seeks to define clearly its position in a disaster situation. The way the Red Cross does this is by getting officials (e.g. mayors, governors, etc.) to sign forms declaring (defining) the Red Cross as the official disaster relief agency. Thus, the Salvation Army emergency program is officially limited by the Red Cross program or is "unofficial." In addition the Red Cross in its press releases notifies the public of its "official" nature. These actions, of course, circumscribe Salvation Army operations. Volunteers, donations, etc. go to the Red Cross because of its "official" nature.

Because the Red Cross program is more defined, it is committed to a policy. This policy is oriented to restoring the total community. In doing this the Red Cross attempts as much as possible to distribute money so that recipients can purchase food, clothing, furniture, etc. and thereby help the store owners (who may have also suffered loss in the emergency) who would then pass profits on to a distributor, etc. Thus, the Red Cross program involves large sums of money and because of this they begin a fund drive at the same time that they begin emergency operations. Because of this policy, when asked if they (the Red Cross) need some type of supplies, the standard answer is "No, send money." This, of course, sometimes has negative effects on the part of donors who usually have no knowledge of Red Cross policies and procedures.

The Salvation Army policy is much more open and less structured than the Red Cross. Generally this policy is to satisfy essential immediate needs for food, clothing, shelter, etc. Since the Salvation Army usually deals more in goods and less in money, there generally is no fund raising campaign in the

early stages of emergency operations. In fact, money contributions are generally refused in the immediate emergency area. Potential donors instead are asked to mail their contributions. (Donations coming in with return addresses are promptly responded to with "thank you" letters.) Financial campaigns are less organized and start later than those of the Red Cross. This does not mean the Salvation Army does not need financial assistance, for large sums are spent on nondonated items -- e.g. gas, baby food, milk, ice, etc. However, it means that their financial demands often are not as great or as immediate as those of the Red Cross.

This generally is the difference between the Red Cross and Salvation Army goals -- short-term immediate needs versus long-term restoration. However, on some occasions in very large-scale emergencies, the Salvation Army does undertake long-term operations and in these cases has become extensively involved in financially supporting construction and purchasing of housing. In one case, the organization even helped to buy machinery (this was for a small canning industry, the economic base of a small community, which had been damaged in an earthquake).

Given these differences in policies and procedures, there is a latent stress in the relationship between the Salvation Army and the Red Cross which sometimes manifests itself in a disaster situation. At times, Salvation Army members feel that the Red Cross does not look favorably upon their immediate emergency relief activities. There is also the feeling that the disaster activities of the Salvation Army are not as fully recognized as they should be by the Red Cross, and that no one organization should attempt to take full credit for nongovernmental emergency aid and assistance to disaster victims. There are of course other aspects to the relationship of the two organizations, but since other researchers have discussed them in detail elsewhere,² we will simply conclude with the observation that this is a major stressful area for the Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army does have other external problems and difficulties. Perhaps the most important other one is actually mentioned in Salvation Army manuals.

It has been observed that the Salvation Army's strictly personal approach means a neglect of very important coordination functions, thus contributing to the prevailing disorganization of effort whereby some activities are duplicated and others neglected.³

In this chapter we have considered some of the assets of the Salvation Army in mobilizing and operating in disaster situations. Attention was also given to the problems of the organization in carrying out emergency operations. Internal and external aspects affecting these assets and problems were examined.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter VI

1. F. L. Bates, C. W. Fogelman, V. J. Parenton, R. H. Pittman, and G. S. Tracy, The Social and Psychological Consequences of a Natural Disaster: A Longitudinal Study of Hurricane Audrey (Washington: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1963). See also, William H. Form and Sigmund Nosow, Community in Disaster (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 176-218.
2. Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "Some Latent Consequences of Bureaucratic Efficiency in Disaster Relief," Human Organization 28, no. 3 (Fall 1969): 177-189.
3. ~~The Salvation Army, Disaster Services Manual, rev. (Towson, Ark: The Salvation Army, August 1962).~~

CHAPTER VII

IMPLICATIONS FOR SALVATION ARMY OPERATIONS IN A NUCLEAR ENVIRONMENT

In this short chapter a few of the major implications of the previous chapters for Salvation Army operations in a nuclear setting or environment are pointed out.

The Salvation Army would of course have problems operating in a nuclear catastrophe. The sources of these difficulties would be the same as those faced by similar types of organizations trying to operate in such a wartime setting. However, in contrast to most other emergency relief and rehabilitation groups and agencies, the Salvation Army's adjustment and response in such a catastrophe might be expected to be relatively better. The religious nature of the organization as well as several other related factors are important aspects that almost certainly would affect its operations in a positive way. This probably would be particularly true of its units at the local community level; higher echelon responses might not be too different from those that could be expected in other organizations such as the Red Cross.

For purposes of illustration, our discussion will first note the several factors that probably would make for a relatively good adjustment in a wartime situation. The most important of these is that the Salvation Army to its members is a religion, this affecting their motivation, sense of duty, reaction to catastrophes, etc. We will attempt to indicate how such aspects and related matters make less problematic the response of the organization to a nuclear setting. We will then turn to the difficulties the Salvation Army would probably have in such a setting. One major potential source of difficulty could be that the generally extensive use of volunteers in large-scale peacetime crises could not be undertaken in a wartime setting.

Factors Facilitating Adjustment

Three factors at least would facilitate the adjustment of the Salvation Army at a time of nuclear catastrophe. These are: (1) the religious nature of the organization; (2) its highly disaster experienced personnel; and, (3) its "principle of need." The latter two aspects of course are in ways indicated earlier in this report, derivative of the first.

The fact that the Salvation Army organization embodies a religion, is a matter of considerable importance and impossible to underestimate as a factor that would facilitate adjustment to a nuclear setting. It gives the organization a cohesion and unity, it provides the members with an identity and motivation to act that would not cease even at times of extreme stress. The danger to organizations in a threat situation is that they will cease to act as a united entity, that the membership will not be motivated to act in support of group goals and objectives. But as said earlier, compliance in the Salvation Army because of its religious nature is of a normative sort, and this serves as a very powerful social "cement" binding the organization and its personnel. There is very little reason to think that this kind of

religious-based normative compliance would be weakened in a nuclear situation, particularly among the officers of the organization. If anything, it might be expected that a nuclear catastrophe could strengthen the sacred sense of duty and responsibility organizational members have to combat "evil", suffering, etc. Few, if any, other major complex organizations in American Society -- since they generally lack a sacredly viewed basis -- can depend so heavily on the social ties between the members and to the group.

Another feature facilitating the adjustment of the Salvation Army to a nuclear catastrophe would be that the bulk of its members are experienced in operating in stressful if not disasterous situations. There are to be sure some differences between the demands and problems of a localized peacetime disaster and a widespread nuclear catastrophe. However, the point is that Salvation Army personnel generally have had some experience in emergency operations. They are probably the major organization in the United States with the greatest proportion of the total membership who have had some actual experience in working in emergencies. (Neither the Red Cross nor the military would seem to have as high a proportion of disaster experienced personnel out of the total staff of the organization. Utilities do have many people with a great deal of disaster experience, but such personnel make up only a relatively small fraction of the total organization.) Thus, if some familiarity with real disasters is of any value, the Salvation Army would seem better off in this respect than most other groups in responding to a nuclear catastrophe.

Finally, unlike such a relief organization as the Red Cross, the Salvation Army has no explicit or formal responsibilities in a large scale emergency. However, as indicated earlier, it does tend to operate on the principle of need. Salvation Army personnel will meet within the limits of their resources, any "genuine need" which other organizations cannot deal with in a crisis situation. Working with this moral imperative, it can be anticipated that this would serve to facilitate the emergency operations of the Salvation Army in a nuclear setting. More so than many other groups and agencies, the organization might be willing to undertake some of the new tasks or to meet some of the intensified demands generated by a nuclear catastrophe. An obvious candidate would be the providing of spiritual support, or in more secular terms, the Salvation Army could be anticipated to help in some of the necessary morale building functions and activities that would be required in the aftermath of a nuclear attack.

Factors Hindering Adjustment

Two factors at least would hinder the adjustment of the Salvation Army at the time of a nuclear catastrophe. These are: (1) the probable lack of convergence of Salvation Army personnel from outside the impact area, and (2) the fewer number of volunteers that would be available to the organization. These of course are two interrelated matters.

In most peacetime disasters, even massive ones as we illustrated in chapter IV, the local Salvation Army units are considerably assisted by the organizational personnel and equipment that comes in from outside the stricken

area. Such a convergence of people and materials would be rather unlikely in most nuclear situations. The Salvation Army members and facilities on the scene in the impacted community would probably have no outside help from their own organization. While this would lessen intraorganizational coordination problems, it would seem to suggest that any long run rehabilitation effort could at best be very minimal. However, while the absence of outside organizational assistance would have some consequences for the extent of the immediate emergency relief that the Salvation Army could undertake, it would be less serious for that emergency activity. That is, the lack or reduction in the Salvation Army units or personnel coming from outside the stricken zone would probably affect long run more than short run emergency operations.

The Salvation Army would probably be most handicapped in a nuclear situation by the fewer number of volunteers that would flock to offer their services to the organization. While the Salvation Army could probably depend rather strongly on the presence and effective work of its own officers and regular personnel, other volunteers almost certainly would not be as available as in peacetime disasters. Advisory board members, for example, would more likely have their own personal, familial and organizational problems to deal with in the aftermath of a nuclear attack. In short, the Salvation Army could not assume, as it implicitly does in even massive peacetime disasters, that it could expand its organization by the use of numerous volunteers around the central core of its regular personnel. Coupled with the probable absence of national, regional, etc., members, many local units would be faced with increased demands at the very same time they could muster only their own staff and a few volunteers. This would affect even the short run emergency response of local Salvation Army units.

In conclusion, we may note that we have tried in this report, and particularly in this chapter, to emphasize the importance of an organization that while often noted as being present during disasters, tends to be otherwise generally ignored in emergency planning. However, as we have attempted to show, the Salvation Army as a social organization has assets and capabilities that are of particular value for stressful situations. Whether in peacetime or wartime, the Salvation Army can contribute substantially to an emergency response.