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The Telos of Faith-Based Aid
*Christian organising in development, humanitarianism and advocacy
through the lens of institutional logics*

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Abstract

This thesis is situated within the field of faith-based organisations (FBOs), but is concerned with a specific kind of FBO: large non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that operate within the same sphere of activity as those that do not have an explicit religious affiliation or faith basis. Since the turn of the century, the volume of funding passing through FBOs has increased, leading to a growing critical focus on such organisations: how should they be defined and categorised? In what ways are they distinct? Do they have comparative advantages? Rather than analysing how FBOs are distinct from other NGOs, the thesis explores what their faith orientation means in actual practice. It is also positioned within the field of religions and development, and thus the primary question it sets out to address concerns how faith influences the practice of faith-based development, humanitarian and advocacy NGOs. It focuses in particular on one UK-based FBO rooted in the Christian faith.

The thesis makes two main contributions to the literature, the first of which concerns the theoretical perspective brought to the study of FBOs in religions and development. While various typologies have been constructed, the thesis employs a new perspective – that of institutional logics – and develops an analytical tool that can be adapted for use in future studies. The second relates to the emphasis placed on the ‘telos’ of each institutional logic. This is implicit within the perspective, but has not been a major area of focus to date. Within the case study organisation, the points of tension concerning the action of faith across organisational practice were found to connect to the telos of the logic of corporation, which is the ‘long-term sustainability of the organisation.’ This is because while the telos of the logic of religion (worship God) *transcends* the organisation, that of the logic of corporation *is* the organisation itself. Since ultimately, organisational practices must work to sustain the organisation, at the organisational level faith is restricted to certain spaces and forms, while at the individual level it is dominant and active. The argument advanced through the thesis is that the influence of faith at the organisational level predominantly relates to the *process of organising*. This brings a new perspective to religions and development.

In Chapter 1, the research question is situated within its broader field. Chapter 2 then introduces the institutional logics perspective (ILP). The concept of the ‘field’ is also unpacked and defined, and its significance highlighted. The chapter ends with an overview of the methods of data collection and research instrument. Chapter 3 then focuses on historical research, using the ILP to highlight important dynamics in the history of development, humanitarianism and advocacy. Although connected, these spheres of activity have distinct historical paths, which are traced from their emergence up until the twentieth century, after which the post-WWII period is explored. The chapter highlights some of the tensions between dynamics related to various logics. Chapter 4 homes in on the contemporary UK-based sector. Bringing together the existing literature on typologies of institutional logics, insights from Chapter 3, and initial empirical research in a specified field, a tool for data analysis is developed: a field-level typology of institutional logics. In Chapter 5, this typology is used to process and analyse data collected within one FBO operating within the field identified in Chapter 4. Thus, the chapter demonstrates the use of the typology in action and value of the approach. Chapter 6 then explores the research findings, discussing these according to both the questions guiding the empirical research and the primary research question. Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the contribution of the thesis to the fields of religions and development and institutional logics respectively, and in particular, the study of FBOs within these fields.

Lay summary

Since the turn of the century, the volume of funding passing through faith-based organisations (FBOs) has increased, leading to a growing critical focus on such organisations: how should they be defined and categorised? In what ways are they distinct? Do they have comparative advantages to other organisations? Rather than analysing how FBOs are distinct from other non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the thesis explores how faith influences their practice. The organisations of particular interest are faith-based development, humanitarian and advocacy NGOs. I focus in particular on one group of organisations within the UK-based sector – the organisations comprising the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) – and on one Christian FBO within this group.

I make two main contributions to the literature through the thesis, the first of which concerns the theoretical perspective brought to the study of FBOs in religions and development, which is the academic area of study in which the thesis is situated. While various typologies have been developed to study FBOs, I introduce a new perspective – that of institutional logics – and develop a typology that can be adapted for use in future studies. The second contribution relates to the emphasis placed on the concept of the ‘telos’ in relation to institutional logics. This is implicit within the institutional logics perspective, but has not been a major area of focus to date. The empirical research highlighted that the points of tension concerning the action of faith across organisational practice within the case study organisation related to the telos of the corporate logic, which is to sustain the organisation in the long-term. This is because while the telos of the religious logic (worship God) *transcends* the organisation, that of the corporate logic *is* the organisation itself. Since ultimately, organisational practices must work to sustain the organisation, at the organisational level faith is restricted to certain spaces and forms, while at the individual level it is dominant and active. The argument advanced through the thesis is that the influence of faith at the organisational level predominantly relates to the *process of organising*. This brings a new perspective to the study of FBOs within the academic field of religions and development.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	7
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs)	9
<i>A) FBOs within religions and development</i>	9
<i>B) Understanding and researching FBOs</i>	15
3. Roadmap to the Institutional Logics Perspective	20
<i>A) Critiquing the existing frameworks</i>	20
<i>B) The Institutional Logics Perspective</i>	21
4. Overview of the Thesis	23
<i>A) Structure</i>	23
<i>B) Defining Key Terms</i>	24
Chapter 2: Research Design	26
1. Theoretical Framework	26
<i>A) The institutional logics perspective</i>	26
<i>B) Theoretical contribution of the thesis</i>	35
2. The Significance of the Field.....	36
<i>A) The field and the institutional logics perspective</i>	36
<i>B) The field and FBOs</i>	38
3. Empirical Research	40
<i>A) Developing a field-level typology of logics</i>	41
<i>B) Methods of data collection</i>	43
4. Conclusion	46
Chapter 3: Understanding the Practice of Aid	48
1. The Historical Roots of the Practice of Aid	48
<i>A) The emergence of development</i>	49
<i>B) The emergence of humanitarianism</i>	57
<i>C) The emergence of ‘long-distance advocacy’</i>	63
2. The Practice of Aid Post-WWII.....	65
3. Conclusion	74
Chapter 4: Developing the Typology of Logics	75
1. Constructing the Field-level Typology of Logics	75
<i>A) Identifying a suitable sub-component of the field</i>	75

<i>B) The process</i>	79
2. The Typology of Logics.....	82
<i>A) The logics</i>	82
<i>B) The categories</i>	84
3. Conclusion	98
Chapter 5: Empirical Research within an FBO	100
1. Data Collection and Processing	100
<i>A) Data collection</i>	100
<i>B) Method for processing the data</i>	102
2. Data Analysis	103
<i>A) Logics at the organisational level according to the typology</i>	103
3. Conclusion	119
Chapter 6: Discussion	122
1. What institutional logics are in force and how are they manifested within the organisation?	122
<i>A) The logic of long-term sustainability</i>	122
<i>B) The logic of impact</i>	123
<i>C) The logic of participation and consensus-building</i>	124
<i>D) The logic of pastoral care and support</i>	125
2. How do individual actors negotiate these logics on a daily basis?	127
3. What roles does the logic of religion play and how does it interact with other institutional logics?.....	129
4. Addressing the primary research question	131
<i>A) What questions is the FBO asking in this regard?</i>	132
<i>B) How does faith influence organisational practice?</i>	135
5. Conclusion	137
Chapter 7: Conclusion	138
1. Summary of argument.....	138
2. Contribution of thesis.....	138
<i>A) Contribution to the study of FBOs in religions and development</i>	138
<i>B) Contribution to the institutional logics perspective</i>	140
3. What next?	141
Bibliography	143

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction

This thesis is situated within the field of faith-based organisations (FBOs), but is concerned with a specific kind of FBO – that is, large non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that operate within the same sphere of activity as those that do not have an explicit religious affiliation or faith basis. Since the turn of the century, the volume of funding – public and private – passing through FBOs for social welfare provision and other charitable purposes has increased. This has led to a growing critical focus on such organisations: how should they be defined and categorised? In what ways are they distinct from other organisations? Do they have comparative advantages over other organisations?¹ Rather than analysing how such organisations are distinct from others, this thesis will examine what their faith orientation means in actual practice. While its primary interest is in the organisational practice of FBOs, the thesis is also positioned within the broader field of religions and development, or international development and religion,² due to its emphasis on religion as a key factor of relevance to development theory and practice, and the volume of research on FBOs that has emerged within it. Much of the debate in religions and development focuses on the programmatic work of organisations, but in this thesis, I focus on their organisational dynamics.

Within these broader areas of research, the thesis focuses in particular on one UK-based organisation rooted in the Christian faith. In relation to the overarching research question, then, it asks what it means in practice for the organisation to be a *Christian* organisation? What is the Christian faith doing within the organisation, and how, if at all, is it shaping organisational practice? A quote from a transcript of one of the interviews within the organisation articulates the issue in this way:

[W]e come together as a group of individual Christians, and then we call the organisation a Christian organisation. And it clearly is something that means something, and we throw the phrase round a lot and I've really sort of wrestled, and having been here [many] years I still haven't got to the answer of what does it actually mean for the organisation to be Christian?³

In other words, what does it mean for the organisation, as opposed to individuals within it, to have a religious or faith identity? The focus of this thesis is thus on organisational practice, broadly conceived.⁴ Its purpose is not primarily to explore societal-level questions related to religions and development, but rather, to explore those pertaining specifically to organisations and their practice.

¹ Emma Tomalin, "Thinking about faith-based organisations in development: where have we got to and what next?" *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5-6 (2012): 689.

² 'Religions and development' is the descriptor used by the UK-based Development Studies Association, whereas 'international development and religion' is that used by the American Academy of Religion.

³ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁴ Organisational practice is defined in Chapter 2.

As Kathryn Tanner argues in *Theories of Culture*, Christian identity is ‘essentially relational’.⁵ It is not possible to determine what distinguishes Christian ‘ways of life’ from other ways of life by looking solely at Christianity.⁶ Rather, what distinguishes a Christian way of life from others can only be established when it is examined within its wider context. Tanner writes: ‘[t]he distinctiveness of a way of life emerges out of tension-filled relations with what other ways of life do with much the same cultural stuff.’⁷ As noted above, the focus of the thesis is not on how FBOs are distinct from other organisations; however, the point holds relevance for the present research question and approach taken to addressing it in this thesis. The argument underlying my approach is that in order to explore how faith influences organisational practice, one needs to take a broader perspective that not only focuses on faith, but examines other influencing factors as well. Paul DiMaggio notes that ‘insightful analysis depends on bringing new perspectives to bear on familiar phenomena; analyzing any phenomena solely in its own terms amounts to a form of intellectual inbreeding that is ultimately more distorting than revealing.’⁸ These comments follow his complaint that a prevalent theme within the literature written by those he refers to as ‘religious’ authors pertains to the uniqueness or ‘singularity of the religious experience and the organizations that serve it.’⁹ In order to gain fresh insight regarding how faith influences organisational practice, then, the question needs to be addressed from a broader perspective that sees faith as one of several potential factors influencing organisational practice. Thus, while the primary aim of the thesis is to explore how faith influences organisational practice, it also seeks to gain a deeper understanding not only of how other factors influence organisational practice, but also of the ways in which dynamics related to religion or faith interact with other dynamics – such as those connected to organisational systems and processes, for example – particularly where there are points of conflict. As DiMaggio writes: ‘[t]he tension between the religious spirit and the organization that encases it is timeless. The theme is a staple of religious literature, whether musical, Biblical, theological, or, indeed, social scientific.’¹⁰ At the heart of this tension is the fact that the organisation through which religious ideals and beliefs are put into practice, is not neutral or value-less, although it is often assumed to be such.

It is important at the outset to acknowledge my own positionality in relation to this research. The question at the heart of this thesis has arisen from my experience of working within the sector for almost a decade, both in the UK and Sri Lanka. I have worked for various organisations, but predominantly those with a connection to Christianity. My experiences within these organisations have informed not only the development of the research question, but also the approach I take to addressing it. For example, as someone whose work is informed by their faith, I have experienced specific tensions working within systems and structures that have at times felt constraining in this regard. This underlies my assumption that dynamics at the individual and organisational levels are connected, and has led to an interest in multilevel analysis that can capture these. My employment within a Christian FBO operating within the subcomponent of the field of focus midway through the research process

⁵ Kathryn Tanner, *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology*, (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1997), 110.

⁶ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 111.

⁷ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 112.

⁸ Paul DiMaggio, “Preface,” in *Sacred Companies*, ed. N. J. Demerath III, Peter Dobkin Hall, Terry Schmitt and Rhys H. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), vii-viii.

⁹ DiMaggio, “Preface,” vii.

¹⁰ DiMaggio, “Preface,” v.

also meant that I moved from the position of being an ‘outsider’, to becoming an ‘insider’.¹¹ Consequently, the importance of reflexivity increased; that is, the need to pay close attention to the ways in which my own ‘biases, beliefs, and personal experiences’ were impacting on the research.¹²

2. Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs)

A) FBOs within religions and development

As noted above, due to its particular focus on the study of FBOs, this thesis is situated within the area of study often referred to as ‘religions and development;’ a young, but growing subcomponent of the broader academic discipline of development studies. Important to note at the outset, is that the field of religions and development interacts and engages with humanitarian action and international advocacy as well, mirroring practice within the sector in general, where these spheres of activity are both distinct yet connected in various and complex ways.¹³

Until relatively recently, neither mainstream development practice nor the development studies literature showed much awareness or understanding of religion. This is surprising, since as Matthew Clarke notes in his introduction to the *Handbook of Research on Development and Religion*, ‘[e]ighty per cent of the world’s population profess religious belief,’ and it can therefore be seen as a ‘common human characteristic.’¹⁴ Religion is embodied, and as such, not only affects societal values, attitudes, and perspectives, and therefore how communities and individuals conceive of concepts such as inequality, poverty and social justice, but also affects people’s behaviours, private and public.¹⁵ An understanding of religion is important for development, then, yet development scholars and practitioners have on the whole been reluctant to engage with either the subject of religion or the religious beliefs of communities. Clarke attributes the marginalisation of religion from development thought and practice to the ‘secular nature of development ... in which religion is considered as being either socially irrelevant or personally redundant.’¹⁶ Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings cite the influence of the separation between church and state on Western donors,

¹¹ Roni Berger, “Now I see it, now I don’t: researcher’s position and reflexivity in qualitative research,” *Qualitative Research* 15, no. 2 (2015): 226.

¹² Berger, “Now I see it,” 220. Carole Rakodi, “Religion and development: subjecting religious perceptions and organisations to scrutiny,” *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5-6 (2012): 623.

¹³ Outside of academia, use of the words ‘development’ and ‘humanitarianism’ is inconsistent, and both can often encompass all three spheres of activity: see, for example, the ‘About us’ page on Bond’s website, which describes Bond as ‘the UK network for organisations working in international development,’ but goes on to describe Bond’s work as being to ‘unite the international development and humanitarian sector to drive global change’ (Bond, “About us,” accessed March 31, 2023, <https://www.bond.org.uk/about-us/>.) This can also be the case within academia, yet depends upon the specific subject matter under discussion and whether the distinctions between the different types of activity are significant in this regard or not. While in *Religions and Development*, for example, Emma Tomalin notes that the ‘main understanding of development adopted within [the] book is that of the western donor-driven aid business,’ which is illustrative of a broad understanding of development (Emma Tomalin, *Religions and Development*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 16), in other publications Tomalin distinguishes between development and humanitarianism. The focus within this section of the thesis is more squarely on development due to the location of the thesis in religions and development, but in Chapter 3 all three areas of activity will be examined more closely.

¹⁴ Matthew Clarke, “Understanding the nexus between religion and development,” in *Handbook of Research on Development and Religion*, ed. Matthew Clarke (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), 1.

¹⁵ Clarke, “Understanding the nexus,” 6-12.

¹⁶ Clarke, “Understanding the nexus,” 5.

and their consequent belief that religion is ‘counter-developmental’ and religious discourses ‘inflexible and unyielding in the face of social and political change.’¹⁷ In a similar vein, Emma Tomalin cites as a contributing factor the false beliefs and assumptions that arise about religion; for example, that it leads people to have worldviews that are not compatible with social and economic development.¹⁸ Others, such as Julia Berger, have attributed it to a widespread and ‘long-standing trend in the social and political science literature to overlook the role of religious actors in the public sphere’¹⁹ – a factor that scholars such as Gerard Clarke and Carole Rakodi ascribe to the influence of secularisation theory.²⁰

Nevertheless, as Tomalin highlights, since the early 2000s ‘there has been a noticeable shift within some areas of international development policy, practice and research to include religion as a relevant factor.’²¹ Tomalin identifies the first initiative of note in this regard as being that instigated even earlier than this in 1998 by James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank from 1995 to 2005, and George Carey, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Wolfensohn and Carey created the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD), through which they organised several events between 1998 and 2005 that brought development practitioners and faith leaders together so that partnerships could be formed across these areas of activity.²² Also worth highlighting are the *Voices of the Poor* studies carried out by the World Bank in the 1990s that spanned more than 60 countries. On the basis of researching the perspectives of over 60,000 people living in poverty, this underscored the importance of religious or faith-based organisations in their lives.²³ Further examples in subsequent years of the interaction between religions and development include consultation with religious leaders regarding implementation of the MDGs; the increasing willingness of governmental depts such as DFID and USAID to fund FBOs; and the increasing number of publications within the development studies literature on religions and development, no doubt bolstered by a £3.5 million grant from DFID for the Religions and Development Research Programme that ran from 2005-2010 at the University of Birmingham.²⁴

This shift in policy and practice has been referred to as the ‘turn to religion,’ and it has led to a growing interest in organisations that have a faith basis, including a greater openness

¹⁷ Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, “Introduction,” in *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*, ed. Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1.

¹⁸ Emma Tomalin, “Introduction,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, ed. Emma Tomalin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 1.

¹⁹ Julia Berger, “Religious Nongovernmental Organizations: An Exploratory Analysis,” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 14, no. 1 (2003): 17.

²⁰ Gerard Clarke, “Faith-Based Organizations and International Development: An Overview,” in *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*, ed. Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 17. Carole Rakodi, “A framework for analysing the links between religion and development,” *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5-6 (2012): 638.

²¹ Tomalin, “Introduction,” 1.

²² Tomalin, “Introduction,” 2. See also Gerard Clarke, “Agents of Transformation? Donors, faith-based organisations and international development,” *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (2007): 79-80. Also worth mentioning here are the subsequent difficulties that surrounded the WFDD, which was renamed the ‘Development Dialogue on Ethics and Values’ due to lack of broader support within the World Bank for a focus on faith. Clarke notes that the opposition to the initiative was largely due to the desire to maintain the boundary between church and state (Clarke, “Agents of Transformation?” 82).

²³ Clarke, “Agents of Transformation?” 80. Clarke also notes, however, that this was not always for positive reasons.

²⁴ Clarke, “Agents of Transformation?” 86. Séverine Deneulin and Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script*, (London; New York: Zed Books, 2009), 3.

to channelling funds through them, as well as ‘at times an apparent favouring of their contributions over those of secular organisations.’²⁵ Tomalin notes that the roots of this emphasis on FBOs can be found in the preferential treatment of religious organisations that began in the US during George W. Bush’s presidency (2001-2009), but subsequently impacted on the UK as well.²⁶ By way of a specific example, Tomalin mentions a White Paper produced by the UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) in 2009 which acknowledged the ‘unique contribution that [FBOs] can make in both delivering development on the ground, and connecting with communities here and abroad,’ and in light of this, pledged to double their funding.²⁷

In relation to the specific question underlying this thesis, it is not possible to provide a neatly defined and systematised literature review, since the existing body of work of relevance spans different fields, disciplines and contexts. There are several reasons for this, one of which, as Uma Kothari notes, is that development studies ‘cannot claim to be a distinct and separate academic discipline in the same way as, for instance, economics or geography’ but is instead ‘cross-disciplinary, engaging with different bodies of theory, conceptual and methodological frameworks, and understandings of policy relevance and practical implications.’²⁸ In Kothari’s opinion, one of the reasons for this is because in comparison to other academic disciplines development studies has emerged relatively recently and therefore ‘borrows’ and applies ideas from diverse fields of study such as economics, anthropology and geography. Séverine Deneulin and Masooda Bano shed light on an additional reason that pertains to the religious dimension of the research question, which is that since each of the social sciences conceives of both development and religion, and their social and societal roles, in their own way, the body of work that could potentially be included in such a review is limitless.²⁹ Therefore, this section does not provide an exhaustive review of the literature, but instead draws attention to work that is of particular importance with reference to the specific approach taken within this thesis to addressing the research question. By way of background, it begins with a summary of two key points of debate within work on FBOs, the first of which concerns the descriptors ‘religious’ and ‘secular’, and the second of which relates to the question of whether FBOs are distinct from or more effective than those organisations that do not profess to have a faith basis. This summary paves the way for the discussion on understanding and researching FBOs in the following section.

1) *Secular-religious dynamics*

Any discussion of the terms ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ needs to be understood in relation to the wider conversation about ‘secularisation’ and important related terms such as ‘secularism’. One key aspect of what is often referred to as the ‘secularisation thesis’, is the assumption that ‘as societies modernize, religion loses significance in the public space.’³⁰ As far as development theory is concerned, the influence of this thesis can be seen in the reluctance of scholars and practitioners to engage with either the subject of religion or the religious

²⁵ Tomalin, “Thinking about faith-based organisations,” 690.

²⁶ Tomalin, “Thinking about faith-based organisations,” 692.

²⁷ Department for International Development (DFID), *Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future*, (London: DFID, 2009), 134, quoted in Tomalin, “Thinking about faith-based organisations,” 691.

²⁸ Uma Kothari, “A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies,” in *A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies*, ed. Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2005), 3.

²⁹ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 28-29.

³⁰ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 52.

beliefs of communities, as already noted. The term ‘secularism’, on the other hand, is used to denote the drive to remove the presence and influence of religious ideas, rituals, and symbols from the public sphere. Particularly important to note here is that while ‘secularisation’ is passive, ‘secularism’ is active.

Within the literature, the terms ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ are applied to various dimensions of the sector. They have been used with reference to the overall vision of development or humanitarianism advanced, for example – in relation to the sector as a whole, to specific groups within it, and to organisations as well.³¹ The terms can also be applied to development or humanitarian work itself; that is, to activities carried out within the sector, or to specific organisational practices.³² The focus of this thesis is on FBOs, and there has been much debate within the literature regarding the descriptors ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ in relation to FBOs and their work. As Tomalin highlights, in relation to NGOs specifically, ‘secular’ is most often used with reference to:

settings in which the activities and structure of an organisation are not shaped by a religious framework. Although individual employees, volunteers or members may themselves hold a religious faith, which may influence their motivations, religion is not considered to have a formal or direct influence on the organisation.³³

When the terms are applied in this way, this evidences a dualism whereby activities must be categorised as either one or the other.

One of the two principal aims of Deneulin and Bano’s *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script* is to ‘offer an analytical approach for dealing with religion in development processes.’³⁴ As its subtitle implies, the assumption underlying the book is that the secular tradition has to date provided the dominant voice within development theory, influencing its perspective and approach to religion. Against this backdrop, and importantly for the purposes of this thesis, Deneulin and Bano seek to provide an alternative ‘script’, which is that for many religious communities:

there is no separation between religion and development. Development is what adherents to a religion do because of who they are and what they believe in. The engagement of religious communities in development activities derives from their core beliefs and teachings. It is not easy to separate the development activities (schools, hospitals, political protests, and so on) from the religious activities (such as prayer and worship).³⁵

They proceed to highlight that both of these types of activities – that some would want to describe as either ‘development’ activities or ‘religious’ activities – are ‘part of what being a good Christian or a good Muslim is all about,’ and thus, for adherents of these religions ““spiritual” and “temporal” activities are deeply intertwined.”³⁶ The reason why the

³¹ On the basis of research conducted within DFID, for instance, Clarke argues that DFID ‘has traditionally promoted a secular and technocratic vision of development, focusing on the material dimensions of poverty at the expense of its cultural, moral and spiritual dimensions’ (Clarke, “Agents of Transformation?” 90.)

³² Examples of this can be seen in section 2.B.1. below.

³³ Tomalin, “Thinking about faith-based organisations,” 701n1.

³⁴ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 2.

³⁵ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 4-5.

³⁶ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 5.

separation has come about is because of the influence of the secular tradition within development studies, which amongst other things, seeks to contain religion within the private sphere.

Another aspect of Deneulin and Bano's work that is particularly helpful for this thesis, is that they connect Alasdair MacIntyre's conceptualisation of 'traditions of thought' with their understanding of religion. A tradition of thought, according to MacIntyre, is an 'argument extended through time' in which 'fundamental agreements' are articulated and shaped through conflict. This conflict has both external and internal dynamics; the former relates to its critics, and the latter, to 'those internal, interpretative debates through which the meaning and rationale of the fundamental agreements come to be expressed.'³⁷ This notion of religion as a tradition of thought that is dynamic and shaped through conflict highlights that religions 'are constantly evolving and changing according to their understanding of what it means to live well according to their core teachings, and what social practices best express this.'³⁸ Further, it draws attention to the idea that disagreement regarding social practices is inherent within religions.³⁹ Importantly, Deneulin and Bano argue that just as religion can be understood 'in terms of discourse, practices, community and institutions,'⁴⁰ so also can secularism.⁴¹ The difference between the two, as they see it, is the relation between the fundamental agreements of the tradition and the transcendent.⁴²

Exploring religion with regards to humanitarianism, Alastair Ager and Joey Ager argue that in practice, secularism has become a '*functional framework*' that influences and impacts on discourse within the humanitarian sphere.⁴³ Secularism's intent is ideological neutrality.⁴⁴ Yet Ager and Ager argue that what they term the discourse of 'functional secularism', which enforces a separation of the discourse of 'humanitarianism' from that of 'faith', does not in fact uphold neutrality, but rather, 'bears a *decision* to assess value in materialist terms.'⁴⁵ To put this in another way, the value of faith is viewed through the lens of a 'material agenda' that takes faith into account to the extent that it contributes to factors such as 'social capital' or 'community cohesion'. There is a risk of reductionism when either discourse or 'filter' is imposed on practice. They write: '[i]t is not the interpretation of religious belief and practice in communities impacted by humanitarian crisis in terms of liberal materialism that is wrong, it is the fundamentalist presumption that the latter accounts for what is "really" happening.'⁴⁶ In other words, when one or the other filter is seen as the norm or default framing.

In a similar vein, Olivia Wilkinson points out that secular perspectives, although often portrayed as such, are in fact not neutral.⁴⁷ Wilkinson notes that the Oxford English Dictionary has nineteen definitions of the word 'secular', but there are two common themes across these definitions. The first is that it relates to 'that which is not religious and is therefore this-

³⁷ Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 12, quoted in Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 61-62.

³⁸ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 63.

³⁹ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 64.

⁴⁰ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 61.

⁴¹ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 62.

⁴² Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 63.

⁴³ Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, "Faith and the Discourse of Secular Humanitarianism," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 458.

⁴⁴ Ager and Ager, "Faith and the Discourse," 458.

⁴⁵ Ager and Ager, "Faith and the Discourse," 460.

⁴⁶ Ager and Ager, "Faith and the Discourse," 461.

⁴⁷ Olivia J. Wilkinson, *Secular and Religious Dynamics in Humanitarian Response*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), Introduction.

worldly,' and the second is that it is connected to its Latin root, *saeculum*, which means 'an age or period' – this means that it is something that is 'long-lasting'. Thus, Wilkinson points out that the secular is 'not merely the negative definition of what is without religion but a vastly expansive maze of concepts about what it means to be of this world – temporal, material, and profane.'⁴⁸ In relation to the humanitarian sphere, Wilkinson sees secularity as being about 'boundary-making',⁴⁹ and therefore, she advocates for a focus on 'secular-religious dynamics'.⁵⁰ What is particularly helpful about this approach is the shift Wilkinson proposes from placing analytical emphasis solely on faith or religion. Wilkinson argues for a move away from 'either/or' binaries, since 'secular-religious dynamics summarise how we must see these as intertwined rather than two opposing categories.'⁵¹

Noting the increasing role of FBOs in social welfare since 1980, Occhipinti rightly points out that 'the distinction between "religious" and "secular" non-governmental organizations has often become increasingly blurry.'⁵² Julia Berger, who uses the label 'RNGO' rather than FBO, acknowledges that 'public relations concerns' and 'organizational culture' might be behind the varying degrees to which RNGOS emphasize their religious underpinning, meaning that some of their practices, such as their mission statements, for example, are 'indistinguishable from those of like-minded secular organizations.'⁵³ Nevertheless, she also points out that 'the underlying process governing much of RNGO activity is that of spiritual guidance,'⁵⁴ and therefore, that focusing solely on aspects of their work might mean that the religious character of this work is missed, since '[w]hat renders these services religious (or spiritual) is the nature of the worldview on which they are based and the motivation from which they spring.'⁵⁵ In addition to noting the implication that a broader understanding of what constitutes an organisation's 'work' is needed, also important to note here is Wilkinson's point that '[t]he definition of secular organisations emanates from the absence of faith rather than a positive definition of what the secular includes.'⁵⁶ In other words, if aspects of an RNGO's work where there are no overtly religious references are to be labelled 'secular', then the term is being defined according to what it is not. While 'secular' is a potentially helpful concept for analysis with regards to some of the dynamics of the sector in which FBOs operate – for example, bearing in mind the emphasis placed on secularism within humanitarianism – it is not one that this thesis employs, since its focus is not on secular-religious dynamics, but rather on different logics that influence practice, of which religion is one of several, as will be outlined below.

2) *The distinctiveness and effectiveness of FBOs*

A second key point of debate within the literature concerns whether FBOs are unique or more effective than so-called 'secular' NGOs. Tamsin Bradley draws attention to the relatively recent investment of funds towards research on organisations she labels 'FBDOs', noting that the 'overall objective of much of the research seems to be the question: do FBDOs approach

⁴⁸ Wilkinson, *Secular and Religious Dynamics*, Introduction.

⁴⁹ Wilkinson, *Secular and Religious Dynamics*, Introduction.

⁵⁰ Wilkinson, *Secular and Religious Dynamics*, Introduction.

⁵¹ Wilkinson, *Secular and Religious Dynamics*, Introduction.

⁵² Laurie A. Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," in *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, ed. Emma Tomalin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 332.

⁵³ Berger, "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations," 29.

⁵⁴ Berger, "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations," 31.

⁵⁵ Berger, "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations," 32.

⁵⁶ Wilkinson, *Secular and Religious Dynamics*, Introduction.

development any differently from their secular counterparts?’⁵⁷ In her view, behind this focus is the need to critically examine some of the assumptions underpinning the increased focus on such organisations within the public sphere. She writes: ‘[u]nderlying this question is the feeling that some FBDOs may represent a safe, secure mechanism for the delivery of development initiatives. Yet, little research has been done that considers what an FBDO actually is and which ones, if any, are good at development.’⁵⁸ We will return to the definitional question raised below, but Bradley’s point regarding the distinctiveness of FBOs has been echoed by other scholars as well.

Noting that the ‘turn to religion’ is part of ‘a broader political culture that values the faith contribution to welfare and social services,’ Tomalin has argued that while FBOs no doubt have the potential to make a positive contribution in this regard, the tendency to use the language of ‘distinctiveness’ or ‘comparative advantage’ in connection with FBOs gives the false impression that these contributions can be clearly attributed to faith.⁵⁹ However, the reality is of course complex. Ultimately, as Tomalin writes: ‘it is not possible to draw conclusions about whether their contribution can be captured through the language of ‘distinctiveness’ or ‘comparative advantage’. Moreover, there is little evidence that many of the supposedly distinct characteristics of FBOs are exclusive to or more prevalent in them than other sorts of organisations.’⁶⁰

In relation to FBOs, Carole Rakodi emphasises the need ‘to analyse rather than endorse the claims made; to take religion seriously while resisting the “*faith-based bandwagon*” (de Kadt 2011); to avoid essentialising religion as the most important source of values and personal and group identity;’ and lastly, to bring more nuance to perspectives on religion.⁶¹ Rakodi suggests that rather than setting FBOs against other NGOs, a more helpful approach would be to examine ‘whether and how religious organisations make *distinctive* contributions to development and service delivery, with respect to the inputs they use, their ways of operating and the outcomes and impacts of their activities.’⁶²

B) Understanding and researching FBOs

In order to begin to understand what ‘FBOs’ are, and which organisations are incorporated within the category, the label itself first requires some discussion. Use of this all-encompassing categorisation obscures a complex reality that is inclusive of a vast array of organisations. In Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh’s words, the ‘current catch-all term *faith-based organizations* confuses and divides because no clear definition exists of what it means to be faith-based.’⁶³ Is the term so broad that it includes churches as well as organisations with a minimal connection to religion in practice, for example, or should it be understood in such a way that it only encompasses organisations whose connection to religion is evidenced in specific ways? There is a general lack of consensus regarding what comprises an FBO.

⁵⁷ Tamsin Bradley, “A call for clarification and critical analysis of the work of faith-based development organizations (FBDO),” *Progress in Development Studies* 9, no. 2 (2009): 102.

⁵⁸ Bradley, “A call for clarification,” 102.

⁵⁹ Tomalin, “Thinking about faith-based organisations,” 700.

⁶⁰ Tomalin, “Thinking about faith-based organisations,” 700.

⁶¹ Rakodi, “Religion and development,” 623.

⁶² Rakodi, “A framework for analysing,” 642.

⁶³ Ronald J. Sider and Heidi Rolland Unruh, “Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs,” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (2004): 109-110. Emphasis original.

Further, as Laurie Occhipinti points out, it is in practice not always straightforward to distinguish between 'faith-based' and 'non-faith-based' organisations, and this is especially the case in contexts where religion is intertwined with all aspects of life and cannot therefore be easily extricated or viewed as a separate entity.⁶⁴ As Nida Kirmani's research demonstrates, for example, the term is problematic in the context of Pakistan, and not one that is used by organisations for whom faith is central to their identity and mission. One of her key findings is that the source of an organisation's funds is in fact their 'most important distinguishing feature,' and that faith 'must therefore be understood as one variable amongst many that influence the identity and activities of an organisation.'⁶⁵

In addition to the fact that the term might lack meaning in some contexts, further challenges noted by Tomalin as regards FBOs are that: 'the model of an NGO-like FBO does not capture all types of religious organisations engaged in development activities, and the term "faith-based" may reflect a largely Christian view of religion and a Western (mainly US) context characterised by particular forms of secularism.'⁶⁶ Similarly, Ager and Ager argue that 'the compartmentalization of religion into a distinct sphere that can be separated from the public roles of an individual or group is itself a very Western notion.'⁶⁷ Importantly, they point out that the descriptor 'faith-based' is in and of itself illustrative of a conceptualisation of religion that sees it as primarily being about 'belief, and belief as separable from action and identity.'⁶⁸ This of course connects to the discussions above both about the difficulty of separating religion from development, and about how what is 'secular' is often defined negatively in terms of what it is not in relation to religion. In some ways, secularism also works to define what is and is not religious, as Talal Asad argues.⁶⁹

Notwithstanding this complexity, Berger notes that organisations such as these have been overlooked for the most part, in spite of the increasing tendency within the sphere of international action to take the perspectives of religious actors into account. Reasons she cites as to why this might be the case include the lack of available data on RNGOs, which is perhaps connected to the lack of clarity and consensus she sees around 'what constitutes an "RNGO" legally, sociologically, and in a non-Western context.'⁷⁰ Although Berger is writing in 2003 and in the context of the US and UN, her comments have been echoed by scholars since, in relation to other contexts also, as will be seen below. Despite the difficulty of providing a neat definition for the category, the term 'FBO' is used in this thesis, since it most accurately captures the organisations that are of particular interest in relation to the research question. For the sake of analytical clarity, in relation to the empirical research component of this thesis, a specific field, and group of organisations within this field, will be delineated.

1) Frameworks for understanding FBOs

The literature on FBOs within the field of religions and development draws on that within organisation studies and sociology connected to public policy, and more specifically, on the

⁶⁴ Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," 331.

⁶⁵ Nida Kirmani, "The role of religious values and beliefs in charitable and development organisations in Karachi and Sindh, Pakistan," *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5-6 (2012): 745-746.

⁶⁶ Tomalin, "Thinking about faith-based organisations," 694.

⁶⁷ Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, *Faith, Secularism and Humanitarian Engagement: Finding the Place of Religion in the Support of Displaced Communities*, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 41.

⁶⁸ Ager and Ager, *Faith, Secularism and Humanitarian Engagement*, 41.

⁶⁹ Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 1-2.

⁷⁰ Berger, "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations," 17.

body of work that develops and studies typologies, or other means of categorising FBOs. This is important to highlight with regards to the theoretical approach taken in this thesis, which is also rooted in organisation studies. Thus, the precedent for engaging in interdisciplinary research of this nature can be found within the literature itself. The reason for this emphasis within the existing work is because the origins of the literature with which studies on FBOs within religions and development have to date engaged can be found primarily in the context of the USA, 'against the backdrop of a political culture that increasingly encouraged the involvement of FBOs in social welfare provision and introduced legal changes to make this possible.'⁷¹ As such, the earliest work on FBOs was for the most part focused on a sphere of activity much broader than the sector of interest within this thesis. This section will provide a brief overview of key discussions and pieces of work within these various and overlapping domains of research, in order to lay the foundations for introducing the approach taken in this thesis in the following section. The work introduced below will not be discussed at length here, but rather, in section 3.

On account of the definitional difficulties and blurred boundaries noted above, Occhipinti holds that typologies are potentially more helpful than definitions for understanding FBOs.⁷² A typology that has been particularly influential to date is that developed by Sider and Unruh in 2004. They constructed their typology to enable a more precise way of talking about FBOs. Distinguishing between six different types of faith-based organisation on the basis of the role of faith within them – faith-permeated, faith-centred, faith-affiliated, faith-background, faith-secular partnership, and secular – Sider and Unruh make a useful distinction between 'organisations' and 'programs' in recognition of the fact that faith may be manifested differently within each. There are twelve indicators against which they assess organisations, and these include aspects such as their mission statements, how senior management are selected, and whether and how organised religious practices play a role in the life of the organisation.⁷³

In formulating their typology, Sider and Unruh build on the work of scholars such as Stephen Monsma,⁷⁴ Thomas Jeavons,⁷⁵ Steven Smith and Michael Sosin,⁷⁶ and Malcolm Goggin and Deborah Orth,⁷⁷ who in various ways have attempted to classify FBOs for analytical purposes. Of these, Smith and Sosin's study will be outlined below since it examines the practice of FBOs through the lens of institutional theory. Nevertheless, at this juncture it is worth briefly summarising Jeavons' approach, which he himself refers to as 'exploratory'. Instead of assessing an organisation's 'religiousness' at an overarching level, Jeavons identifies seven key organisational aspects that can be examined and 'scored': an organisation's self-identity; participants; material resources as well as the source of these; goals, products or services; decision-making processes; definition and distribution of power;

⁷¹ Tomalin, "Thinking about faith-based organisations," 693.

⁷² Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," 334.

⁷³ Sider and Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics."

⁷⁴ Stephen V. Monsma, *When Sacred and Secular Mix: Religious Nonprofit Organizations and Public Money*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996).

⁷⁵ Thomas H. Jeavons, "Identifying characteristics of 'religious' organizations: An exploratory proposal," in *Sacred Companies*, ed. N. J. Demerath III, Peter Dobkin Hall, Terry Schmitt and Rhys H. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁷⁶ Steven R. Smith and Michael R. Sosin, "The varieties of faith-related agencies," *Public Administration Review* 61, no. 6 (2001): 651-670.

⁷⁷ Malcolm Goggin and Deborah Orth, *How faith-based and secular organizations tackle housing for the homeless*, (Albany, GA: The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, 2002).

and interactions in terms of other organisations or fields. Taken together, these aspects enable one to assess how religious an organisation is. Important to note, however, is that Jeavons does not employ 'types' as Sider and Unruh do; rather, the purpose of his approach is to enable evaluation of where to place organisations 'on a scale from strictly secular to strictly religious.'⁷⁸ Thus, the focus of his approach is still to situate organisations according to how religious or 'secular' they are, albeit by taking into account the influence of religion on different aspects of their operations.

Jeavons' later critique of Sider and Unruh's typology is also worth noting. He raises three issues, the second of which is particularly relevant here. Although Jeavons sees the typology as 'solid and significant work,' his concern is that its focus is on those aspects of faith that are explicitly expressed in organisational life. As he puts it, the authors 'assume a division between what is *internal* and personal and what is *expressive* and corporate that is too clean and facile,' and he uses the example, already noted above, of those traditions that see charitable work as 'inherently *religious*' and therefore may not engage in any explicit religious practices.⁷⁹ In Jeavons' opinion, this likely reflects the typology's Protestant Christian roots.

Tara Hefferan, Julie Adkins and Laurie Occhipinti, although appreciating the value of Sider and Unruh's typology from an anthropological perspective, suggest some revisions to allow for greater flexibility in relation to three issues that they raise concerning the twelve indicators. In their opinion, these revisions will enable the typology to be relevant for a wider range of organisations, such as those that are not as formalised. For example, they suggest that instead of the first indicator being titled 'Mission statement and other self-descriptive text,' it should simply be 'self-description'.⁸⁰ Their revisions have the added potential of allowing the typology to capture the difference between policy and practice; in other words, the fact that 'what the "rules" say should happen is often different from what actually occurs "in practice"'.⁸¹ A further point worth noting is that Hefferan et al. also include the possibility for organisations at the 'strictly secular' end of the scale to make reference to 'values' – against the indicator 'self-description' the text reads: 'No faith content, but references to values are often present.'⁸²

Clarke takes a different approach, identifying five different types of FBO: 'faith-based representative organizations or apex bodies'; 'faith-based charitable or development organizations'; 'faith-based socio-political organizations'; 'faith-based missionary organizations'; 'faith-based illegal or terrorist organizations'.⁸³ He also suggests that there are 'four main ways in which FBOs deploy faith;' namely, 'passive', 'active', 'persuasive', or 'exclusive'.⁸⁴ Clarke's focus, however, is on donors, and what approaches have the potential to impact on their ability to support certain FBOs. Nevertheless, he also identifies four

⁷⁸ Jeavons, "Identifying characteristics of 'religious' organizations," 81.

⁷⁹ Thomas H. Jeavons, "Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Do We Know One When We See One?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (2004): 142. Emphasis original.

⁸⁰ Tara Hefferan, Julie Adkins and Laurie Occhipinti, "Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development: An Introduction," in *Bridging the Gaps: Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Tara Hefferan, Julie Adkins and Laurie Occhipinti (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 17.

⁸¹ Hefferan et al., "Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development," 18.

⁸² Hefferan et al., "Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development," 21.

⁸³ Clarke, "Faith-Based Organizations and International Development," 25.

⁸⁴ Clarke, "Faith-Based Organizations and International Development," 32-33.

potential issues with his typology. These include that of the categories not being clear cut or exclusive in relation to organisations, a critique that I would agree with.⁸⁵

Turning to Smith and Sosin's work on 'religious coupling', their focus is on what they refer to as 'faith-related' rather than 'faith-based' agencies, defined as those that either have: 'a formal funding or administrative arrangement with a religious authority or authorities; a historical tie of this kind; a specific commitment to act within the dictates of a particular established faith; or a commitment to work together that stems from a common religion.'⁸⁶ 'Faith-related' agencies also include those that have a connection to religion at an institutional level. In light of what Smith and Sosin perceive to be a move towards the increasing use of faith-related agencies in service delivery, the purpose of their research is to 'specify how religion and faith are really expressed in agencies, to what ends, and in what agencies.'⁸⁷ Examining religious coupling along three 'sources of constraint;' that is, 'the sources of resources;' 'the use of authority;' and 'the sources of what we call "culture," which includes groups that agencies or their staff and volunteers interact with,'⁸⁸ their focus is both on the extent to which their sample agencies are 'coupled' to faith, and the impact of this on organisational structure and programmes. To give an example of 'coupling', if an agency's funding comes primarily from religious sources, if its board members are primarily those with religious affiliations, or if the agency is heavily reliant on 'para-professionals', it would be said to be 'tightly' coupled to religion.

Helen Ebaugh, Janet Chafetz and Paula Pipes examine 'religiosity' in relation to organisations, understood in terms of 'religious commitment'.⁸⁹ The question they focus on concerns 'what makes an organization "religious" or "faith-based",' ⁹⁰ since they note that this has not been clearly articulated within the literature. They highlight that the assumption underlying conceptualisations current at the time of writing is that 'organizational religiosity exists on a continuum in which some organizations are more religious than others.'⁹¹ The continuum or spectrum approach is that most prevalent within the literature as a whole. Ebaugh et al.'s research, which operationalises several of Jeavons' seven dimensions, challenges this approach, however, shedding light on three distinct dimensions according to which they find variation with regard to 'religiosity': in 'the manner in which [organizations] relate to clients (service religiosity), in the manner in which staff are hired and relate to one another (staff religiosity), and in the public face that organizations present (organizational religiosity).'⁹² Thus, their data indicates that in relation to FBOs, religious commitment is 'multidimensional'.⁹³ Their argument that the religious or faith underpinning of an organisation might manifest differentially across the breadth of its practice is important to highlight. Interestingly, Ebaugh et al. find 'no support' in their data for Smith and Sosin's argument that 'the institutional coupling of an agency with the resources, authorities and

⁸⁵ Clarke, "Faith-Based Organizations and International Development," 33-34.

⁸⁶ Smith and Sosin, "The varieties of faith-related agencies," 652.

⁸⁷ Smith and Sosin, "The varieties of faith-related agencies," 652.

⁸⁸ Smith and Sosin, "The varieties of faith-related agencies," 654.

⁸⁹ Helen Rose Ebaugh, Janet S. Chafetz and Paula F. Pipes, "Where's the Faith in Faith-based Organizations? Measures and Correlates of Religiosity in Faith-based Social Service Coalitions," *Social Forces* 84, no. 4 (2006): 2259.

⁹⁰ Ebaugh et al., "Where's the Faith," 2259.

⁹¹ Ebaugh et al., "Where's the Faith," 2261.

⁹² Ebaugh et al., "Where's the Faith," 2269-2270.

⁹³ Ebaugh et al., "Where's the Faith," 2270.

cultures of particular faiths ... affects the organization's structure, its religious culture and its delivery of services.⁹⁴

In her discussion of typologies of FBOs, Occhipinti notes that a 'simple, dichotomous secular/religious categorization is inadequate.'⁹⁵ One of the reasons why typologies can be analytically useful is because they enable more detailed analysis and can, as such, draw out some of the nuance in factors such as this. Taking a slightly different approach, then, Occhipinti brings three different typologies of FBOs together to form a framework that she holds 'encourages greater clarity in thinking about FBOs along three key dimensions: the different degrees to which organizations are faith-based, the work in which they engage, and their degree of formality and association with official religious structures.'⁹⁶ Occhipinti's argument is that together, these enable an understanding of 'what [FBOs] do and how the religion impacts upon their work.'⁹⁷

Finally, two additional contributions are important to mention. First, although not a typology, Tara Hefferan's focus on methodology in the study of religions and development is important, since it has a bearing on typologies. She highlights several 'faults lines' across which dialogue is needed; namely, positivist/interpretivist, qualitative/quantitative and macro/micro. In addition to these, she also hints at others, such as insider/outsider.⁹⁸ Second is Dena Freeman's critique of typologies that seek to 'place' FBOs within an analytical framework. In Freeman's opinion, '[i]n attempting to bring together such a wide variety of actors within one framework these typologies necessarily become rather vague and abstract.'⁹⁹ The approach Freeman takes is to instead 'narrow the focus to one particular faith tradition and then to map out some of the different actors through an understanding of their histories, theologies, and objectives.'¹⁰⁰ Thus, deeper and thicker analysis of organisations within particular faith traditions is needed.

In the following section, I reflect on this literature with reference to the specific research question the thesis is seeking to address. I then introduce the approach I take in the thesis to addressing this question, highlighting how this approach provides a new perspective and insight to studies of FBOs.

3. Roadmap to the Institutional Logics Perspective

A) Critiquing the existing frameworks

To begin with Sider and Unruh's typology, my own critique builds on those of Jeavons and Hefferan et al. Arguably, multi-level analysis would be an important addition to the typology, enabling it to capture both the discrepancies between organisational-level policies such as mission statements, and practice at the individual level, as well as shed light on at least some of the dynamics between personal and corporate aspects. Further, Sider and Unruh's focus solely on the faith dimension, while helpful, also fails to capture other important dynamics, such as the ways faith interacts with and is shaped by its societal context. The demarcation within their typology between 'religious' and 'secular' can also be critiqued, for reasons

⁹⁴ Ebaugh et al., "Where's the Faith," 2270.

⁹⁵ Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," 336.

⁹⁶ Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," 331.

⁹⁷ Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," 342.

⁹⁸ Tara Hefferan, "Researching religions and development," in *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, ed. Emma Tomalin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

⁹⁹ Dena Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest for Faith-Based Development*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 4.

¹⁰⁰ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 4.

already discussed. These same critiques can be levelled against Hefferan et al.'s revised version of the typology.

While Smith and Sosin's focus on the constraints placed on FBOs is helpful in some respects, and an important factor to take into consideration when analysing their practice, 'constraints' are arguably not the most suitable means through which to measure an organisation's expression of faith; a dimension of organisational practice that has a more positive feel. Further, the authors' conceptualisation of 'faith' or the 'religious', and the 'secular' as being mutually exclusive in relation to their analysis of organisational practice can be challenged, as Wilkinson's work highlights.

What is particularly helpful about Ebaugh et al.'s approach is their separation of an organisation's work into distinct dimensions. This sheds light on the fact that different aspects of an organisation's work can be more or less explicitly influenced by faith, and allows for a more nuanced analysis of FBOs. One of the values of Occhipinti's approach, which speaks to Freeman's critique, is that she does not attempt to fit organisations within one rubric. Further, her framework can be applied to different aspects of an organisation's work, such as their hiring practices, for instance. In Occhipinti's words, it can be used to study FBOs and 'their internally constituent parts, through a number of lenses, along a number of spectra.'¹⁰¹ An aspect that is lacking from her study, however, is a more detailed explanation regarding how precisely the framework can be operationalised to study how religion impacts upon the work of various FBOs.

Turning to the primary research question this thesis sets out to address – that is, concerning how faith influences the practice of FBOs – engaging with the existing literature has brought to light several aspects that need to be considered in approaching the research. It is clear, for example, that the continuum approach to categorising FBOs is unconvincing given the studies showing that there are differences *within* organisations, that FBOs' religious commitment is multidimensional, and further, that categories such as 'religious' and 'secular' are neither clear cut nor mutually exclusive in relation to FBOs. In typologies and frameworks based on such continuums, the secular is typically defined both as the opposite of faith and as a neutral category. An approach is needed that instead acknowledges faith as one factor among several that have a bearing on organisational practice. Also evident is that there are often discrepancies between organisational policy and organisational practice, and therefore that more nuanced analyses of organisations will be important. Finally, Hefferan's challenge to be conversant across fault lines must be taken seriously. One such fault line that will be important given the focus of the research question on faith is the macro/micro fault line. Using multilevel analysis will enable the interplay between dynamics at both the individual and organisational levels to be captured. In the following section, I introduce the institutional logics perspective, which provides the theoretical basis for this thesis.

B) The Institutional Logics Perspective

A prevailing characteristic of the environment in which FBOs operate is institutional complexity, situated as they are at the nexus between the international community, the state, religious groups, the corporate world and diverse cultural contexts. It is important to take this into account when examining their practice. The existing literature within organisational and institutional theory on FBOs, some of which was introduced and discussed above, points to the value of the theoretical resources and perspectives within such theory for addressing the

¹⁰¹ Occhipinti, "Faith-based Organizations and Development," 342.

research question. Within institutional theory, I have chosen to use the institutional logics perspective to provide the theoretical framework for this thesis. This perspective will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting one important forerunner – Pierre Bourdieu’s work on the logics of practice – since it features in the analysis of several scholars working in the field of religions and development, some of whose work will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.¹⁰² One of the key differences between Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of logics and logics as understood within the institutional logics perspective, is that Bourdieu conceives of the logic of practice as ‘a generic contest for domination in a plurality of homologously organized fields.’¹⁰³ To articulate this in a different way, Bourdieu views the organising principles of different fields as being essentially the same. The institutional logics perspective, on the other hand, draws attention to the ‘exteriority’ of institutions; that is, the way in which institutional dynamics impact on individuals and organisations, and therefore fields, in *differential* ways.¹⁰⁴ Thus, according to the institutional logics perspectives, the organising principles of different fields are not necessarily the same.

In relation to the primary research question, using the institutional logics perspective offers the potential for a multilevel analysis of the ways in which faith impacts on practice, addressing this ‘fault line’ highlighted by Hefferan. It ‘has the capacity to motivate and guide research questions at both the micro and macro levels of analysis.’¹⁰⁵ The approach is distinct from ‘macro structural’ approaches – that is, those that emphasise structure over action – in that it sees the ‘interests, identities, values, and assumptions’ of societal actors as embedded within institutional logics.¹⁰⁶ Put differently, it is able to account ‘for the dynamics of both the material [i.e. structures and practices] and the symbolic [i.e. ideation and meaning].’¹⁰⁷ I use this approach since it will enable me to develop a theoretical and methodological tool that will help to analytically separate the two, as well as to examine the ways they interact and impact on one another.¹⁰⁸

Jeavons’ above-noted critique regarding the assumed division within Sider and Unruh’s typology between what is internal and personal, and expressive and corporate, is also important to return to in relation to the institutional logics perspective. Indeed, as Deneulin and Bano highlight, for those who adhere to a religion, it ‘infuses all aspects (and decisions) of their lives.’¹⁰⁹ Using institutional logics as an analytical tool will allow me to capture dynamics such as this, since the motivations behind practices are important and logics are not mutually exclusive. The approach also builds on the work already carried out on FBOs by taking the wider societal context into account, and by exploring dynamics other than faith. Thus, a different kind of typology will be employed in this thesis, in which faith is one factor that influences practice, alongside several others.

Tanner’s thinking, noted above, resonates in some respects with the institutional logics perspective, particularly in light of Thornton’s work on the institutional logics perspective and the sociology of culture. Thornton sees institutional orders as bearing a similarity to ‘cultural subsystems in which culture is more likely to cohere within than across

¹⁰² Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

¹⁰³ Roger Friedland, “The Endless Fields of Pierre Bourdieu,” *Organization* 16, no. 6 (2009): 888.

¹⁰⁴ Patricia H. Thornton, William Ocasio and Michael Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 51.

¹⁰⁵ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 4.

¹⁰⁶ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 11.

¹⁰⁸ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁹ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 6.

orders.¹¹⁰ Although the focus of the institutional logics perspective on culture as it relates to the institutional sphere is of course different to Tanner's focus on the theological sphere, examining the practice of Christian organisations using the perspective of institutional logics will to a certain extent enable reflection of the nature envisaged by Tanner, since Christianity will be examined as one 'cultural subsystem' alongside others.

4. Overview of the Thesis

A) Structure

In this introductory chapter, I have introduced the research question and situated it within a broader context. The theoretical framework that I employ to address the research question – the institutional logics perspective – will be explored in the following chapter (Chapter 2). In Chapter 2, I also discuss the concept of the 'field', both defining it for the thesis and highlighting its significance in relation to the empirical research. A key feature of the empirical research is multilevel analysis that spans the societal to individual levels, and the chapter ends with an introduction to this research, its methods of data collection and research instrument.

Chapter 3 then focuses on historical research, using the perspective afforded by institutional logics to highlight important dynamics in the history of development, humanitarianism and advocacy. The purpose of so doing is to provide a historical backdrop for the contemporary practice of aid and its underpinning logics, which is further developed in Chapter 4. Although connected, the fields of development, humanitarianism and advocacy have distinct historical paths, which are traced from their emergence up until the twentieth century, after which the period after the Second World War is explored. The chapter highlights and discusses some of the overlap and tensions between dynamics related to the logic of religion, as well as to those of corporation, market and community.

Following this historically-focused discussion, Chapter 4 homes in on the contemporary UK-based sector. Bringing together the existing literature on typologies and typology development, insights from Chapter 3, and initial empirical research in a specified subcomponent of the field, I develop a tool for analysing organisational-level data, which will be the focus of Chapter 5. The analytical tool is a field-level typology of institutional logics, and the empirical research used to contribute to its development was documentary analysis and context-building interviews. Following its construction, the analytical tool was tested and adjusted through the research process.

In Chapter 5, the typology of logics is used to process and analyse data collected within one FBO operating within the group of organisations identified in Chapter 4. Thus, this chapter demonstrates use of the typology in action and the value of my approach. The empirical research that formed the basis for the analysis in this chapter was a series of interviews within the FBO, predominantly focused on its UK-based operations. The transcripts were then analysed through the lens of the field-level typology. Chapter 6 explores the findings from this chapter, and discusses them according to both the questions guiding the empirical research, and the overarching question the thesis sets out to address.

Finally, the concluding chapter summarises the overall contribution of the thesis to the fields of religions and development and institutional logics respectively, and in particular, the study of FBOs within these fields. Before moving on to Chapter 2, the following section

¹¹⁰ Patricia H. Thornton, "Culture and Institutional Logics," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, ed. James D. Wright (Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd., 2015), 550.

briefly defines how the terms religion, faith and aid are understood within this thesis – critical at the outset of a study such as this.

B) Defining Key Terms

1) *Religion and faith*

As a concept, religion avoids easy definition. In a similar vein to development studies, how religion is viewed and understood depends both on the perspective from which and purpose for which it is being studied.¹¹¹ Further, religions are so diverse in form and nature that it would be impossible for one definition to do justice to them all. Thus, it is important to note at the outset that any attempt to develop a single substantive definition of religion will face numerous challenges. The approach adopted in this thesis is rather to define religion as it will be used in the research process; that is, according to one specific group of organisations, and with a focus on how organisations and individuals within it ‘live out their religion in practice.’¹¹² As Tomalin explains, the need for such a nuanced and contextual understanding of religion highlights the value of:

an approach in which one has an intuitive and provisional understanding of what a religion is and where to find it, thus enabling us to begin our investigation, but a more detailed description and understanding (and possibly a definition, albeit not a universal one) can only be achieved at the end of a study.¹¹³

The interest in this thesis concerns how religion influences practice in relation to certain aspects of practice; within one particular group of organisations and one organisation within that field. Thus, religion as it will be examined in the research process will be defined according to the specific aspects captured by the analytical tool developed in Chapter 4. This tool is focused on the outworking of religion within the specified group, and would need to be adapted and contextualised if applied in different contexts. It is important to acknowledge, however, that religion is much more than the aspects that can be captured by the tool. The tool offers neither a full nor comprehensive analysis of religion, but rather, captures and enables analysis of what are perhaps the most dominant dynamics in relation to the research terms.

As Hefferan notes, while not all scholars distinguish between religion and faith, some see a distinction between the two, holding that religion is ‘formal and organized, while faith is more nebulous and expansive.’¹¹⁴ The word ‘faith’ can be used in differing ways, but in relation to FBOs it is often used to signify an individual or group’s affiliation to a specific religious tradition, divine being, or both.¹¹⁵ In line with Tomalin, faith is understood within this thesis to be ‘the dimension of religion that extends beyond the codification of values, rules and social practices.’¹¹⁶ As with religion, however, it will be defined through the research

¹¹¹ Tomalin, for example, points to the influence of western Christianity on understandings of religion that have historically been dominant in western contexts (Tomalin, *Religions and Development*, 51). Further, religion can be approached from an ‘outsider’ or ‘insider’ approach, or from one that spans both approaches (Tomalin, *Religions and Development*, 57).

¹¹² Tomalin, *Religions and Development*, 56.

¹¹³ Tomalin, *Religions and Development*, 56.

¹¹⁴ Hefferan, “Researching religions and development,” 41.

¹¹⁵ Ager and Ager, *Faith, Secularism and Humanitarian Engagement*, ix.

¹¹⁶ Tomalin, *Religions and Development*, 11.

in relation to one specific context. Through analysing organisational documents, and interacting with and observing employees, I will explore both how faith is prominent within the organisation, as well as how employees view and engage with faith. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that religion and faith are greater than that which can be observed or discovered through empirical research.

2) Aid

The use of the word 'aid' in the chapters that follow requires some discussion. While the term is used in several ways, and often solely to refer to government funding – Official Development Assistance (ODA) – it is understood in this thesis in its broadest conceptualisation to include funding from private donors and civil society also.¹¹⁷ The practice of 'aid' explored in this thesis is connected to a specific group of organisations in the UK and the NGOs that operate within it; that is, one component of this broader sphere of activity. In this regard, 'aid' goes beyond simply 'humanitarianism', 'development' or 'advocacy'. As Freeman notes in relation to the first two spheres of action, they are 'widely overlapping, with many organisations carrying out both types of activity.'¹¹⁸ The same is arguably true of advocacy.¹¹⁹ Since within the field, humanitarianism, development and advocacy are frequently – though not always – brought together within the same organisations, for the sake of ease a term is needed that encompasses all. Although using the word 'aid' in this way is not free from conceptual challenges, it was felt to be the most appropriate descriptor. Aid is also the term used by the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC), which is the sample for the initial field-level empirical research and a specific focus of Chapter 4, and by scholars such as Cowen and Shenton, Freeman and Tomalin to name a few.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Andre M. N. Renzaho, "Measuring Effectiveness in Development and Humanitarian Assistance: An Overview," in *Measuring Effectiveness in Humanitarian and Development Aid: Conceptual Frameworks, Principles and Practice*, ed. Andre M. N. Renzaho (New York, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2007), 3.

¹¹⁸ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 37n8.

¹¹⁹ See, for example, the entry for 'Advocacy' in *Humanitarianism: Keywords*, which states that: 'Today, humanitarian organizations engage in advocacy campaigns to raise awareness about ongoing crises and urgent needs' (Maria Gabrielsen Jumbert, "Advocacy," in *Humanitarianism: Keywords*, ed. Antonio De Lauri (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 3.)

¹²⁰ M. P. Cowen and R. W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1996), 472. Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*; Tomalin, "Introduction," 1.

Chapter 2: Research Design

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I introduce the theoretical framework in which the empirical research is grounded, discussing the rationale behind its use in relation to the primary research question as well as studies that are of particular relevance for the research. I then discuss the significance of the concept of the 'field', which is important in relation to the tool used to analyse data collected during the research process, developed in Chapter 4. Finally, I introduce the empirical research, methods of data collection and research instrument.

1. Theoretical Framework

A) The institutional logics perspective

1) Roger Friedland and Robert Alford: *Bringing Society Back In* (1991)¹²¹

The concept of institutional logics first emerged as a metatheoretical perspective through Roger Friedland and Robert Alford's 1991 critique of organisational and neoinstitutional theory on account of its failure to take societal context into consideration. According to Friedland and Alford, essential to any understanding of individual and organisational behaviour is an understanding of the societal context in which such behaviour occurs.¹²² They conceive of society as an interinstitutional system,¹²³ and the institutions of which it is comprised as both 'supraorganizational patterns of activity' that shape human behaviour and symbolic systems that enable individuals and organisations to order and give meaning to this behaviour.¹²⁴ As such, institutions have both material and symbolic components, and further, there is a connection between institutions and action. Yet, while the behaviour of individuals and organisations is constrained by institutions, it is not determined by them:¹²⁵ although the agency of societal actors is embedded within societal institutions, these institutions are themselves socially constructed,¹²⁶ and societal actors play a key role in either reproducing or transforming them.¹²⁷ Fundamental to each institution is a logic that 'guides its organizing principles and provides social actors with vocabularies of motive and a sense of self'¹²⁸ and it is this that is referred to as an institutional logic.

¹²¹ The content in this section has been published in Nina Kurlberg, "The 'Telos' as a Lens That Illuminates Values in Practice," in *Researching Values: Methodological Approaches for Understanding Values Work in Organisations and Leadership*, ed. Gry Espedal, Beate Jelstad Lovaas, Stephen Sirris and Arild Waeraas (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 244-246.

¹²² Roger Friedland and Robert R. Alford, "Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices, and Institutional Contradictions," in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 232.

¹²³ Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 240.

¹²⁴ Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 232.

¹²⁵ Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 256.

¹²⁶ Patricia H. Thornton and William Ocasio, "Institutional Logics," in *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, ed. Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Kerstin Sahlin and Roy Suddaby (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), 104.

¹²⁷ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 80.

¹²⁸ Thornton and Ocasio, "Institutional Logics," 101.

Friedland and Alford hold that the influence of multiple institutional orders within organisations leads to conflict between their logics. This, because rationality is institution-specific,¹²⁹ or to put it differently, the practices that emerge within each institutional order are ‘ontologically rational’¹³⁰ – they make sense according to each institution’s material and symbolic framework. Yet Friedland and Alford believe that rather than being a wholly negative feature of the system, this also paves the way for organisational transformation through the ‘exploitation’ of these points of conflict; in other words, the points at which logics conflict are also those points at which organisational change can occur.¹³¹ Worth noting here is that the vast and ever-expanding body of empirical research that has been carried out since Friedland and Alford’s influential publication demonstrates that conflict is not the only response to logic multiplicity. This will be discussed in greater depth below.

2) Development of Friedland and Alford’s metatheory¹³²

Building on Friedland and Alford’s pioneering work, Patricia Thornton, William Ocasio and Michael Lounsbury conceive of institutional logics in the following way:

Institutional logics represent frames of reference that condition actors’ choices for sense-making, the vocabulary they use to motivate action, and their sense of self and identity. The principles, practices, and symbols of each institutional order differentially shape how reasoning takes place and how rationality is perceived and experienced.¹³³

Thornton et al. developed a method by which institutional logics can be analysed socio-scientifically, producing a typology of the logics of what they perceive to be the seven institutional orders that comprise the interinstitutional system (that is, society), identified as family, community, religion, state, market, profession, and corporation.¹³⁴ They conceptualised the perspective as a matrix, placing the institutional orders along the x-axis. Along the y-axis they placed the ‘elemental categories, or building blocks, which represent the cultural symbols and material practices particular to [each] order’¹³⁵ – such as ‘sources of authority,’ ‘basis of norms,’ or ‘informal control mechanisms.’ In other words, for each institutional order, the content of these y-axis categories represents their logic. It is important to note that the y-axis categories within Thornton et al.’s typology are not definitive and can be expanded upon or amended depending on context. However, specifying categories according to which institutional logics can be seen in action enables analysis of how they impact practice. Institutional logics are notoriously difficult to define, let alone identify, and therefore the benefit of Thornton et al.’s approach is that it enables one to analyse the way in which they can be seen in action. Thornton et al. put together a table depicting this matrix, from which the table below is an excerpt.¹³⁶ Particularly important for this thesis, is the

¹²⁹ Friedland and Alford, “Bringing Society Back In,” 235.

¹³⁰ Friedland, “The Endless Fields,” 911.

¹³¹ See Friedland and Alford, “Bringing Society Back In,” 232. In relation to society, they see institutional contradictions as ‘the bases of the most important political conflicts in our society; it is through these politics that the institutional structure of society is transformed’ (Friedland and Alford, “Bringing Society Back In,” 256).

¹³² The content in this section has been published in Kurlberg, “The ‘Telos’ as a Lens,” 244-246.

¹³³ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 2.

¹³⁴ For a discussion on the use and value of ideal types, see Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 52-3. This is also discussed in section 2 below.

¹³⁵ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 54.

¹³⁶ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 73.

assumption within the institutional logics perspective that ‘more micro processes of change are built from translations, analogies, combinations, and adaptations of more macro institutional logics.’¹³⁷ This is a point to which we will return below.

Y-axis Categories	X-axis Institutional Orders						
	Family	Community	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Sources of Legitimacy	Unconditional loyalty	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity	Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of Authority	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values & ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors Top management
Sources of Identity	Family reputation	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Association with deities	Social & economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft Personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles

3) Subsequent empirical studies of institutional logics

Thornton et al.’s approach has been used in countless empirical studies of institutional logics, which are partly responsible for the exponential growth of the field. In this section, I briefly introduce those that are of particular relevance for the thesis, and that will be referred to in later chapters. It is important to emphasise here, however, that the institutional logics perspective is being used outside the field of institutional theory within this thesis, and therefore, while my approach and analysis draw on these studies, this is not where I seek to make my primary contribution to the literature.

Although the focus of Friedland and Alford’s theoretical work is on conflict between logics, the rapidly expanding body of research on institutional logics, which draws both on their metatheory and Thornton et al.’s method of analysis, demonstrates differing opinions as to the effects of institutional complexity. Exploring ‘logic multiplicity’ within organisations – that is, when organisations have multiple logics in action – Marya Besharov and Wendy Smith argue that while for some, such as Julie Battilana and Silvia Dorado,¹³⁸ this results in ‘contestation and conflict’ between logics, others find evidence of ‘coexistence’.¹³⁹ Here, they refer to Chad McPherson and Michael Sauder’s ethnographic research of negotiations within a drug court, which showed a ‘steady coexistence’, where four distinct logics were in operation and invoked at various points for specific purposes, ‘without signs of threat to the integrity of any.’¹⁴⁰

Aspects of McPherson and Sauder’s findings resonate with Amy Binder’s, who on account of her examination of the logics in action within the three different service departments of a housing organisation in the US, argues that in ‘real’ life contexts, people ‘play with [logics], question them, combine them with institutional logics from other domains,

¹³⁷ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 4.

¹³⁸ Julie Battilana and Silvia Dorado, “Building Sustainable Hybrid Organizations: The Case of Commercial Microfinance Organizations,” *The Academy of Management Journal* 53, no. 6 (2010): 1419-1440.

¹³⁹ Marya Besharov and Wendy K. Smith, “Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations: Explaining Their Varied Nature and Implications,” *Academy of Management Review* 39, no. 3 (2014): 364.

¹⁴⁰ Chad Michael McPherson and Michael Sauder, “Logics in Action: Managing Institutional Complexity in a Drug Court,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2013): 186.

take what they can use from them, and make them fit their needs.’¹⁴¹ Binder’s argument and research is of interest in relation to this thesis on account of both its non-profit focus, and the spotlight she places on ‘creativity at the local level.’¹⁴² It is also worth noting the insight that in contexts where there are ‘no countervailing institutional logics,’ responses to the complexity of live situations tend to be more uniform.¹⁴³ Thus, logics provide resources for action.

Returning to logic multiplicity, in addressing this phenomenon and its implications, Besharov and Smith have developed a framework that distinguishes between different types of multiplicity and their consequences. The underlying motivation for the development of this framework was their observation that there are widely different research findings with regards to logic multiplicity, with some scholars perceiving it to be problematic on the basis that it ‘threaten[s] performance... ultimately leading to organizational demise,’ whilst others have found that it ‘makes organizations more enduring, sustainable, and innovative.’¹⁴⁴ As Besharov and Smith explain, their framework categorizes logic multiplicity according to two dimensions: ‘compatibility’, which concerns how compatible the different logics in action are, and ‘centrality’, which relates to how central they are to the organisation’s operations.¹⁴⁵ Examining these two dimensions more closely, Besharov and Smith have developed ideal types for four different kinds of organisations: ‘contested’, where there is ‘low compatibility and high centrality’ between logics; ‘estranged’, where there is ‘low compatibility and low centrality’ between logics; ‘aligned’, where there is ‘high compatibility and high centrality’ between logics; and ‘dominant’, where there is ‘high compatibility and low centrality’ between logics.¹⁴⁶ This framework is helpful, because it has the potential to provide a means of better understanding points of conflict within organisational practice.

Studies of institutional logics have also examined the internal strategies employed by hybrid organisations – a category that would include FBOs – in dealing with competing logics. Notable here is Anne-Claire Pache and Filipe Santos’s research on social enterprises focused on work integration.¹⁴⁷ Pache and Santos highlight the contradictions inherent within hybrid organisations using the example of social enterprises, and it is worth citing their comments on this in full since the questions resonate to a certain degree with those that FBOs are asking. Pache and Santos explain that social enterprises are:

caught between the competing demands of the market logic and the social welfare logic that they combine: should they incorporate as for-profit or as not-for-profit entities? Should they distribute profit to their owners or reinvest it in their social mission? Should they mobilize paid professionals prioritizing efficiency concerns or volunteers favoring a deep commitment to the mission? Just as social enterprises need to address these dilemmas to operate, all hybrids need to find ways to deal with the multiple demands to which they are exposed.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ Amy Binder, “For love and money: Organizations’ creative responses to multiple environmental logics,” *Theor Soc* 36 (2007): 568.

¹⁴² Binder, “For love and money,” 568.

¹⁴³ Binder, “For love and money,” 562.

¹⁴⁴ Besharov and Smith, “Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations,” 364.

¹⁴⁵ Besharov and Smith, “Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations,” 366.

¹⁴⁶ Besharov and Smith, “Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations,” 370-374.

¹⁴⁷ See Anne-Claire Pache and Filipe Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization: Selective Coupling as a Response to Competing Institutional Logics,” *Academy of Management Journal* 56, no. 4 (2013): 972-1001.

¹⁴⁸ Pache and Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization,” 972.

Their case study of four such organisations focuses in particular on what is happening within the organisations by way of response to hybridity, and this reveals unexpected strategies. Decoupling strategies – in which there is an intentional disconnect between organisations’ policies and practices¹⁴⁹ – were not the most prevalent, as would be expected. Neither were compromising strategies – where a compromise is reached between the prescriptions of conflicting institutions, either by adapting practices slightly, for example, or ‘crafting a new behavior that brings together elements of the conflicting demands.’¹⁵⁰ An example Pache and Santos offer here relates to microfinance institutions, where conflict between the banking and development logics regarding whether to maximise profit or take clients’ financial constraints into account might be responded to by choosing to set interest rates somewhere between the ideals of the two logics. Instead of decoupling or compromising strategies, however, Pache and Santos find evidence of ‘selective coupling’, with organisations taking elements from different logics and incorporating them intact.¹⁵¹ To give an example from their findings, SOCYCLE, one of the work integration social enterprises they studied, adopted a model of governance that had ‘local embeddedness’ as its basis, whereby control and management of each site was in the hands of locals. Although this is a practice in line with the social welfare logic, concurrently, and in line with the commercial logic, SOCYCLE put resources towards building a ‘strong national brand.’¹⁵² Selective coupling provides a means of managing incompatibility between logics without an organisation losing either its legitimacy or acceptance.

Elizabeth Goodrick and Trish Reay’s research is important to highlight as well, since their approach to developing ideal types for each institutional logic of focus in their research was influential for my own. Also examining coexistence between multiple logics, through their study of historical accounts, publications, reports and legislation, they unearth the ‘constellations’ of logics that have impacted pharmaceutical practice from the nineteenth century to the present. By ‘constellations’, they are referring to ‘the combination of institutional logics guiding behaviour at any one point of time.’¹⁵³ Through their research, Goodrick and Reay shed light both on how institutional logics can combine – either competitively or cooperatively – to ‘simultaneously influence professional work,’¹⁵⁴ and on the practice of ‘segmenting’. Occurring when there is competition between logics, segmenting is where different aspects of work within the same organisation are oriented by differing logics. This allows ‘multiple institutional logics to coexist for a lengthy period of time.’¹⁵⁵ The example they provide of segmenting, is where professional associations are responsible for educational standards, and corporations, for workplace standards.¹⁵⁶

Also important for this thesis is Michael Lounsbury’s paper on practice diffusion and variation, since through it he introduces the concept of ‘logic translation’; in other words, the notion that institutional logics are locally embedded within organisations and that this can

¹⁴⁹ Pache and Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization,” 974.

¹⁵⁰ Pache and Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization,” 975.

¹⁵¹ Pache and Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization,” 973.

¹⁵² Pache and Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization,” 987.

¹⁵³ Elizabeth Goodrick and Trish Reay, “Constellations of Institutional Logics: Changes in the Professional Work of Pharmacists,” *Work and Occupations* 38, no. 3 (2011): 399.

¹⁵⁴ Goodrick and Reay, “Constellations of Institutional Logics,” 399.

¹⁵⁵ Goodrick and Reay, “Constellations of Institutional Logics,” 404.

¹⁵⁶ Goodrick and Reay, “Constellations of Institutional Logics,” 404.

result in variations in their practice.¹⁵⁷ Lounsbury notes that further research of this nature could involve more in-depth analysis regarding how:

broader symbolic meaning systems systematically structure localized practices and identities, as well as how such ground-level translations and performances (Feldman & Pentland, 2003; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002) contribute to the editing and reformulation of broader cultural ideas and discourse in more interactive and recursive ways.¹⁵⁸

Mary Dunn and Candace Jones also study ground-level translations of logics, examining the interaction between the logics of care and science; two logics with their roots in the professional sector that were central within medical education from 1967 to 2005.¹⁵⁹

Worth noting due to its focus on microfinance organisations – hybrid organisations on account of their combination of banking and development logics – Battilana and Dorado’s research underscores the importance of ‘hiring and socialization policies’ for the development of organisational identity within hybrid organisations.¹⁶⁰ Their definition of a hybrid organisation is ‘one that combines different institutional logics in unprecedented ways.’¹⁶¹ They highlight the distinction between older and newer variants of hybrid organisations, noting that a key difference between them is that newer types of hybrid organisation do not have pre-existing models and strategies to hand for responding to conflicts between logics. Battilana and Dorado also introduce the idea that people are ‘carriers’ of logics,¹⁶² which is important for the argument they put forward in the paper since it means that people can be ‘socialized’ into different logics.¹⁶³

Finally, particularly interesting for the purposes of this thesis due to its specific focus on the interaction of the logics of religion and market, is Ali Gümüşay, Michael Smets and Timothy Morris’s ethnographic research within Germany’s first Islamic bank. Previous studies of hybrid organisations suggest that there are two typical responses to tension between logics, which are to ‘decrease the centrality of competing logics by structurally separating their enactments in dedicated compartments (...) [or] decrease their incompatibility by blending them in new, synthetic prescriptions, practices, or arrangements.’¹⁶⁴ The authors, however, ask what happens when it is not possible to take either approach since both logics are central and incompatible, as in the case of ‘deeply held, personal normative commitments.’¹⁶⁵ Through the research, which explores both organisational- and individual-level dynamics and highlights the importance of multilevel analysis, an alternative response emerges – ‘elastic hybridity’. By organisations ‘making space’ through their intentional use of vague language and organisational positions, and individuals ‘taking space’ through their

¹⁵⁷ Michael Lounsbury, “A Tale of Two Cities: Competing Logics and Practice Variation in the Professionalizing of Mutual Funds,” *The Academy of Management Journal* 50, no. 2 (2007): 289-307.

¹⁵⁸ Lounsbury, “A Tale of Two Cities,” 302.

¹⁵⁹ Mary B. Dunn and Candace Jones, “Institutional Logics and Institutional Pluralism: The Contestation of Care and Science Logics in Medical Education, 1967-2005,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2010): 114-149.

¹⁶⁰ Battilana and Dorado, “Building Sustainable Hybrid Organizations,” 1419.

¹⁶¹ Battilana and Dorado, “Building Sustainable Hybrid Organizations,” 1419.

¹⁶² Battilana and Dorado, “Building Sustainable Hybrid Organizations,” 1427.

¹⁶³ Battilana and Dorado, “Building Sustainable Hybrid Organizations,” 1429.

¹⁶⁴ Ali Aslan Gümüşay, Michael Smets and Timothy Morris, “‘God at Work’: Engaging central and incompatible institutional logics through elastic hybridity,” *Academy of Management Journal* 63, no. 1 (2020): 124.

¹⁶⁵ Gümüşay et al., “God at Work,” 129.

intentional use of space, time and language, organisations are able to ‘retain competing logics as both central and incompatible, but temporarily [decrease] their centrality and incompatibility to reduce conflict.’¹⁶⁶

4) Why this perspective?

There are several reasons why the institutional logics perspective provides a useful theoretical framework for this research. One is that it offers a way of bridging the gap between ‘macro’ and ‘micro’ perspectives; in other words, between ‘institutions’ and ‘action’.¹⁶⁷ A multi-level analysis is also essential to adequately understanding organisational practice, for as Friedland and Alford write: ‘each [level of analysis] is implicated in the other; none is more “real” than any other.’¹⁶⁸ This is particularly important in the case of hybrid organisations such as faith-based relief, development and advocacy organisations, where several institutional orders have a bearing on organisational practice and the behaviour of employees. Related to this, use of the institutional logics perspective will also enable me to capture the ‘symbolic meaningfulness’ of actions in addition to the actions themselves, which is important given the potential significance of faith in the practice of FBOs. Perhaps the most important reason underlying my use of the perspective, however, is its drive to make visible the institutional logics that often function as ‘invisible assumptions’ or ‘taken-for-granted’ in societal analysis.¹⁶⁹ This is an important feature of the metatheory for organisational analysis, since without this institutional perspective, the risk is that analyses merely develop and reproduce dominant logics.¹⁷⁰ As a result, the material and symbolic aspects of other logics are not understood on their own terms. Again, because of its focus on faith, this is important for the thesis.

A particularly pertinent example of this type of analysis given its subject matter can be found in Monika Krause’s *The Good Project*.¹⁷¹ Drawing on the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, Krause sets out to uncover the ‘practical logic’ of the field of humanitarianism, that she sees as standing between its ideas and concrete practices.¹⁷² She perceives humanitarianism as oriented around ‘shared practices of production,’¹⁷³ on account of which relief NGOs compete to produce ‘good projects’:¹⁷⁴ the primary unit of production within the sector. Donors are consumers of these projects, and beneficiaries, part of the commodity. How, then, does religion fare in Krause’s analysis? In addition to shared practices, Krause explores diversity and competition within the field. According to Bourdieu, each field revolves around its own distinct ‘symbolic capital’, which is the primary source of competition between actors. The benefit of such an approach, according to Krause, is that one can ‘link an account of competition more strongly with the relative autonomy of the authority of humanitarian

¹⁶⁶ Gümüşay et al., “God at Work,” 149.

¹⁶⁷ Thornton and Ocasio, “Institutional Logics,” 100.

¹⁶⁸ Friedland and Alford, “Bringing Society Back In,” 242.

¹⁶⁹ See Friedland and Alford, “Bringing Society Back In,” 240.

¹⁷⁰ Friedland and Alford, “Bringing Society Back In,” 260.

¹⁷¹ Monika Krause, *The Good Project: Humanitarian Relief NGOs and the Fragmentation of Reason*, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2014).

¹⁷² It is worth noting here that Krause is using ‘logic’ in the Bourdieusian sense, which differs from its use in the institutional logics perspective. Bourdieu’s ‘logic’ is field-specific as opposed to institutionally specific. (For an in-depth discussion of the points of divergence between the two theories, see Friedland, “The Endless Fields.”)

¹⁷³ Krause, *The Good Project*, 23.

¹⁷⁴ Krause, *The Good Project*, 37.

relief.¹⁷⁵ Her argument is that the symbolic capital for which actors within the humanitarian field compete is ‘humanitarian authority’, and this can be drawn both from within and outside of the field; for example, it can take the form of religious or political capital.¹⁷⁶ In other words, aspects such as religion are placed in a subordinate position in relation to the field of focus, and are not analysed on their own terms, but according to the logic of practice of this field. Given Krause’s focus on units of production and competition for capital, then, it arguably comes as no surprise that she sees a market logic as dominating the field. Krause’s analysis is insightful and valuable in relation to what it sets out to accomplish, highlighting an aspect of humanitarian work that resonates strongly with my own experience within sector. In relation to the research question this thesis is seeking to address, however, it lacks regard for institutional specificity.

It is helpful at this point to quote at length an excerpt from Krause’s book, which is taken from her interview with a desk officer at an evangelical organisation in the UK. From the list of questions provided in the appendix, it would appear that the question posed was: ‘[w]hat would you say makes your organization different from other organizations?’¹⁷⁷

I think we’re very different from other agencies. I think we have a fundamentally different belief that Christ came into this world, lived and died and left behind not a building society or a bank or any other institution. He left the church. And the church is responsible not just for making a Hindu into a Christian or a Muslim into a Christian in a sort of very limited spiritual sense. Actually Christ left behind the church for all people in every way to engage with all of humanity, and therefore the idea of working through the church to engage with human beings, not just in a spiritual sense, but physically, mentally, emotionally, economically, and politically.... What is distinctive is the idea of working with the church, working through the local church and challenging the church to go beyond its narrow views of vision.¹⁷⁸

While statements such as this are important for this thesis due to their references to religion, the parameters of Krause’s analysis do not appear to be the most suitable framework for them. She notes that the motivation behind this individual’s work has implications within the faith community as well as the humanitarian field, but according to her theoretical framework the statement cannot be analysed on its own terms. By way of contrast to this, an institutional logics perspective holds that the logics of organisational fields are ‘nested within societal level institutional orders.’¹⁷⁹ Thus, institutional logics theorists are interested in dynamics external to the field, and seek to analyse how these externally constructed logics – understood according to their own reasoning and rationality – impact practice and are negotiated by actors. In relation to this quote, for example, the logic of religion emerges as the dominant logic impacting on this desk officer’s understanding of the organisation’s identity, which is primarily about its association with the church, rather than its association with deities as per the table above. An insight such as this would be important for this thesis, which is interested in how faith influences organisational practice.

¹⁷⁵ Krause, *The Good Project*, 98n12.

¹⁷⁶ Krause, *The Good Project*, 11; 98.

¹⁷⁷ See Krause, *The Good Project*, 181.

¹⁷⁸ Krause, *The Good Project*, 96.

¹⁷⁹ Goodrick and Reay, “Constellations of Institutional Logics,” 375.

5) Religion and the institutional logics perspective

How, then, does Christianity fit within the theoretical approach implied by the institutional logics perspective? Friedland and Alford refer to religion as being one of the principal institutions of modern Western society, alongside the family, state, capitalism and democracy. As such, they conceive of it as a symbolic system that has 'nonobservable, absolute, transrational referents and observable social relations which concretize them.'¹⁸⁰ In relation to institutional logics, Friedland summarises the relationship between their symbolic and material components in this way:

As every prophet knows, divinity cannot be reduced to church practice, but neither can it be divorced from it either. Institutional life requires us to act as if we believe in the value and, in fact, we tend to refuse to reduce it – knowledge, property, sovereignty, love, let alone divinity – to the practices that index, perform, produce and distribute it. Because substances are indeterminate and excessive to the practices, practices can be contested and change without necessarily transforming the substance which is their ground... While ontological transformations require new regimes of practice, belief in the objectivity of the substance also affords space in which new practices can be added and subtracted, and yet still legitimately claim to index the same substance.¹⁸¹

In relation to religion specifically, while material practices are an essential aspect of religion, these material practices are grounded in the very essence of that to which religion points, and are thus inseparable from its symbolic aspects. For example, Christianity's material practices can be seen in ritual behaviours, such as prayer, and these behaviours have both material and symbolic consequences.¹⁸² They can also be seen in behaviour that is harder to identify; for example, an organisation's primary focus might be on the way in which its work represents or is inspired by God. As such, one could say that its identity comes from its association with God,¹⁸³ and this is again an aspect of organisational practice that has both material and symbolic components; that is, organisational identity has concrete implications for an organisation's practices.

The focus of this thesis is on religion – and faith – as expressed in organisational practice, broadly conceived. My assumption is that in this context, religion provides 'frames of reference that condition actors' choices for sense-making, the vocabulary they use to motivate action, and their sense of self and identity,'¹⁸⁴ and can therefore be usefully analysed as an institutional logic.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, it can be viewed as one of several possible institutional logics that have a bearing on organisational practice. Nevertheless, since in order to be attributed to God, these factors must be discernible as such, whether by observation or through the comments of individuals, there is consequently much that will not be captured by the analysis, as noted in the Introduction.

¹⁸⁰ Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 249.

¹⁸¹ Friedland, "The Endless Fields," 909.

¹⁸² Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 249-50.

¹⁸³ This idea is taken from Thornton et al.'s work (see the table in section 1.A.2 above).

¹⁸⁴ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 2.

¹⁸⁵ Important to note here is that the logic of religion as discussed by Friedland and Alford, and theorised by Thornton et al., is predominantly representative of Christianity.

B) Theoretical contribution of the thesis

As noted above, although the thesis is situated within the field of religions and development, and more specifically, the study of FBOs within this broader field, I have chosen to use the institutional logics perspective not only as the metatheoretical framework for my research, but as its method of analysis also. This means that I draw both upon Friedland and Alford's conceptual work, and the more recent work of scholars such as Thornton et al. in concretising and developing the theory to enable socio-scientific analysis of institutional logics. Here, I outline the contribution of the thesis to the institutional logics perspective.

The institutional logics perspective represents a relatively new field of research, described in 2015 as: 'one of the most exciting new institutional research domains... [that] was virtually non-existent as a cohesive theoretical conversation five years ago.'¹⁸⁶ Although the perspective came to the fore as a means of analysing organisational and institutional change, it has also been used more recently to shed light on the way in which organisational and institutional structures are maintained, as already discussed above. Further, recent work, such as that of McPherson and Sauder, has emphasised the important role that individuals play within these processes as they 'negotiate, interpret and enact' institutions.¹⁸⁷

While there has been much work within the field on the interaction between macro- and meso-levels, far less attention has been paid to that between macro-, meso- and micro-levels: that is, to the agency of individual actors within organisations and the interplay between their actions and institutional forces.¹⁸⁸ Hefferan refers to a similar tendency within the study of religions and development, in which 'much of the emerging literature tends to be situated at the meso- and macro-levels, as scholars attempt to make sense of how religion informs and is deployed by organizations.'¹⁸⁹ Through its multilevel focus, this thesis seeks to address this gap by focusing on the interplay between macro-, meso- and micro-levels, thus bringing micro-level dynamics into clearer focus.

The overall purpose of the thesis is to explore how faith influences organisational practice, given the complexity of the institutional environment in which the organisations are located and consequent multiplicity of logics informing their practice. Organisational-level responses to institutional complexity within FBOs that would self-identify as 'Christian' vary, but often include concrete actions – such as the articulation of comprehensive theologies of development – that are representative of the hybridisation of various institutional influences. A good example here is a document that the evangelical organisation Tearfund refers to as its 'Faith-based Approach' to development. Introducing this approach is the statement:

Tearfund is a Christian organisation and our faith is the foundation of our vision. We examine our work through a number of professional lenses – quality standards related to humanitarian and development work, financial accountability and transparency – to ensure that Tearfund is working to the highest possible standard. As a faith-based organisation it is equally important for us to apply the lens of theology.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Michael Lounsbury and Christine M. Beckman, "Celebrating Organization Theory," *Journal of Management Studies* 52, no. 2 (March 2015): 293.

¹⁸⁷ McPherson and Sauder, "Logics in Action," 168.

¹⁸⁸ McPherson and Sauder, "Logics in Action," 168.

¹⁸⁹ Hefferan, "Researching religions and development," 39.

¹⁹⁰ Tearfund, "Tearfund's Faith-based Approach," accessed April 28, 2017, [http://tilz.tearfund.org/en/themes/church/tearfund's faith-based approach/](http://tilz.tearfund.org/en/themes/church/tearfund%20faith-based%20approach/). Organisational theologies of development such as this are situated in a much larger body of research on 'Transformational Development',

Also in relation to levels of analysis, a considerable proportion of the existing research, as noted above, has prioritised the organisational level of action. Individual-level responses to institutional complexity, on the other hand, and the ‘multiple, competing demands’¹⁹¹ that this confronts them with are multifarious, harder to identify and less often examined. To give an example of the demands placed on those working within the sector, NGOs are often expected to have staff with technical expertise, adhere to professional standards such as those related to the CHS Alliance,¹⁹² whilst also working efficiently and submitting a certain number of grant applications each year. In some cases, job security for employees is dependent upon the success of these applications. Of course, the precise demands faced by individuals and their responses to complexity will vary depending on where they sit within their organisations; for example, whether their roles are situated within strategy, supporter services, advocacy or emergency relief teams. Nevertheless, it is surprising that this level of action does not receive more attention, not only since complexity can be a source of tension for individuals, but also on account of the role that individual agency plays in either replicating or adapting organisational-level responses. Therefore, in focusing on different levels of analysis, this research will bring insight into both individual-level action, and the way in which this is connected to organisational-level action. The primary question this thesis seeks to address concerns how faith influences organisational practice within FBOs. In addressing this question, the interconnectedness of individual, organisational and societal levels will be acknowledged.

Finally, the vast majority of the existing research on institutional logics has been carried out within Western contexts with a noticeable absence of research on such logics as ‘community’ or ‘religion’, for example.¹⁹³ Although this thesis also focuses on a Western context, it seeks to contribute towards addressing this gap by focusing both on a Christian organisation that has a global scope, and by including the logic of community in its analysis.

2. The Significance of the Field

A) The field and the institutional logics perspective

As discussed in the Introduction, institutional complexity is a prevailing characteristic of the environment – or ‘field’ – in which FBOs operate. An oft-cited definition of ‘field’ within institutional theory is that the concept ‘connotes the existence of a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the field.’¹⁹⁴ In other words, the field is the locus of interaction of societal actors whose daily life and

also known as ‘Integral Mission’, but within this there are widely divergent approaches to combining faith and development [see for example <http://www.micahnetwork.org> and Bryant L. Myers, *Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development*, 2nd ed., (New York, NY: Orbis Books, 2011).]

¹⁹¹ Royston Greenwood, Mia Raynard, Farah Kodeih, Evelyn R. Micelotta and Michael Lounsbury, “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” *The Academy of Management Annals* 5, no. 1 (2011): 317.

¹⁹² See <http://www.chsalliance.org>. The CHS Alliance is a network of 250 humanitarian and development organisations in 160 countries that exists to implement the Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability.

¹⁹³ Christina Berg Johansen and Susanne Boch Waldorff, “What are Institutional Logics – and where is the perspective taking us?” (Vancouver: Academy of Management Annual Meeting, 2015), 13.

¹⁹⁴ Richard W. Scott, *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests*, 3rd ed., (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2008), 86.

operations are interconnected in such a way that it has a significant impact on their practice. As such, the field is a fundamental component of the societal context in which organisational behaviour occurs and necessitates careful consideration. Royston Greenwood et al. explain the importance of the field in this way:

The nature and extent of institutional complexity facing organizations is fundamentally shaped by the structure of the organizational fields within which they are located. It is at this level that overarching sets of meaning and normative criteria become encoded in “local” logics that are manifested in rituals, practices and day-to-day behavior (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010). It is also at this level that referent audiences, such as accreditation agencies and professional associations, are especially active.¹⁹⁵

I will discuss ‘referent audiences’ below, but in relation to the empirical research it is important at this point to note that although field-level logics are closely connected to societal-level logics, the dynamics in operation within the field lead to the creation of new forms, variations and combinations of societal-level logics.¹⁹⁶ As Greenwood et al. note, previous research has demonstrated the importance of field-level mechanisms and processes in ‘filtering, framing and enforcing’ logics.¹⁹⁷ This means that in order to fully understand the logics in operation within organisations – a key focus of this thesis – one needs to have a good grasp both of field-level dynamics and the logics in operation at this level.

In their paper on organisational responses to institutional complexity, Greenwood et al.’s treatment of the field is thorough and will not be repeated at length here; however, I will highlight several points that are important for this study. Firstly, a distinction can be made between ‘mature’ and ‘emerging’ fields, the former characterised by both established relationships between organisations within the field and a clear institutional infrastructure, and the latter, by a more ambiguous institutional infrastructure.¹⁹⁸ Within emerging fields, therefore, the rules that define which activities are legitimate, who can obtain membership, and where the boundaries lie, are either ‘ambiguous, permeable, or are not widely understood.’¹⁹⁹ This means that it is easy for external actors and logics to act within the field, and this affects both ‘the balance of interests within a field and the relative hierarchy of logics,’ resulting in greater institutional complexity because the institutional demands placed on actors within the field are less consistent and predictable.²⁰⁰ Mature fields, on the other hand, tend to be more consistent and predictable, even when comprising multiple logics, provided the relationship between these different logics is itself clear and predictable.²⁰¹ It follows, then, that it will be less easy for external actors and logics to act within the field.

Important distinctions can also be made *between* mature fields, according to aspects that influence how organisations experience institutional complexity, for example: 1) their degree of ‘fragmentation’ – fragmentation here relates to the coordination between actors that represent different logics, with greater coordination leading to a lower degree of fragmentation and vice versa; 2) their ‘formal structuring/rationalization,’ which concerns

¹⁹⁵ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 334.

¹⁹⁶ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 148.

¹⁹⁷ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 322.

¹⁹⁸ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 335.

¹⁹⁹ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 336.

²⁰⁰ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 336.

²⁰¹ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 335.

whether the coordination between actors is ‘formally or informally organised,’ and; 3) their ‘centralization /unification’.²⁰²

Other factors to take into consideration at the field-level highlighted by Greenwood et al. include the institutional infrastructure, already referred to above – for example, ‘referent audiences’ or ‘collective actors’, such as professional associations or regulatory bodies in operation – and contextual factors, such as whether or not constraints on resources are a feature of the environment. Further, it is important to bear in mind factors related specifically to the organisations operating within the field. These might include an organisation’s position within the field. By way of example, those on the periphery might find it easier to escape the tensions affecting those that have a central position, but on the other hand, they might not be able to escape institutional pressure emanating from the centre of the field. The way in which organisations respond to institutional complexity matters, because it affects their social legitimacy, and therefore aspects crucial to their survival, such as access to resources.²⁰³

Another key point to mention is that an organisation’s status in comparison to other organisations within the field impacts its ability not only to obtain resources, but also to shape the field. In a paper on the way in which institutional and organisational identity affects organisations’ responses to complexity, Farah Kodeih and Royston Greenwood explain the importance of both status and identity in the following way, highlighting, for example, the impact of status on whether an organisation is responsible for shaping or imitating practice:

Status matters because it can be a driver of institutional choice. Durand and Szostak (2010), for example, evoke prestige as providing actors with freedom to change what is expected and desirable in a field, and prestigious actors are likely to be imitated by peers. Moreover, high status organizations are expected to have better access to a field’s more valuable resources (Goodrick, 2002). Given the importance of status as a component of organizational identity, it is reasonable to anticipate that it will influence how organizations interpret and address institutional demands (Jensen & Roy, 2008). In particular, it is likely to affect organizational responses to institutional complexity if its component logics have different implications for the retention of privileges and resource access.²⁰⁴

B) The field and FBOs

With this brief overview of the theoretical conceptualisation of the field according to the institutional logics perspective in mind, it will be helpful to also provide a brief overview of the sector in the UK, which is the geographical focus of the thesis. As a whole, the sector that encompasses organised social action in the UK avoids easy labelling, definition or delineation.²⁰⁵ Should it be referred to as the voluntary sector, for example, or as the non-profit, charitable, civil society, NGO or third sector? Each of these labels carries with it a set of assumptions about the sector’s nature, purpose and sphere of action, and about which of

²⁰² Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 337.

²⁰³ Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 319.

²⁰⁴ Farah Kodeih and Royston Greenwood, “Responding to Institutional Complexity: The Role of Identity,” *Organization Studies* 35, no. 1 (2014): 10.

²⁰⁵ Matthew Hilton, Nick Crowson, Jean-Francois Mouhot and James McKay, *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1.

the diverse forms of organised social action that exist in the UK it encompasses.²⁰⁶ Further, it is not clear where organisations that potentially span other sectors, such as social enterprises, for example, fit in. As Justin Davis Smith, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley, who themselves employ the descriptor ‘voluntary’, note: ‘[v]oluntary action is notoriously difficult to quantify, definitions of voluntary organisations are contested, and the boundaries of the sector cannot be drawn with confidence.’²⁰⁷ Matthew Hilton et al. favour the label ‘NGO’, using the following definition: ‘An NGO is non-violent organisation that is both independent of government and not serving an immediate economic interest, with at least some interest in having socio-political influence.’²⁰⁸ This differs from Davis et al.’s descriptor ‘voluntary’, which has more of an apolitical feel, but is the type of organised social action that is most relevant for the thesis. More specifically, my interest is in those NGOs that have an international focus and reach; that is, International NGOs (INGOs). To narrow down the scope of the thesis even further, the particular ‘field’ I focus on within its empirical element is a subcomponent of the international section of the sector that has a specific focus on humanitarian, development and advocacy work.

At a general level, the field in which faith-based humanitarian, development and advocacy organisations operate is characterised by a reliance on resources combined with a financial situation in which there is less money available for the charitable sector.²⁰⁹ Thus, competition between organisations is high and consequently, factors such as status and legitimacy are important. There is also a high degree of controversy surrounding the field at present, since it has suffered from negative press in recent years on a number of fronts. For example, there has been a focus on sexual abuse and exploitation within it, and it has come to light that incidents have not always been handled appropriately. In light of this, there have been threats of withdrawal of funding from institutional donors such as the Department for International Development (DFID), and it is likely that these incidents have also had a negative effect on public sentiment towards NGOs in general.²¹⁰ Currently, the impact of COVID-19 and increased cost of living have contributed to resource constraints.

The field in which humanitarian, development and advocacy organisations in the UK operate can be defined as ‘mature’. In terms of its institutional infrastructure, the most important regulatory body is the Charity Commission. This is an independent government department that is responsible for registering all charities, and regulating the charitable sector to ensure that organisations are accountable and their operations as effective as possible. Significant professional associations include networks such as Bond and Scotland’s International Development Alliance, that are instrumental in encouraging interorganisational collaboration. As far as organisational practice is concerned, these associations can only make recommendations; however, an organisation’s membership of these bodies, adherence to best practice guidelines and collaboration with others affects its legitimacy, amongst other organisations but also amongst potential donors. Institutional donors such as DFID are another important component of the institutional infrastructure, awarding millions of pounds

²⁰⁶ For a more in-depth discussion see Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide*, 1-11.

²⁰⁷ Justin Davis Smith, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley, “Introduction,” in *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, ed. Justin Davis Smith, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), 2.

²⁰⁸ Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide*, 10.

²⁰⁹ See, for example, Harriet Whitehead, “Government funding for charities at 15-year low,” *Civil Society*, October 18, 2022, <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/government-funding-for-charities-at-15-year-low.html>.

²¹⁰ See, for example, INEQE Safeguarding Group, *Oxfam GB: Independent Safeguarding Review: Executive Summary & Recommendations* (Belfast: Ineqe Safeguarding Group Ltd, 2018).

worth of grants within the sector per year.²¹¹ Thus, there is a certain degree of formal, centralized coordination within the field that includes regulations that organisations must adhere to if they want to continue operating in the UK and avoid penalties, as well as informal coordination between organisations. Competition for funds from institutional donors contributes towards unification in the field since there are certain criteria that organisations must meet in order for their applications to be considered.

In light of this brief overview, one might expect institutional complexity to be low; arguably, the tensions between institutional logics have to a large extent been worked out at the field level and institutional demands seem fairly predictable and stable. Further, one could agree that ‘the implications of logics have been clarified and built into regularized practices, and their reproduction underpinned by a developed institutional infrastructure,’ and therefore organisations within the field have less discretion and the means by which they gain legitimacy are to a large extent clear.²¹² Nevertheless, a vast range of organisations operate within this field and therefore their experience of complexity might differ significantly depending on their positioning within it, as noted above.

Faith-based organisations within the field are in a unique position. In relation to Christian organisations specifically, collaboration between organisations appears to be more issue- than faith-based, and therefore there does not at present seem to be an emerging sub-field for such organisations. There might be a certain degree of informal coordination between Christian organisations and other faith-based organisations, but the institutional infrastructure differs according to both religion and denomination. Arguably, Christian organisations operate within a fragmented sphere since in addition to their activity within the field, they also interact with religious bodies and individuals. Thus, they face institutional demands that might be at odds with one another. It is possible that centralizing forces mitigate the effects of complexity on these organisations due to the presence of both regulatory bodies such as the Charity Commission, and influential institutional donors whose funds engender stiff competition.²¹³ However, further research is needed to establish whether or not this is the case. There is also the potential for their differing institutional identities to clash, causing internal tension. An important factor as far as the predictability and stability of complexity is concerned is the relationship between potentially conflicting logics. Thus, it will be important to examine the mechanisms that have been put in place at the organisational level to manage potential ‘rivalry’, or tension, between logics.

3. Empirical Research

In order to enable in depth examination of how institutional logics – including that of religion – operate within organisational practice, empirical research was conducted within one FBO. Since this is a new approach to the study of FBOs in religions and development, I used the case study method. According to this approach, the focus of analysis is on one specific unit, the aim being to enable in-depth understanding of this ‘case’ rather than generalisations.²¹⁴ The purpose of the empirical research was not only to uncover which institutional logics were in operation within the organisation, but also how they were manifested and negotiated

²¹¹ FCDO, “Statistics on International Development: Final UK Aid Spend 2019, accessed December 28, 2022, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/927135/Statistics_on_International_Development_Final_UK_Aid_Spend_2019.pdf.

²¹² Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 335.

²¹³ See Greenwood et al., “Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses,” 338.

²¹⁴ Hefferan, “Researching religions and development,” 45.

across different levels of analysis, and what the logic of religion in particular was doing within the organisation. It was therefore guided by the following questions:

- 1) What institutional logics are in force within the organisation?
- 2) How are they manifested within the organisation?
- 3) How do individual actors negotiate them on a daily basis?
- 4) What roles does the logic of religion play and how does it interact with other institutional logics?

The research process had two components, which will be discussed in detail below. First, a field-level typology of institutional logics was developed, which became the tool used to analyse the data. Second, empirical research was carried out to explore the ways in which one FBO and its employees negotiate institutional logics on a daily basis.

A) Developing a field-level typology of logics

1) 'Ideal types' of institutional logics

Having outlined key aspects of the field in which FBOs operate, it is important to discuss the approach taken to developing the typology of logics. A considerable amount of the existing research on institutional logics centres around Max Weber's conceptualization of the 'ideal type,' following the path laid by scholars such as Thornton et al., discussed above. Before introducing the field-level typology of logics, some explanation regarding the concept of the 'ideal type' and its relation to the typology is necessary.

As my use of the institutional logics perspective demonstrates, the assumption underlying my research is that corporate and market-oriented frames of reference influence the practice of faith-based relief, development and advocacy organisations and interact with their religious-oriented ones. The concept of 'institution' and perspective of institutional logics resonates with the dynamics that I see in action within organisational practice in this field. Friedland and Alford use 'institution' as a 'mediating concept' to enable better understanding of the behaviour of societal actors.²¹⁵ Concepts play a mediatory role in sociological research, deepening understanding of the empirical by drawing attention to certain features or characteristics. A selection process does occur through which different aspects are emphasised over others, yet this is not problematic if one is clear about the concept's purpose and the implications of its use. As German sociologist Uta Gerhardt notes, all 'access to reality' is 'mediated', and 'to deny the *hiatus* between concept and phenomenon is naively empiricist.'²¹⁶ Put differently, there is inevitably a gap between concept and phenomenon. In Weber's words: 'the basic idea of modern epistemology, which goes back to Kant, is that concepts are, and can only be, theoretical *means* for the purpose of intellectual mastery of the empirically given.'²¹⁷ Whether or not one believes that the empirical can be intellectually mastered, the essential point here is that the value of concepts lies in their

²¹⁵ Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 242.

²¹⁶ Uta Gerhardt, "The Use of Weberian Ideal-Type Methodology in Qualitative Data Interpretation: An Outline for Ideal-Type Analysis," *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology* 45 (1994): 76.

²¹⁷ Richard Swedberg, "How to use Max Weber's ideal type in sociological analysis," *Journal of Classical Sociology* 18, no. 3 (2018): 183. Here, Weber's thought resonates with Friedland and Alford's description of institutions as 'mediating concepts'; in other words, institutions are the theoretical means by which we can better understand the behaviour of societal actors (Friedland and Alford, "Bringing Society Back In," 242.)

ability to hold together and communicate aspects of observed reality in such a way that they can be perceived by others and that deeper insight into that reality is facilitated.

In a similar vein then, the ‘ideal type’ is an instrument that can be used to assist analysis of social phenomena. In Weber’s words, the ideal type is ‘the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view.’²¹⁸ It is neither descriptive nor analytical; rather, it is an ‘abstraction from reality,’²¹⁹ presenting ‘ideal’ behaviour that is not expected to occur.²²⁰ The purpose of so doing is to enable socio-scientific interpretation to hold in tension both broader, societal-level dynamics – represented by this behaviour – and the specificity of individual situations. The ideal type has the ability to do this because of the way that it is used in the research process; that is, whilst it is general in its construction, it is used as a point of reference against which the specific characteristics of individual situations can be compared and the differences accounted for. Richard Swedberg notes that it is this stage of accounting for difference that enables one to analyse the particularity of the empirical situation.²²¹ Thornton et al.’s typology, referred to above, depicts the ideal types of the different institutional logics. In the following table I have only included the four logics of relevance to the field-level typology of logics.²²² It has been included below in order illustrate what the typology of ideal types looks like.²²³

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Root Metaphor	Corporation as hierarchy	Transaction	Temple as bank	Common boundary
Sources of Legitimacy	Market position of firm	Share price	Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity
Sources of Authority	Board of directors Top management	Shareholder activism	Priesthood charisma	Commitment to community values & ideology
Sources of Identity	Bureaucratic roles	Faceless	Association with deities	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation
Basis of Norms	Employment in firm	Self-interest	Membership in congregation	Group membership
Basis of Attention	Status in hierarchy	Status in market	Relation to supernatural	Personal investment in group
Basis of Strategy	Increase size & diversification of firm	Increase efficiency profit	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase status & honor of members & practices
Informal Control Mechanisms	Organization culture	Industry analysts	Worship of calling	Visibility of actions
Economic System	Managerial capitalism	Market capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Cooperative capitalism

²¹⁸ Max Weber, “Objectivity” in social science and social policy,” in *Essays in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, ed. Max Weber, trans. E. A. Shils and H. A. Finch (The Free Press, 1949), 90.

²¹⁹ Goodrick and Reay, “Constellations of Institutional Logics,” 378.

²²⁰ Gerhardt, “The Use of Weberian Ideal-Type,” 84.

²²¹ Swedberg, “How to use Max Weber’s,” 188-9.

²²² Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 73.

²²³ Sections within this paragraph have been previously published in Kurlberg, “The ‘Telos’ as a Lens,” 250.

2) 'Nested' field-level institutional logics

In comparison to the typology introduced above, which is a societal-level typology, the typology developed through the first component of the empirical research was based on a subcomponent of the field in which the FBO featured in Chapter 5 operates. As Goodrick and Reay explain, '[o]rganizational fields and industries are viewed as having their own logics nested within societal level institutional orders.'²²⁴ In other words, the logics represented in the field-level typology are closely connected to societal-level logics, but are more specific, since they relate to a particular and narrower sphere of action. Each logic '[represents a set] of expectations for social relations and behaviour.'²²⁵

It should also be noted that while the typology separates the selected logics, this is simply to enable analysis and the research does not assume that logics are mutually exclusive within organisational practice. By accentuating dynamics that have already been observed in the field, comparison of reality within the FBO against the typology related to the specific field in which it operates shed light on patterns within the data, enabling me to gain insight into the interactions between institutional logics within organisational practice. Thus, the field-level typology of logics introduced and unpacked in Chapter 4 was the primary tool employed in the study to process data.

B) Methods of data collection

1) Approach²²⁶

In order to 'capture' the institutional logics in action within organisational practice in my empirical research, then, I used a 'pattern matching' technique,²²⁷ which is an approach taken in a number of studies, such as Goodrick and Reay's research on pharmaceutical practice in the US.²²⁸ This technique 'requires researchers to first identify and explain the pattern of behaviors associated with the ideal type of a particular logic and then evaluate their data' against these ideal types.²²⁹ In comparison to the two alternative approaches to capturing institutional logics outlined by Trish Reay and Candace Jones – that is, the 'pattern deducing' or 'pattern inducing' technique – the 'pattern matching' approach privileges both theory and previous research to construct 'ideal types' of the different institutional logics of interest to the research that then serve as the instrument through which empirical situations are interpreted.²³⁰

Continual interaction between the initial ideas and data was anticipated, with these ideas maturing and adapting throughout the data collection process.²³¹ The purpose of the research was not 'broad generalizability'²³² and thus 'representativeness' in the conventional

²²⁴ Goodrick and Reay, "Constellations of Institutional Logics," 375.

²²⁵ Goodrick and Reay, "Constellations of Institutional Logics," 375.

²²⁶ The first paragraph in this section has been published previously in Kurlberg, "The 'Telos' as a Lens," 250.

²²⁷ Trish Reay and Candace Jones, "Qualitatively capturing institutional logics," *Strategic Organization* 14, no. 4 (2016): 441-454.

²²⁸ Goodrick and Reay, "Constellations of Institutional Logics."

²²⁹ Reay and Jones, "Qualitatively capturing institutional logics," 446.

²³⁰ Reay and Jones, "Qualitatively capturing institutional logics," 447.

²³¹ Ian Dey, *Qualitative Data Analysis: a user-friendly guide for social scientists*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), 7, 38, 67.

²³² Claire Hewson and Dianna Laurent, "Research Design and Tools for Internet Research," in *The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods*, ed. Nigel Fielding, Raymond M. Lee and Grant Blank (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 70.

sense of the word,²³³ but rather ‘analytic generalization’,²³⁴ or in other words, to find an ‘illustrative sample’²³⁵ that would offer insight into the research questions.

2) Process

There were two components to the empirical research: firstly, the development of the analytical tool, which was the typology of field-level logics; and secondly, interviews within the case study organisation. In order to construct the typology of field-level logics, I conducted context-building interviews with representatives from the organisations within my sample and collected a set of documents from publicly available information relating to the same group of organisations. This incorporated each organisation’s website, which included the bios of senior leadership and board members, a selection of job advertisements, and annual reports. The interviews and documents enabled me to determine the institutional logics presently in force within the organisation, as well as to source some initial organisational-level data regarding how they are negotiated within the field, in order to construct the typology of logics.

During the second stage of the research, data was primarily gathered through interviews. While the research questions are best-suited to a combination of methods due to their focus on the interaction between institutional, organisational and individual levels as well as on organisational practice, I was only able to gain access to the FBO in which I conducted the empirical research for a select number of interviews. While I had hoped to receive permission for a short period of observation, this was not possible, particularly after the pandemic. Nevertheless, organisational practice is understood to encompass not only intra-organisational dynamics such as the interactions of employees or internally-facing documents, but also external dynamics such as the public-facing ‘voice’ of the organisation as evidenced within publicly available documentation, or its work in society. Further, it includes practice as manifested both at the individual level through employees’ actions, as well as at the organisational level through policy documents. Thus, in spite of the limited physical access I was given, I was able to examine publicly accessible documents as well as to have follow up conversations with several staff members, past and present. This provided me with the opportunity to check my data, and generate ‘converging lines of enquiry.’²³⁶ After the interviews had taken place within the FBO, they were transcribed, and NVivo was used initially as a tool to assist the process of arranging, categorising, and analysing the data.

In order to gain insight into the influence of logics on organisational practice, I processed the data using the field-level typology of logics, focusing particularly on points of co-existence, conflation and conflict. Through this process, I was able to identify several translations of logics in action at the organisational level. It is helpful at this point to note the difference between the levels of analysis; in other words, how logics operate at the ‘organisational’ versus ‘individual’ level. ‘Organisational’ level relates to the organisation and its structures, processes and systems, whereas ‘individual’ level refers to the individual perspective. For instance, this might concern how the individual experiences organisational-level dynamics, or it might relate to their personal motivations, values and beliefs. To put this in another way, the individual level relates to how an individual negotiates, interprets and

²³³ Ken Plummer, *Documents of Life 2: an invitation to a critical humanism*, (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 154.

²³⁴ Robert Yin, *Case study research: design and methods*, 5th ed., (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2014), 40.

²³⁵ Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 126.

²³⁶ Robert Yin, *Case study research: design and methods*, 3rd ed., (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 98.

enacts what is occurring at the organisational level.

3) Interviews

The following template was developed for the interviews, which were semi-structured and expected to last for a maximum of 60 minutes:

Section 1: 15 minutes

The aim of this section was to gain insight into the content and purpose of the interviewee's role, and the values, beliefs and identity attached to that role. In this way, the section touched on both the material and symbolic aspects of logics. Question e) could have been included in the second section since it also relates to organisational structure, but it seemed to flow better as the final question of this section, and in this way, provided a good way of linking the two sections.

1. Individual role

- a) Can you tell me a bit about the purpose of your role?
Prompts: How long has it been in place, why was it created?
- b) What do 'typical' work days look like for you? Can you talk me through a few different 'typical' days, starting with your arrival at the office or other location?
- c) If someone asks you what you do for a living, how do you respond?
- d) I'm interested to hear about how you personally experience your work – both in general, and in terms of the various components of your role that you just mentioned – what specific aspects are the most significant to you, and why? What specific aspects do you least enjoy, and why? What specific aspects do you find challenging, and why is this?
- e) How do you know whether or not an aspect of your work has been 'successful'?
- f) What motivated you to apply for this role?

Section 2: 15 minutes

This section focused on situating the individual's role within the context of the organisation. In asking about intraorganisational relationships from the perspective of the role, it also sought to explore whether there were any points of tension between the various organisational units. The section captured the interplay between the organisational and individual levels by asking how organisational-level policy documents are used and impact individual-level practice. It also addressed materiality in terms of seeking to understand what documents do within organisational practice, although this question did not generate sufficient data for the analysis. It addressed the symbolic aspect of logics by exploring the connection between material practices and values.

2. Structures

- a) I'm assuming that you're familiar with this document (*give the interviewee a hard copy of the document outlining the FBO's vision, values and mission*). What do you understand to be its purpose?
- b) What specific aspects of the document, if any, inform your work?
Prompts: What specific aspects are most important for your work?

- c) Are there any other organisational policy documents that impact or inform your work, and if so, how?
- d) Can you tell me a bit about who you interact with outside of your team (but within the organisation), and why?
- e) Can you tell me about how the relationships between teams work within the organisation?

Prompts: How well do relationships between the different teams within the organisation function?

Section 3: 20 minutes

The focus of this section was on how individuals enter the organisation. Since the interviews were conducted within different teams across each organisation, it was expected that differences in the way in which logics are negotiated would be brought to light.

3. Recruitment

- a) What are your priorities when you're recruiting new staff members for your team? I realise that some priorities will be dependent upon the specific position you're seeking to fill, but do you have any general priorities?
- b) Can you describe the last recruitment process you were involved in? (Of course, without mentioning anything that would enable me to identify who was involved.) How closely did the individual eventually recruited match up to the job description? Along what lines were any compromises made?
- c) What sorts of backgrounds (both educational and professional) do you and your team members have?
- d) Did you have to sign a statement of faith?
- e) What's the process in relation to promotions? Are staff approached or do they apply?
- f) Are there any differences in the recruitment process for consultants? If so, what are these?
- g) Do you use volunteers? If so, are there any differences in the recruitment process? If so, what are these?

Section 4: 10 minutes

This section briefly explored the way in which the individual's role was connected to external networks and associations in order to gain greater understanding of the external influences on the organisation.

4. External connections

- a) As part of your work, do you have any connections with other organisations, associations or networks?
- b) If so, what is the significance of these connections for your role?

Prompts: In what ways, if any, do they impact your work?

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the institutional logics perspective, which is the theoretical framework that forms the basis for the thesis. I have discussed both the rationale behind its use in my research, as well as studies employing the perspective that are of particular

relevance. I have argued that one of the values of the perspective is that it enables the gap between macro and micro perspectives, and institutions and action, to be bridged. Multi-level analysis such as this is essential to adequately understanding organisational practice, and this is particularly important in the case of hybrid organisations, where more than one institutional order impacts on organisational practice and the behaviour of employees.

In this regard, I have also discussed the significance of the concept of the 'field', arguing that in order to fully understand the logics operating within organisational practice, one needs to have a good grasp of field-level dynamics and logics. The wider field in which faith-based relief, development and advocacy organisations in the UK operate can be defined as mature, with a certain degree of formal, centralised coordination. This includes both external regulations that have a bearing on organisational practice, and informal coordination between organisations. Since organisations are often in competition with each other for funds from institutional donors, there is also a degree of unification in the field since there are certain criteria that organisations must meet in order for their applications to be considered. Taking all this into consideration, the expectation might be that institutional complexity is low, yet this is arguably not necessarily the case for FBOs. There does not at present seem to be an emerging sub-field for such organisations and further, the institutional infrastructure differs according to both religion and denomination. Christian organisations operate within a fragmented sphere since in addition to their activity within the field, they also interact with religious bodies and individuals. Thus, they face institutional demands that might be at odds with one another, which is a source of complexity. These dynamics are important to note, since they had a bearing on my choice of organisations for the first stage of the empirical research, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Finally, I introduced the empirical research, including its methods of data collection and research instrument. Before turning to the empirical research, in the following chapter I delve into the practice of aid, using the institutional logics perspective to highlight important dynamics in its history.

Chapter 3: Understanding the Practice of Aid

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to provide historical insight into the logics impacting the practice of aid in preparation for Chapter 4. I first provide a brief overview of the emergence of the fields of development, humanitarianism and advocacy up until the twentieth century. Following this, I explore key aspects of the practice of aid post-WWII in order to lay the ground for the development of the typology of logics in the following chapter. Through this chapter, I seek to draw out some of the overlap and tensions between dynamics related to the logic of religion, as well as to those of corporation, market and community.

1. The Historical Roots of the Practice of Aid

A number of scholars have traced the origins of aid back as far as the eighteenth century, if not earlier.²³⁷ Freeman, for example, identifies the roots of contemporary non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as being located in societal responses to issues such as poverty, inequality and conflict, that arose as a result of processes of industrialisation and colonisation, as well as the rise of nationalism.²³⁸ This historical backdrop is important not only on account of the underlying assumption within this thesis regarding the influence of societal context on organisational behavior, but also because of the common threads running through the sector's past that although often ignored continue to inform and influence the present.²³⁹

The purpose of this chapter is not only to shed light on and explore the religious roots of aid, but also to highlight some of the complexity surrounding firstly, how religious dynamics influenced its emergence, growth and development, and secondly, how these dynamics interacted with others. As has already been discussed, and will be explored further below, what is conceived of as 'aid' in this thesis incorporates development, humanitarianism and advocacy, and as such, has its roots in their historical paths. Today, these spheres of activity are often encompassed within the same organisations, and this is particularly the case when it comes to the larger organisations within the sector. Nevertheless, their historical paths, although connected, are distinct. The chapter primarily focuses on material that is of particular relevance for organisations operating within the context of the UK.

Institutional logics are historically contingent, and thus although a comprehensive exploration of the logics in action within each historical period and sphere of activity is beyond the scope of this chapter, in each section below I highlight important aspects of the logics influencing the practice of development, humanitarianism and advocacy during the time periods surveyed. The focus of this survey is on dynamics that are specific to different societal spheres – such as church or state, for example – and those that are particularly important in relation to organisational practice, such as the 'y-axis categories' within the societal-level typology of logics introduced in Chapter 2.

²³⁷ See, for example, Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 18. For Peter Stamatov, the origins of advocacy extend as far back as the sixteenth century (Peter Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1.)

²³⁸ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 18.

²³⁹ Kothari, "A Radical History," 2.

1) *The importance of voluntary societies in eighteenth-century Britain*

Although by the latter part of the twentieth century humanitarianism, development and advocacy had begun to merge – with ‘relief and development’ increasingly being brought together within the same organisations, and advocacy also incorporated more intentionally into their operations – all three spheres of activity had distinct historical paths.²⁴⁰ Important for all, however, was the emergence of voluntary societies in the UK in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Robert Morris attributes the increase in number and wealth of such societies from 1780 to the growth in populations in industrial and urban areas.²⁴¹ He explains that the societies that emerged from this point spanned an array of focus points, ‘ranging from poor relief, medical aid, moral reform, public order, education and thrift, to the diffusion of science and culture and the organization of leisure.’²⁴² While the activities carried out by these societies varied, and only some had either a religious or charitable purpose, most originated in Christian communities, particularly those of evangelicals and nonconformists.²⁴³ As Freeman explains:

Many of the upwardly mobile urban middle classes of the nineteenth century were indeed nonconformists and evangelicals, particularly in the large manufacturing towns, and many of their chapels supported a varied structure of voluntary societies. For example, in 1800 Norfolk Street Chapel in Sheffield supported a Wesleyan Library, a poor fund for its own congregation, and a non-sectarian Benevolent Society. By 1830 there was also a Wesleyan Home and Foreign Mission Society and a Sunday School, and later still a Band of Hope (Morris 1983: 105).²⁴⁴

Voluntary societies were important for all spheres of activity, but the emerging fields of development, humanitarianism and advocacy engaged with them in differing ways. What is important to note here is that many of the societies were birthed in Christian communities as charitable initiatives, and their operations were therefore initially separate from the state. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, many of those with charitable purposes, and especially those with a focus on education, were in receipt of government funding and therefore connected to the state to the degree that they were reliant on funding. The state ultimately stepped in to provide the services the societies offered, yet the societies continued to operate even after the Second World War and the emergence of the welfare state – and some are still in operation today.²⁴⁵

A) The emergence of development

The formation of the development sector and its associated policies and practices is often attributed to events that took place in the aftermath of the Second World War, such as the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions created to assist postwar recovery – the

²⁴⁰ Freeman points out that after the Second World War, many organisations were in fact carrying out both ‘relief’ and ‘development’ work, and therefore there was in reality a large overlap between the two fields (Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 37n8). See also Jumbert, “Advocacy,” 3-5.

²⁴¹ Robert J. Morris, “Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis,” *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (1983): 95.

²⁴² Morris, “Voluntary Societies and British Urban,” 96.

²⁴³ During the nineteenth century, ‘nonconformists’ included all who did not belong to the Church of England.

²⁴⁴ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 19.

²⁴⁵ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 20.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank – and the decolonisation processes that began to take place in parts of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean during the cold war.²⁴⁶ Some scholars also cite US President Truman’s inaugural address in 1949, which ‘called for assistance to improve “underdeveloped” areas so that they might equally benefit from the scientific and industrial progress that the countries of their previous colonizers enjoyed.’²⁴⁷ While this period of time is indeed where the concept of development was firmly placed on the political agenda of Western nations,²⁴⁸ its roots extend much further than this. Gregory Deacon and Emma Tomalin, for example, are amongst scholars that point to colonialism as ‘the precursor to the modern development project,’ and highlight the important role of Christianity in this regard, on account of its close relationship with the colonial state in various contexts.²⁴⁹

In documenting the history of the sector, precisely which periods of time and which activities are identified as the most significant for its formation are of course dependent upon how development is conceived, what it is thought to encompass and the perspective from which it is viewed. Should the academic literature be prioritised, for example, or working papers from think tanks, policy papers from international institutions, or case studies regarding the practice of development? In other words, is its primary focus academic research or research on policy and practice? Deneulin and Bano highlight the difficulty of carrying out a review of the literature on development thought, not least because ‘there is the controversy surrounding what “development” is and when it starts.’²⁵⁰ This has also had an impact on the formation of development studies as a discipline. As Kothari notes, ‘[u]nderstandings of the nature and concept of development studies are as varied, multiple and contentious as definitions of what constitutes development itself.’²⁵¹ Taking a disciplinary perspective, Jan Nederveen Pieterse points out that: ‘[s]ome treat development theory primarily as part of social science and thus emphasize the influence of classical economic and social thought.’²⁵² An example here would be Michael Cowen and Robert Shenton, who maintain that the idea of development was ‘invented’ during ‘the throes of early industrial capitalism in Europe,’ where its intention was to bring order to ‘the social disorders of rapid urban migration, poverty and unemployment.’²⁵³ Others, according to Nederveen Pieterse, view development theory primarily as ‘politics’ and therefore emphasise its ideological role ‘in setting agendas,

²⁴⁶ Carole Rakodi, “Development, Religion and Modernity,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, ed. Emma Tomalin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 18. See also Kothari, “A Radical History,” 2 and Uma Kothari, “From Colonial Administration to Development Studies: A Post-colonial Critique of the History of Development Studies,” in *A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies*, ed. Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2005), 50; Jörg Haustein and Emma Tomalin, “Religion and development in Africa and Asia,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Africa-Asia Relations*, ed. Pedro Miguel Amakasu Raposo de Medeiros Carvalho, David Arase and Scarlett Cornelissen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 76.

²⁴⁷ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 28. See also Rakodi, “Development, Religion and Modernity,” 17.

²⁴⁸ As Deneulin and Bano state: ‘only after the Second World War did the aim of raising the living standards of the world population become a political concern for Western nations’ (*Religion in Development*, 30).

²⁴⁹ Gregory Deacon and Emma Tomalin, “A History of Faith-based Aid and Development,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, ed. Emma Tomalin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 69.

²⁵⁰ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 28.

²⁵¹ Kothari, “A Radical History,” 3.

²⁵² Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*, 2nd ed., (London: Sage, 2010), 3.

²⁵³ Cowen and Shenton, *Doctrines of Development*, 5. See also Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 3.

framing priorities, building coalition, justifying policies.²⁵⁴ An additional distinction concerns the practice of development and which actors are seen to be its key protagonists. Those that prioritise the social or human dimension of development and its outworking through NGOs, for example, tend to attach more importance to those aspects of development practice that were prefigured in events that occurred much earlier than the Second World War, and included religious actors.²⁵⁵

Notwithstanding these conceptual contentions, Rakodi notes that although scholars differ in their opinions regarding its origins and history, ‘there is general agreement that “development” can be defined as “organized intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement.”’²⁵⁶ A broad definition of development is adopted within this thesis that is in line with this general consensus, but narrows the focus of organised intervention to collective affairs in what are typically referred to today either as low- to middle-income or majority world countries. The particular interventions that are of interest are those carried out by faith-based NGOs.

Given the focus of this thesis on NGOs engaged in development, this section will begin by outlining a broader historical perspective that looks beyond the Second World War to the eighteenth-century voluntary associations mentioned above. In order to gain a fuller understanding not only of the historical roots of development, but also the institutional logics informing its practice, it is necessary to explore the emergence and growth of the missionary movement in the UK as well, whose societies often began life as voluntary associations but developed increasing engagement with the state through colonial administrations. As Rebecca Hughes highlights, the missionary movement is largely absent from documented histories of colonial development, thought either to be ‘irrelevant to the postwar period or uncomplicatedly complicit with colonial governments since some of their work was funded by colonial states.’²⁵⁷ Yet the defining characteristic of missionary discourse in relation to colonial discourse, as she explains, was its theological grounding. This will be explored in greater depth in what follows. Important to highlight at the outset, however, is that this is not a comprehensive survey of every aspect of and organisation connected to the missionary movement or colonial state; rather, its focus is on key dynamics of relevance to the purposes of this present chapter and thesis as a whole.

1) The missionary movement in Britain as a precursor to development practice

The growth of the missionary movement in Britain was one of the outcomes of the Evangelical Revival in the latter part of the eighteenth century. A key characteristic of Evangelicalism is ‘activism’,²⁵⁸ however, before the revival this did not necessarily entail a ‘foreign’ element. Defining activism as ‘the expression of the gospel in effort’,²⁵⁹ David Bebbington explains that most seventeenth-century Protestants would have been taught that Matthew 28:19-20 –

²⁵⁴ Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 2-3.

²⁵⁵ See, for example, Firoze Manji and Carl O’Coill, “The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa,” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 78, no. 3 (July 2002): 568.

²⁵⁶ Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 3 quoted in Rakodi, “Development, Religion and Modernity,” 18. This definition helps to shed light on the overlap between development, humanitarianism and advocacy, since ‘standard of improvement’ can be interpreted in a number of ways.

²⁵⁷ Rebecca C. Hughes, “‘Science in the Hands of Love’: British Evangelical Missionaries and Colonial Development in Africa, c. 1940-60,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41:5 (2013): 825.

²⁵⁸ A Protestant movement which Bebbington argues emerged in Britain in the 1730s.

²⁵⁹ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: a history from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 2nd ed., (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), 16.

often referred to as the 'Great Commission' – was only applicable to the early church. Therefore, '[i]n the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was rare to find a Protestant divine commending the spread of the gospel beyond the bounds of Christendom.'²⁶⁰ Activities that could be categorised as 'activism' instead included preaching at different meetings, visiting the sick or attending meetings at various societies.²⁶¹

Nevertheless, this changed following the Evangelical Revival.²⁶² In 1792, William Carey, a Baptist minister, wrote an essay titled *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. The essay discussed the continuing significance of the Great Commission for believers, and ultimately led to the formation of the first foreign missionary society to emerge from the revival later that year – the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Heathen.²⁶³ Now known as BMS World Mission,²⁶⁴ the formation of Carey's missionary society was followed by many others, such as the Missionary Society in 1795, which in 1818 changed its name to the London Missionary Society, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Society in 1796, from which the Scottish Missionary Society was formed in 1818, and the Society for Missions in Africa and the East in 1799, which became the Church Mission Society in 1812.

It is worth pointing out that the operation of the mission societies was independent from institutional churches and reliant on the sense of calling of those involved. Further, they established organisational practices that have continued to the present day. As Freeman notes, these societies can be viewed as:

one sector of the broader field of voluntary associations that was expanding at this time, and indeed operated according to similar principles based on member subscriptions. It was generally lay people, not ordained clergy, who ran these societies, raised funds, and went as missionaries. During the nineteenth century they sought to raise funds and to educate people by publishing information bulletins, with letters and diaries from the different missions. In this way they mobilised a mass movement in Britain, Switzerland, the German states, and elsewhere, in which people felt called to be involved in the mission enterprise by financially and spiritually supporting their missionaries overseas (Catalano 2014:118). ... [T]his mode of operation was widely adopted by humanitarian and development NGOs in the twentieth century.²⁶⁵

What, then, were the points of connection between the mission societies and what were to become development organisations? Early on, the societies became engaged in education overseas – an activity that would later fall under the category of 'development' – in order to enable the translation and reading of the Bible in local languages. As Roberto Catalano explains, education was not an end in and of itself initially; rather, schools were viewed as 'one of the most effective means of evangelization, instrumental for taking the light of the Gospel to the world.'²⁶⁶ In a similar vein, medical endeavours were often for the sake

²⁶⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 82-83; Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 21.

²⁶¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 29-33.

²⁶² Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 83.

²⁶³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 84. It is important to note that while the Methodist Missionary Society did not emerge from the Evangelical Revival, it was established in 1786.

²⁶⁴ BMS World Mission was also previously known as the Baptist Missionary Society.

²⁶⁵ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 21.

²⁶⁶ Roberto Catalano, "Missionary Societies in the Evangelical Churches. Origins and Characteristics," *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses* 19 (2014): 120 quoted in Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 22.

of accessing spaces that were difficult to reach on account of resistance from either peoples or governments. Apart from education and medicine, the societies' social engagement mainly centred on 'anti-Christian' behaviour not only in relation to local practices, but also in relation to the transnational practices of fellow Europeans, such as slavery. While their activism in this regard at first negatively impacted the acceptance of missionaries by colonial administrations, the relational dynamics between the two changed when the latter recognised the potential value of missionaries' connection with and acceptance by local populations.²⁶⁷ Thus, because of the educational, medical and other services they offered, mission societies continued to be 'a central and complementary part of the colonial enterprise well into the twentieth century,'²⁶⁸ by which time colonial administrations were actively engaged in development work.

An important dimension to note here is the coming together of missionary and economic activities that occurred in part in response to this movement and the consequent need to introduce a legitimate alternative trade. As Thomas Fowell Buxton wrote in *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy*, published in 1840:

Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause of this happy change.²⁶⁹

This pairing of 'commerce and Christianity' was later propagated by David Livingstone in the mid-1800s.²⁷⁰ Brian Stanley points out that in relation to early Victorian Christians, the union is unsurprising, since, as he explains, the prevalent theological framework at the time was heavily influenced by the doctrine of Providence.²⁷¹ Therefore, God was seen to be 'supreme governor of the universe,' whose ordering of the world was evidenced through natural law.²⁷² Further, the telos of history was believed to be connected to salvation: 'all the operations of providence were directed towards the end that the earth should be full of the knowledge of the Lord.'²⁷³ Within this theological context, Stanley explains, commerce was seen as something that brought 'mutual dependence' and therefore as 'a most important aid in diffusing the blessings of Christianity' and means of spreading the gospel.²⁷⁴ Freeman notes, however, that during the 1860s this idea lost traction among missionaries as it became evident that conversion was instead becoming a means of gaining access to commerce.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁷ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 22. Transnational activism will be addressed in greater depth in section C below.

²⁶⁸ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 23.

²⁶⁹ Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy*, (London: John Murray, 1840), 511 quoted in Haustein and Tomalin, "Religion and development," 78.

²⁷⁰ Haustein and Tomalin, "Religion and development," 78-79; Brian Stanley, "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860," *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (March 1983): 75-76.

²⁷¹ Stanley, "Commerce and Christianity," 94.

²⁷² Stanley, "Commerce and Christianity," 73.

²⁷³ Stanley, "Commerce and Christianity," 74.

²⁷⁴ Stanley, "Commerce and Christianity," 76.

²⁷⁵ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 23.

Also notable with a view to the direction of this chapter is the evolution of the operation of the societies due to their increase in scale. The dynamics this gave rise to would come to the fore again within NGOs working in the sector after the Second World War, as will be shown below.²⁷⁶ Stanley highlights some of these dynamics as follows:

By 1906, the CMS had an annual income of £300,000, and was responsible for 975 missionaries and 8,850 'native agents', 37 theological and training colleges, 92 boarding schools, 12 industrial institutions, 2,400 elementary schools, 40 hospitals, 73 dispensaries, 21 leprosaria, 6 homes for the blind, 18 orphanages, 6 other homes and refuges, and 17 presses or publishing houses. All of this was administered by a mind-numbing total of 256 committee meetings every year. Such increases in scale and institutional commitment appeared to require increasing dependence on secular models of corporate organization. By the 1920s, the denominational missionary societies, especially in the USA, had become big business, relying explicitly on the methods of secular corporations to manage the whole complex enterprise. Business efficiency and specialist technical expertise became increasingly important, and as they did so the power of the home boards over field policy increased.²⁷⁷

The use of readily available organisational structures is unsurprising according to Stanley, since he holds that evangelical Christians 'have generally been quite pragmatic in their use of structure.'²⁷⁸ Jörg Haustein and Emma Tomalin also draw attention to the professionalisation of missionary activities by the twentieth century, specifically in relation to medical missionaries, which they note had become 'an established profession.'²⁷⁹ These dynamics will be discussed in greater depth in section 2 below.

2) Differentiating between the 'classical' missions and the 'faith' missions

The distinction between the 'classical' missions and the 'faith' missions – also referred to as the 'evangelical' missions – is worth noting. In contrast to the classical missions discussed above, the faith missions had their roots in the China Inland Mission (CIM), founded in 1865 by Hudson and Maria Taylor.²⁸⁰ As Stanley explains, the CIM did not adopt the business mindset prevalent among the denominational societies, and therefore their funds were raised not by 'supposedly "human" methods – networks of auxiliaries and associations – but by divine agency, being prayed in from supporters whom God moved to give.'²⁸¹ Ascribed the label 'faith missions' because of their 'faith principle' in relation to financial support – that is, the belief that financial support would be provided through prayer and in faith – the main priority for missions such as CIM was to ensure that they presented the gospel to as many people as possible that had not yet had the opportunity to hear or read it.²⁸² Thus, although both the classical missions and faith missions carried out educational, medical and other activities, albeit to varying degrees, for the faith missions these were a means to the end of

²⁷⁶ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 24.

²⁷⁷ Brian Stanley, "Where Have Our Mission Structures Come From?" *Transformation* 20/1 (January 2003): 42.

²⁷⁸ Stanley, "Where Have Our Mission Structures," 41.

²⁷⁹ Haustein and Tomalin, "Religion and development," 79.

²⁸⁰ Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa*, (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1994), 11.

²⁸¹ Stanley, "Where Have Our Mission Structures," 43.

²⁸² Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 33-34.

evangelism, whereas for the classical missions these were increasingly becoming a legitimate end in and of themselves.²⁸³

An important development within the church to be aware of concerns the increasing tension within Evangelicalism, and more specifically, between its conservative and liberal quarters in the early twentieth century. Bebbington addresses this at length, providing a comprehensive picture of its underlying theological issues and concerns.²⁸⁴ One of the main areas of disagreement concerned approaches to the Bible – particularly in relation to inspiration and interpretation – and its role in the life of the church. This disagreement was at the root of several other sources of debate and tension; such as that between pre- and postmillennialists concerning when and what to expect regarding Christ’s return, for example. Other areas of contention related to liturgical and ritual arrangements, and the differences between those that placed ‘low’ and ‘high’ emphases on these aspects of church practice. Further, and importantly given the focus of this chapter, there were differences of opinion regarding Christian action in society and whether this represented a turning away ‘from the true gospel to a “social gospel,”’ at the expense of a proper emphasis on conversion.²⁸⁵

3) *Mission societies, colonial administrations, and the ‘telos’ of their activities*

Despite the internal tensions noted above, missionaries’ engagement with the colonial administration in various contexts on initiatives that were being labelled ‘development’ was increasing, and with the arrival of the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act, they also became progressively more involved in agriculture and other activities that were encompassed by the Act. According to Deacon and Tomalin, the work of the missionaries bolstered and sustained the colonial enterprise.²⁸⁶ Yet there were differences between the work of the missionaries and the colonial administrators, which are important to highlight.

On the basis of her research on the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and London Missionary Society (LMS) during what she terms the ‘high era’ of colonial development, that roughly spanned 1940 to 1960, Hughes notes that engagement in ‘development’ activities was not a new endeavour for the missionaries, and had in fact been going since the 1920s and 1930s. Nevertheless, she highlights an important change that occurred in missionary discourse ‘in the 1940s following in the wake of [the Act, which] ... mandated imperial aid through centralised planning and research in order to improve colonial living standards while also serving to preserve the colonies.’²⁸⁷ The telos of development work for colonial administrations was regulation and control within the colonies. The missionaries from CMS and LMS, however, accepted the support that the Act brought, but at the same time argued that Christianity was an essential aspect of ‘healthy’ societies, and that their work was superior to that of colonial administrations.²⁸⁸ Ultimately, the mission societies were reliant upon the support of the colonial administration in order to carry out their work in specific contexts, and on colonial grants made under the Act as well. Yet the societies distinguished their work from that of the colonial administrations and the ‘experts’ employed by them on the basis that they took a more holistic approach that not only cared for the soul, but cared for the body also, and provided local communities with the possibility of ‘abundant life’ and

²⁸³ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 24-25.

²⁸⁴ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 332-414.

²⁸⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 385.

²⁸⁶ Deacon and Tomalin, “A History of Faith-based,” 76.

²⁸⁷ Hughes, “Science in the Hands,” 824.

²⁸⁸ Hughes, “Science in the Hands,” 824.

‘wholeness’, as Jesus promised.²⁸⁹ Also significant for their approach was the doctrine of the incarnation, with the example of Jesus as ‘friend’ and ‘teacher’ being prevalent and upheld as a model for missionary practice during the interwar years, and an emphasis on Jesus as ‘servant’ growing in influence by the 1940s.²⁹⁰ Finally, important to note in relation to the development work carried out by missionaries, is that while the classical missions began to see material aid as a legitimate goal in and of itself, for the faith or evangelical missions, evangelism remained the goal.²⁹¹ That being said, Hughes points out that towards the end of the 1950s, when support for colonial development was diminishing, these two societies once again began placing an emphasis in their publications on ‘conversion over material aid.’²⁹² This tension concerning the ultimate end or ‘telos’ of development activities is one that continues to the present day.

It is also important to highlight practices from this period that have persisted, which will be addressed in greater depth in section 2. Hughes, for example, notes the operational aspect of both societies during this time period, explaining that they not only published journals for their supporters, but also:

disseminated pamphlets, promoted films of their work and hosted meetings and exhibitions that were designed to stimulate involvement with missions. Raising funds and recruiting missionaries were not their only goals; they sought spiritual and emotional commitment to their work through prayer. Furthermore, they insisted that their supporters stay apprised of British involvement in Africa and urged them to express Christian opinions on colonial politics by writing to their MP or contacting the BBC or the press.²⁹³

Also Interesting here is the inclusion of elements which would today be described as ‘advocacy’ within the societies’ activities.

4) Key aspects of logics evidenced within pre-WWII development practice

Faith-based non-governmental organisations (FBOs) are of particular interest within this thesis, and as such, how logics are evidenced within them. Nevertheless, it is also critical to understand the wider context in which these organisations are situated. The specific focus of this section has been on the mission societies of the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, and the origins of their involvement with development-oriented work, and it is with reference primarily to the history of these societies, as surveyed above, that key dynamics related to the logics impacting the practice of development will be outlined. However, dynamics connected to the colonial state are also of interest and will therefore be discussed as relevant. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss at great length the logics underpinning the practice of development for the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries – the purpose here is rather to bring to light dynamics that are important with reference to the contemporary practice of aid that will be discussed in the following chapters of this thesis.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ Hughes, “Science in the Hands,” 829-30.

²⁹⁰ Hughes, “Science in the Hands,” 827.

²⁹¹ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 26-27.

²⁹² Hughes, “Science in the Hands,” 824.

²⁹³ Hughes, “Science in the Hands,” 827.

²⁹⁴ Important to note here is that while Battilana and Dorado refer to a development logic, their emphasis is solely on contemporary development practice in relation to economic poverty (Battilana and Dorado, “Building

We have seen that the practice of development has its roots in the societal-level logic of religion of the time. With reference to the classical and faith missions, the primary 'source of legitimacy' for their development-oriented practice was arguably 'human need', yet this was conceived of in various and changing ways. For both, the most basic human need was for salvation, but for the faith missions this was understood in predominantly spiritual terms, with development-oriented work as a means to the end of conversion. For the classical missions, however, salvation was seen both in spiritual *and* material terms, although whether the latter was viewed primarily as a means to conversion or as a legitimate end in and of itself varied between time periods.

Ultimately, the primary 'source of authority' for the classical and faith missions in their development-oriented work was their appeals to God, but their theological beliefs were such that God was believed to act through the natural order and through history and human institutions as well, which gave contextual factors an element of authority too. Their primary 'source of identity' was that they were carrying out God's work, or 'mission', and their 'basis of attention,' a commitment to their 'neighbours', although again there were divergent views between the classical and faith missions in relation to what that commitment meant in practice. In a similar vein, their 'basis of strategy' was to 'save as many lives as possible,' but while for the faith missions this was understood in terms of 'souls', the classical missions would have understood this in terms of 'bodies and souls.' While for the colonial administrations, the 'telos' of development-oriented work was primarily regulation and control within the colonies, for the classical missions this was conceived of as 'abundant life' or 'wholeness'.

Worth highlighting here are the organisational practices that enabled the work of the societies to continue. The societies tended to be run by lay people, who were not only responsible for raising financial and spiritual support, but were also the ones to go overseas as missionaries. Education, fundraising and mobilisation occurred through the information bulletins, letters and diaries from the mission field that the societies published, which in later years also included producing films and hosting exhibitions. Through activities such as these, people felt *called* to be involved in missions in some way. Finally, it is important to note the increasing prominence of the corporate and market logics in practice by the early twentieth century, assumed from the societies' wider societal context. This led to 'decision-making processes' becoming top-down due to the increasing power of boards based in 'home' countries, and 'business efficiency' also being prioritised.

B) The emergence of humanitarianism

As noted above, the origins of development and humanitarianism differ, although since many of the larger NGOs in the UK today often engage in both, in relation to organisational practice the boundaries between them have become blurred. While humanitarianism has since developed as a distinct sphere of action, it too has religious roots dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, if not before. In the face of the increasing numbers of wars across Europe during this period, different initiatives emerged, including peace societies, demilitarisation movements and voluntary associations to care for the wounded.²⁹⁵ While the geographical focus of these initiatives differed from those directed towards development, the

Sustainable Hybrid Organizations.”) Pache and Santos employ a social welfare logic, and this relates to social work in contemporary France (Pache and Santos, “Inside the Hybrid Organization.”)

²⁹⁵ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 28.

majority of the voluntary societies established to treat those injured in battle were set up by Christian communities.²⁹⁶ For example, the Order of St John of Jerusalem – a Protestant order – was actively engaged in wartime relief work on the battlefields in Europe during the 1850s and 1860s, combining ‘spiritual evangelism with charitable work, in hospitals during peacetime and on the battlefield during war.’²⁹⁷ Fiona Reid and Sharif Gemie note that Quakers were also increasingly involved with humanitarian efforts during the nineteenth century.²⁹⁸

Voluntary associations such as these not only engaged in war relief efforts, but also in other forms of relief. Focusing specifically on Ireland, for example, Helen Hatton highlights the concern of the Quakers for the welfare of the country during the Great Famine in the nineteenth century.²⁹⁹ What set the Quakers’ relief in Ireland apart from that of other religious communities, she argues, was the fact that the only condition for their grants was *need*. Hatton writes: ‘The Friends were unyieldingly rigorous in enforcing it. Nor would they tolerate “souperism,” that use of philanthropy which made relief contingent upon a religious duty.’³⁰⁰ Hatton compares the Quakers’ efforts to those of other independent actors, such as evangelical Protestants, who in her opinion typically viewed Ireland in the same way as they viewed the ‘heathen’ they sought to convert and saw the famine as a sign from God that they were to bring revival to the country.³⁰¹ Hatton goes on to explain that the impartiality of the Quaker’s relief work was one of the reasons behind the success of their efforts:

Such became the Quaker reputation for non-sectarian probity that more than three million dollars of aid from places as diverse as Upper Canada and India were consigned to their trust. Donations poured in, frequently with letters attesting to the sender’s belief that the Quakers would deliver relief goods to specific locations, even to individuals, and that the Friends would administer unspecified contributions of provisions and funds with total impartiality.³⁰²

Underpinning the relief work of the Quakers was also a belief both in ‘common humanity’ and the importance of Christian duty in times of disaster.³⁰³ As will soon become clear, ideas around impartiality and Christian responsibility towards humanity were to become key features of humanitarianism.

1) The significance of Swiss Reformed Protestantism for the establishment of humanitarianism
Yet the religious roots of humanitarianism extend beyond the activities of voluntary societies such as this. Shai Dromi sees the mid-nineteenth century as particularly significant for the development of the sector as we know it today. More specifically, he points to a book – *A Memory of Solferino* – written by Henry Dunant, a Swiss Calvinist merchant who grew up

²⁹⁶ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 27.

²⁹⁷ Shai M. Dromi, *Above the Fray: The Red Cross and the Making of the Humanitarian NGO Sector*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 19-20.

²⁹⁸ Fiona Reid and Sharif Gemie, “The Friends Relief Service and Displaced People in Europe after the Second World War, 1945-48,” *Quaker Studies* 17/2 (2013): 226.

²⁹⁹ Helen E. Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland, 1654-1921*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 3.

³⁰⁰ Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good*, 5.

³⁰¹ Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good*, 5.

³⁰² Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good*, 6.

³⁰³ Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good*, 12.

within the Réveil movement, as being critical to the emergence of the sector. Having witnessed the horrors of the battlefield at Solferino during the second War of Italian Independence, Dunant documented both his experience and proposals for change in the book, which was published in 1862.³⁰⁴ He spoke to the concern of the families of those who died on the battlefields as to whether their loved ones had died well – that is, ‘properly’, ‘heroically’, or even ‘gloriously’ – since a prevalent belief at the time was that this ‘ensured one’s soul safe passage to Heaven.’³⁰⁵ Amongst other recommendations, Dunant underscored the need for ‘trained’ and ‘qualified’ personnel on the battlefields, and for more efficient organisation.³⁰⁶ While others were engaged in war relief efforts at the time,³⁰⁷ what was distinct about Dunant’s proposal was his call for both permanence in relation to the voluntary societies, so that they were prepared to act when needed, and independence, so that they were not subject to political, economic or religious interests.³⁰⁸ Further, Dunant believed that relief work should be pursued as ‘an end unto itself.’³⁰⁹ This publication and the support it garnered ultimately led to the formation of the Red Cross movement in 1863, and as such, also contributed to the Geneva Convention.

While one of the reasons behind the broad support enjoyed by humanitarian NGOs today is their appeal to ‘universal human values,’ religion played a significant role in the establishment of these values.³¹⁰ As Dromi demonstrates through his detailed historical research on the Red Cross and its role in the formation of the humanitarian NGO sector:

the foundational assumptions of the humanitarian community – that humanitarian NGOs ought to be a permanent fixture in civil society; that they must be impartial; and that they must be considered neutral – emerged specifically from a renewed nineteenth-century Swiss Reformed Protestant emphasis on the separation of church, state, and charity institutions, as well as an accompanying intensified interest in battlefields as a site for Christian charity.³¹¹

Dunant’s proposal was deeply rooted not only in his own personal spiritual experiences, which had given him a clear sense of ‘calling’ to respond to the needs of others,³¹² but also in Réveil theology; more specifically, its orthodoxy combined with ‘a sharp critique of modernity (and especially of modern warfare), a strong drive for social activism and for communal discipline, and a suspicious stance toward the state and its unchecked power.’³¹³ Dromi argues that these religious foundations had a lasting impact on humanitarian work that has continued into the present. Ager and Ager provide an example of how Dunant critiqued partiality with reference to religion in particular, which at the time would not have been viewed as separate from the principles of neutrality and impartiality. They cite Dunant’s book, which relays the actions of a countess who, on noticing partiality on the battlefield, ‘made

³⁰⁴ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 14-15.

³⁰⁵ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 29.

³⁰⁶ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 28, 31.

³⁰⁷ See, for example, Krause, *The Good Project*, 101.

³⁰⁸ Krause, *The Good Project*, 101; Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 20.

³⁰⁹ Shai M. Dromi, “Soldiers of the Cross: Calvinism, Humanitarianism, and the Genesis of Social Fields,” *Sociological Theory* 34, no. 3 (2016): 198.

³¹⁰ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 1.

³¹¹ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 5.

³¹² Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 46n39.

³¹³ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 45.

haste to show her disapproval by declaring that she gave exactly the same attention to the Austrians as to the Allies, and made no difference between friends and enemies. "For", she said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ made no such distinctions between men in well doing".³¹⁴

As already mentioned, a key difference between the voluntary societies that came together for the most part temporarily during wartime to care for those injured in battle and offer religious support, and the Red Cross, was that the latter called for independence in relation to humanitarian work. The Red Cross differentiated itself from church and state – institutions that had supported and funded humanitarian work until then. In this way, it established the independence of the humanitarian sector from these institutions.³¹⁵ In relation to the professions, while as an organisation the Red Cross was independent from them, it interacted closely with various professions through its network of volunteers, such as medical and health care professionals, and journalists.³¹⁶

2) Humanitarianism: 'secular' or 'religious' endeavour?

Dromi notes that the Red Cross was seen by its founders and supporters as intervening in a society that was immoral and corrupt – rejecting the marginalisation of religion in public life by the 'modernizing' trend they saw within theology, they were keen to re-establish a universally applicable moral code.³¹⁷ Important to highlight here is that the Red Cross did not emerge from the 'rationalized, humanistic state church,' but rather, from the revivalist movement.³¹⁸ Yet according to Freeman, the Red Cross's founders initiated a process whereby not only were the activities of the mission societies intentionally separated from humanitarian activities, but also a new, 'distinct' and 'secular' field of humanitarian relief began to emerge.³¹⁹ As she puts it:

In the early twentieth century a host of new humanitarian associations were formed, particularly in the aftermath of the First World War. Relief work became more professionalised, more secular, and organised around transnational networks of experts, such as physicians, engineers, and social workers. Nonetheless, despite the self-conscious secularisation of the humanitarian field, religious organisations, of course, continued to provide humanitarian relief.³²⁰

Noting the formation of the League of Nations in the aftermath of the First World War, which led to the founding of several humanitarian organisations in 1919 such as the League of Red Cross Societies and the Save the Children Fund (SCF), Freeman holds that while the SCF's founders were Christians, they appealed to 'universalist discourses of "humanity" rather than religious inspiration.'³²¹ According to Emily Baughan, however, for SCF co-founder Dorothy Buxton, her conviction concerning the 'oneness of humanity' that inspired her work

³¹⁴ Ager and Ager, *Faith, Secularism and Humanitarian Engagement*, 4.

³¹⁵ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 35.

³¹⁶ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 115.

³¹⁷ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 60.

³¹⁸ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 60.

³¹⁹ Although it had a short lifespan, The Humanitarian League, founded in 1891, is one example of a humanitarian organisation that intentionally separated itself from religion (Dan Weinbren, "Against All Cruelty: The Humanitarian League, 1891-1919," *History Workshop* 38 (1994): 86-105).

³²⁰ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 28.

³²¹ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 28.

was rooted in her Quaker faith.³²² Baughan points out that the Save the Children movement was ‘ecumenical, even multifaith, rather than secular.’³²³ She goes on to explain that the movement’s ‘ecumenical aid, which would transition into the secular humanitarianism of the mid-twentieth century, made it possible for it to adapt and benefit from the traditions of religious philanthropy while not being constrained by it.’³²⁴ In Baughan’s opinion, by the beginning of the twentieth century, there were several shared beliefs among those she labels ‘British humanitarians’ – many of whom would have been Quakers and nonconformists. These not only included a belief in the rationality of the market, but also a belief, rooted in the Christian faith, in their obligation to those within their communities less fortunate than themselves.³²⁵ While the eventual existence of a humanitarianism consciously seeking to be ‘secular’ is not in question, the discrepancy between Freeman and Baughan’s interpretations of the nature of and discourse surrounding SCF’s activities is important to acknowledge. It highlights the complex dynamics between the religious and secular. As Deneulin and Bano note, ‘the distinction between “faith-based” and “secular” is often not straightforward.’³²⁶

3) Humanitarianism post-WWI

Humanitarianism as a distinct sphere of activity continued to grow and develop during the twentieth century, and importantly for the purposes of this chapter, Baughan argues that in the wake of WWI, what had previously been ‘two distinct strands’ of activity – that she terms the ‘colonial’ tradition and the ‘continental’ tradition – came together.³²⁷ Tracing Save the Children’s early development, Baughan highlights the shift that occurred within its first three years of life in relation to its relationship with the state. The organisation would eventually begin partnering with the Colonial Office, which ‘conferred status and resources on Save the Children, even if it occasionally came at the cost of constraining its action when aid stood in opposition to the British government’s economic or diplomatic objectives.’³²⁸ Its pioneering partnership with the state was to the extent that international aid became a ‘function’ of the state, although ‘reluctantly and feebly’, in Baughan’s estimation³²⁹ – something that has continued to the present.³³⁰

In this regard, it is also important to note additional influences on SCF that had a bearing on its operations, and therefore on shaping the field of humanitarian activity during the post-WWI period as well. SCF co-founder Eglantyne Jebb had previous experience of working as a volunteer for the Cambridgeshire branch of the Charity Organisation Society (COS), and this influenced her approach to developing SCF’s mode of operation, which was to distribute funds raised in the UK to organisations already working in-context, to ‘prevent duplication or inefficiency.’³³¹ Jebb hired a businessman as SCF’s secretary, while she became ‘honorary secretary’. In so doing, she compartmentalised the administrative and policy-

³²² Emily Baughan, *Saving the Children: Humanitarianism, Internationalism, and Empire*, (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2021), 21.

³²³ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 33.

³²⁴ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 33.

³²⁵ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 9.

³²⁶ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 5.

³²⁷ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 3.

³²⁸ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 209.

³²⁹ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 48.

³³⁰ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 11.

³³¹ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 26.

making functions of the organisation.³³² Baughan notes that the leadership of SCF ran the organisation “‘like a business” and sought the largest possible market share of British donors;’ an approach that was to become ‘ingrained ... in an increasingly professionalized and bureaucratized British relief sector more broadly.’³³³ The emphasis on efficiency within SCF arose due to the desire to save as many lives as possible, and it was a key factor in the selection process regarding where funds should be directed.³³⁴ As Baughan writes: ‘[d]onations were used almost exclusively for the benefit of children of artisanal and middle-class parents, who would provide the “best return for their investment,” as they were likely to take on the stable professions of their parents.’³³⁵ Thus, the emphasis on efficiency came at the expense of an emphasis on impartiality.

A final point is worth noting due to its relevance regarding the blurred boundaries between humanitarianism, advocacy and development. While the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had defined its mission as being primarily geared towards war relief, many of the national Red Cross bodies were in reality engaged in ‘disaster relief and development work during peacetime.’³³⁶ In relation to SCF, although created in 1919 by Dorothy Buxton as ‘a small protest and propaganda organization’ – in other words, as an organisation that might today be described as an advocacy organisation – under the direction of Buxton’s sister, Eglantyne Jebb, it expanded to become the largest humanitarian INGO in the UK.³³⁷ During the course of the twentieth century, it also ‘became a ready collaborator with the British military in war, and a partner in the growing development and education work of the Colonial Office.’³³⁸

4) Key aspects of logics evidenced within pre-WWII humanitarian practice

As above, the logics underpinning the practice of humanitarianism will not be discussed at length here. Rather, dynamics that are most significant with reference to the contemporary practice of aid that will be discussed later on in this thesis will be highlighted. It is important to draw attention at the outset to the difference between Dromi’s use of the concept of ‘logics’ and that used within the thesis. Through his research on the emergence of the humanitarian sector, Dromi adapts ‘typical’ Bourdieusian field theory to include culture – in other words, the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of field theory.³³⁹ Critical for his analysis is the demarcation of the humanitarian sector as a distinct ‘field’, in which the operation of actors is interrelated. He explains it in this way:

actors collectively identify a limited set of hierarchical positions and largely agree on who occupies which one. They implicitly agree on a certain set of logics that dictate the norms by which action within the field ought to be conducted, and share a belief in specific stakes that orient their work.³⁴⁰

³³² Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 25-26.

³³³ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 13.

³³⁴ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 29-31.

³³⁵ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 28.

³³⁶ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 119.

³³⁷ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 25.

³³⁸ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 209.

³³⁹ See also Krause, *The Good Project*.

³⁴⁰ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 11.

Worth noting here is that logics according to Bourdieu, as noted in Chapter 1, are ‘field specific and often mutually exclusive.’³⁴¹ Therefore, while Dromi demonstrates that the key logics underpinning the emergence of the humanitarian sphere of action were that of ‘independence’, ‘neutrality’ and ‘impartiality’, his use of the concept of ‘logics’ is different to that of the institutional logics perspective.³⁴²

Turning to the practice of humanitarianism, in a similar vein to that of development outlined above, the primary ‘source of legitimacy’ for the earliest humanitarian organisations such as the ICRC was ‘human need’, understood in terms of both physical need in relation to human suffering on the battlefield, and spiritual need in relation to aspects such as salvation in death, for example.³⁴³ Their ‘source of authority’ was their appeals to God, but their theological beliefs were similar to those of the mission societies in that divine law was enacted through natural law. Their ‘source of identity’ was connected to the impartiality of their work on behalf of humankind. With regards to ‘basis of attention,’ this was ‘commitment to neighbour,’ although understood in practical terms, and in terms that transcended other interests and commitments – political, social, economic and religious. The ‘basis of strategy’ for the earliest humanitarian organisations was to increase the number of lives saved, and this is the reason for their emphasis on having trained and qualified medical professionals in the field, and on efficiency in organisational terms. The ‘telos’ of humanitarianism was to ‘pursue relief’. Where the SCF diverged from this earlier manifestation of humanitarianism relates firstly, to its increasing emphasis on ‘efficiency’ and ‘return on investment,’ as shown above, which was prioritised over ‘impartiality’, and secondly, to its connection to the state.

C) The emergence of ‘long-distance advocacy’

Maria Jumbert defines advocacy as ‘the act of advocating for something, often on behalf of someone,’ and notes that while the term has legal roots, it ‘has evolved to become a common term not just in the context of courts of justice, but also more broadly to designate the activities of groups or individuals who advocate for societal change.’³⁴⁴ Peter Stamatov makes a convincing case for viewing what he terms ‘long-distance’ advocacy as a form of engagement – separate from both development and humanitarianism as outlined above – that has its origins in ‘the struggles of religious actors in the course of European imperial expansion overseas.’³⁴⁵ In his analysis, the roots of such advocacy stretch back to the sixteenth century, when the Catholic mendicant orders took political action in support of the ‘new imperial “others” in the Caribbean and in America ... appealing to the heads of political and religious authorities in Europe: the monarchs in Spain and Portugal and the pope in Rome,’ against their mistreatment.³⁴⁶ According to Stamatov, long-distance advocacy was also later operationalised through the international antislavery movement, that has already been referred to above, which was initiated by Protestant organisations; in particular, the

³⁴¹ Dromi, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 201.

³⁴² See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the difference between logics as understood within field theory and institutional theory.

³⁴³ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 29.

³⁴⁴ Jumbert, “Advocacy,” 3.

³⁴⁵ Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism*, 1. Jumbert also notes that the first organisations to engage in ‘long-distance advocacy’ were religious, and that this occurred ‘[i]n the wake of European colonization and overseas work of evangelization, and as a precursor to modern forms of human rights or humanitarian advocacy’ (Jumbert, “Advocacy,” 3).

³⁴⁶ Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism*, 2.

Quakers. Freeman also notes that for the most part, the antislavery movement was driven by missionary and other Christian societies during the nineteenth century, and that this was behind the establishment of a number of voluntary societies in Europe.³⁴⁷ In a similar vein, Dromi highlights that Quaker activism in the form of ‘peace advocacy’ can be traced back to before the nineteenth century, although it grew during the 1810s in terms of its organisation; for example, through the establishment of the London Peace Society.³⁴⁸ The theological reasoning behind such activism was that ‘[w]ar is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind.’³⁴⁹

In Stamatov’s analysis – which like Dromi’s research draws on Bourdieu’s logics of practice – religion played a critical role in the development of long-distance advocacy:

from the first assault on exploitative labor practices by Dominicans in 1511 until at least the beginnings of a politicized movement for the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade by Pennsylvania Quakers in the mid-eighteenth century, it was invariably religious actors driven by a distinctively religious ethics – and opposing the actions and values of their imperial rivals – who pioneered the ideological and organizational foundations of political action in defense of distant strangers.³⁵⁰

As Stamatov goes on to explain, this was because the logic of religion, albeit indirectly, shed light on the question of what constituted ‘proper relations’ with ‘imperial others’. He writes: ‘[f]or these actors, an acute sense of accountability to a higher force made the ethical problem of relating to others from a specifically religious vantage point a central focus of their action.’³⁵¹

This field of activity warrants being distinguished from development and humanitarianism during the period on the basis that it was reliant upon multiple and diverse organisations operating in collaboration – in the form of campaigns or movements – at any one time. An interesting example to illustrate this point is the Congo Reform Association, which not only mobilised many in the UK to speak out against the treatment of the Congolese population from 1904 to 1913, but also led to the creation of ‘sister movements’ in the US, Germany, France, Norway and Switzerland.³⁵² Stamatov shows how a campaign formed on the basis of an alliance between free traders, Quakers, and evangelical Christians, with each group playing an essential role in the process that ultimately led to the success of the campaign.³⁵³ Today, advocacy is often distinguished as a different type of activity or organisational unit within NGOs.

It is perhaps easiest to reflect on key dynamics related to the logics underpinning the practice of advocacy by highlighting the ways in which it differed from that of development and humanitarianism. The consistent threads that ran through all three spheres of activity included a focus on shared humanity and consequently, a commitment to the needs of others. Further, there was an initial belief in divine law. The focus of advocacy, however, was more

³⁴⁷ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 22.

³⁴⁸ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 22.

³⁴⁹ Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 23.

³⁵⁰ Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism*, 16. See also Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 60.

³⁵¹ Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism*, 17.

³⁵² Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism*, 5.

³⁵³ Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism*, 6-7.

squarely on the issue of justice, and thus the ‘telos’ of the logic was arguably to ‘pursue social justice’.

2. The Practice of Aid Post-WWII

1) *The post-WWII period*

The period following the Second World War is seen by many scholars as being of particular significance for the establishment of the sector, which by this time included a range of organisations incorporating humanitarian, development and advocacy work into their operations. Given their prominence within the literature, the focus of the discussion in this section will be on development and humanitarianism. During the Second World War, several humanitarian organisations had been founded in the UK, such as Oxfam – first known as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief – which was established in 1942 in response to the Great Famine in Greece.³⁵⁴ With the end of the war, this number increased as organisations such as Christian Aid appeared on the scene. Originally called Christian Reconciliation Europe, Christian Aid was formed by the British Council of Churches (BCC) in 1945 to assist refugees in the aftermath of the war. Save the Children was already in operation at this time, and as Baughan points out, was ‘the first of Britain’s international aid organizations (that is, those founded to work in Europe) to begin projects in the British Empire in the 1950s,³⁵⁵ a good example of how organisations began engaging in both humanitarian and development work.

The formation of the United Nations in 1945 was another important event in relation to the development of the sector. Formed to foster international cooperation in the hope that this would prevent future world wars, its constituting charter included Article 55, which stated that the UN would promote ‘higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development.’³⁵⁶ As Deneulin and Bano note, although development as a concept might have existed before this point, it was its inclusion in the UN Charter that put it squarely on the political agenda of Western countries.³⁵⁷

Another event often highlighted as being of significance, particularly in relation to development, is President Truman’s inaugural speech. In this speech, Truman ascribed the label ‘underdeveloped’ to those areas that were not at the time seen to be making the most of the benefits that scientific and industrial progress had to offer – that is, countries in the majority world.³⁵⁸ In so doing, the word ‘underdeveloped’ was being used ‘as a synonym for “economically backward” areas,’ and as Rist highlights, this had the effect of transforming the meaning of the word ‘development’ by ‘relating it in a new way to “underdevelopment”.’³⁵⁹ The difference that this made to international relations, in his analysis, was notable:

Until then, North-South relations had been organized largely in accordance with the colonizer/colonized opposition. The new “developed”/“underdeveloped” dichotomy

³⁵⁴ Thomas Davies, *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 127.

³⁵⁵ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 12.

³⁵⁶ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, 1 UNTS XVI, quoted in Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 30.

³⁵⁷ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 30.

³⁵⁸ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 28; Wolfgang Sachs, “Introduction,” in *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, 3rd ed., ed. Wolfgang Sachs (London: Zed Books, 2019), xxix.

³⁵⁹ Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, 3rd ed., (London: Zed Books, 2009), 72.

proposed a different relationship ... Colonized and colonizer had belonged to two different and opposed universes, so that confrontation between them (in the form of national liberation struggles) had appeared unavoidable as a way of reducing the difference. Now, however, “underdeveloped” and “developed” were members of a single family.³⁶⁰

In this regard, it is also important to note the critique of development as a neo-colonial endeavour, and Kothari’s research is particularly insightful here. On the basis of interviews with people who on account of their skills and experience within the colonies had been considered ‘particularly suited to the work of international development,’³⁶¹ Kothari emphasises that while there are continuities between colonialism and development, there are also divergences.³⁶² In relation to continuities, it is evident, for example, that some of those who were employed by the colonial service towards the end of the colonial period were engaged in work that could most accurately be described as development work. As Kothari explains, some ‘had originally been posted to the colonies as teachers under the auspices of the Colonial Education Department, or as forestry and agricultural officers addressing issues of “community development”.’³⁶³ Baughan also highlights that in the wake of decolonisation, newly established organisations such as Oxfam and Christian Aid recruited those who had previously been colonial officials on account of their ‘expertise’.³⁶⁴ In relation to divergences, Kothari points, for example, to the shift that occurred in the types of skills, knowledge, expertise and experience required by development, which will be discussed below.³⁶⁵ Thus, Kothari emphasises that ‘development is not always and inevitably an extension of colonialism.’³⁶⁶

As the sector became established, development became a preserve of the state. Indeed, even those NGOs established before the Second World War were reliant on state funding. This is an important point to highlight in relation to this thesis due to its impact on organisational practice. This point is also applicable to humanitarianism. Michael Barnett notes how its governance was closely connected to the state and its foreign policy:

States were increasingly central to the funding, regulation, and organization of humanitarian action. Prior to World War I voluntary agencies looked for funding from parishioners and households and, beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the occasional philanthropist. After World War II, though, these patterns changed as governments began to provide more funding because they now imagined a relationship between security and foreign aid.³⁶⁷

Barnett goes on to explain that relief had become an instrument of foreign policy, rather than a goal. He also highlights the financial dependence of NGOs on the state.³⁶⁸ He is writing in

³⁶⁰ Rist, *The History of Development*, 73-74. Emphasis original.

³⁶¹ Kothari, “From Colonial Administration,” 52.

³⁶² Kothari, “From Colonial Administration,” 48.

³⁶³ Kothari, “From Colonial Administration,” 56.

³⁶⁴ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 5.

³⁶⁵ Kothari, “From Colonial Administration,” 62.

³⁶⁶ Kothari, “From Colonial Administration,” 49-50.

³⁶⁷ Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 104.

³⁶⁸ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 105.

the context of the US, but these points are applicable to the UK context at the time as well. They are also reminiscent of practice under the Colonial Act, noted above, where development work from the colonial administration's perspective was for regulation and control in the colonies.

Yet it is notable that during this period aid work continued to be carried out not only by the state and state-authorised entities, but also by independent organisations such as the mission societies discussed above. The dominant discourse at the time was that secularisation would accompany the process of development – a discourse upheld by the institutions established post-WWII.³⁶⁹ However, as Deacon and Tomalin note, Christian churches and organisations played a critical role in the establishment of the sector's key institutions:

Christian churches in particular were instrumental in pushing for the creation of the [United Nations] and arguing for human rights references to be included in the 1945 UN Charter. The Federal Council of Churches, for example, was extremely active in drafting text for the charter and then moved to push its thoughts through American committee representatives.³⁷⁰

Thus, the field as it was formed post-Second World War had a complex relationship with religion. In reality, its connection to Christianity was strong, with the majority of organisations working overseas still being missionaries.³⁷¹ Freeman explains, however, that while these organisations:

initially operated by raising funds in the UK and making grants primarily to missionaries or church organisations overseas to do development work ... by the late 1950s many classical missions had been subsumed into the provision of overseas aid and relief and had adopted an approach and discourse that rendered it difficult to distinguish them from secular agencies.³⁷²

The key question to highlight again here relates to perspective, and whether it might be more helpful to view the field through the lens of secular-religious dynamics.

2) *The establishment of the sector*

The 1960s was a significant decade for the sector, and a new infrastructure was established during this period.³⁷³ The impetus behind this activity was the adoption of a resolution by the UN General Assembly in 1961, which committed member states to 'intensify their efforts to mobilize and to sustain support for the measures required on the part of both developed and developing countries' to accelerate economic and social progress.³⁷⁴ The Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC), which incorporated the five largest agencies in the UK, was founded in 1963. In 1964, Labour formed the Ministry of Overseas Development, and in 1965, the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development was established. The Biafran famine that began as a result of civil war in 1967 led to the creation of a number of NGOs, including

³⁶⁹ Deacon and Tomalin, "A History of Faith-based," 74.

³⁷⁰ Deacon and Tomalin, "A History of Faith-based," 75.

³⁷¹ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 30.

³⁷² Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 30-31.

³⁷³ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 32.

³⁷⁴ Deneulin and Bano, *Religion in Development*, 30.

Tearfund in 1968. Highlighting that this was ‘the world’s first televised famine,’ Kevin O’Sullivan points out that in Britain, ‘the combined revenue of the sector’s largest NGOs increased five-fold in this period.’³⁷⁵

Another point to note regarding this period is that, as Freeman highlights, during the 1960s and 1970s many of the classical missionary societies underwent a process of ‘NGO-isation’, during which they either joined forces with others or created relief and development departments. Evangelical mission societies, on the other hand, intentionally remained distinct from such departments.³⁷⁶ Therefore, while a sphere of state-initiated activity took root that was quite separate from the activities of religious organisations and groups, ‘organisations with varying connections to faith traditions remained strongly active in the field, both at home and overseas, and classical and evangelical missionary agencies positioned themselves quite differently in relation to this emerging field.’³⁷⁷ Important for this chapter, is a report that was the outcome of a BCC working group formed to discuss Britain’s responsibility with regards to poverty across the world in 1965.³⁷⁸ There were only a few references to evangelism in the report, which emphasised that development was important for Christians on account of Christian beliefs about justice. Further, the command to ‘love one’s neighbour’ was emphasised, since those in other parts of the world ‘were being reconceived of as “neighbours” and often as “fellow members of the world church”. Bringing about “development” was now seen as a matter of justice and morality, and not as a means to an end.’³⁷⁹

Another important event in the 1970s, which was particularly significant for humanitarianism and advocacy during this period, was the split between the ICRC and a faction of doctors who separated from ICRC to form Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF). At the root of the tension between them was this latter group’s belief in the importance of raising awareness in addition to relief work, and speaking out against the injustice they were witnessing.³⁸⁰ As Krause explains, the ‘foundation of MSF as a breakaway from the ICRC in the early 1970s opened up a space for nongovernmental action beyond these narrow confines, while still claiming the heritage of the ICRC.’³⁸¹ This initiated a process of expansion within humanitarianism, whereby existing organisations have grown and other NGOs, such as development organisations, have expanded their operations to include relief as well; Krause notes that ‘this includes the return of organizations such as Oxfam and Save the Children that were initially founded to respond to sudden-onset disasters and wars, then turned to development work, and now are concerned with emergencies again.’³⁸²

Moving to the 1980s, Hefferan notes how the influence of Rostow’s modernisation theory led to a focus on growth taking root in this period. She writes: ‘[y]oked with neoliberal policy prescriptions, this agenda was formalized as the “Washington Consensus” and came to dominate development institutions like the World Bank, USAID, and others.’³⁸³ Many donor governments were keen to partner with NGOs due to their ‘small-scale, grassroots, non-

³⁷⁵ Kevin O’Sullivan, *The NGO Moment: The Globalisation of Compassion from Biafra to Live Aid*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 2.

³⁷⁶ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 31-33.

³⁷⁷ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 31.

³⁷⁸ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 31.

³⁷⁹ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 33.

³⁸⁰ Krause, *The Good Project*, 104.

³⁸¹ Krause, *The Good Project*, 105.

³⁸² Krause, *The Good Project*, 108-9.

³⁸³ Hefferan, “Researching religions and development,” 43.

technocratic approach,' which led to the period often being described as the 'decade of the NGOs;' a tendency that only strengthened during the 1990s, when structural adjustment policies advanced by the IMF led to national governments cutting back their social and welfare provisions, which increased inequality in the majority world.³⁸⁴ The 1980s and 1990s also witnessed a growth in the activity of religious organisations in the sector because of this reduction in state activity in many developing countries, as well as the '(re)discovery' of religion by 'secular' actors who 'increasingly sought to work with and fund religious actors and organizations of different types.'³⁸⁵ This is important to highlight in relation to the thesis as a whole, since this increased funding for FBOs is one of the reasons behind the focus in the literature on whether and how faith influences the practice of such organisations, and how they are distinct from so-called 'secular' organisations.

3) *The increasing professionalisation of aid*

The increasing professionalisation of NGOs that was already in motion in the UK by the twentieth century was something that only continued and increased into the latter part of the century. Hilton et al.'s *The Politics of Expertise* is particularly insightful in this regard. They note that after the Second World War, 'there was a period of dramatic acceleration and expansion of the professionalizing process, leaving "the expert" in a position of social dominance not previously attained and the professional principle as society's defining ethic.'³⁸⁶ While their focus is broader than that of this thesis – on the NGO sector in the UK as a whole – there is much within the book that is of relevance for this chapter. Before discussing this in greater detail, it is important to note how their use of the word 'professionalism' relates to the logic of profession. Hilton et al. refer to the 'ethos of professionalism' prevalent within twentieth-century Britain.³⁸⁷ The process of professionalisation as they see it relates to the rise of experts with 'expert knowledge' during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and spans all spheres of activity: technical, scientific and commercial as well as the state.³⁸⁸ Professionalisation in this context refers to the process by which expertise was becoming increasingly valued and influential within these different societal sectors in and of itself. The logic of profession, on the other hand, relates to the professional institutional order. With regards to the perspective of institutional logics, there is a distinction between expertise as it functions within the professions and expertise as it functions within corporations, where:

knowledge and expertise are embedded in the routines and capabilities of a hierarchy ... suggesting instead that expertise would be embedded in the corporation, not the person or their relational network. According to a corporate logic, the person becomes an employee, which equates to being under the control of managers (Blau and Scott 1962), not functioning as a quasi-independent source of expertise.³⁸⁹

Hilton et al. chart key aspects in the process of transformation from voluntary association to NGO, seeing their growth 'from amateur and largely voluntary affairs into huge,

³⁸⁴ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 61.

³⁸⁵ Deacon and Tomalin, "A History of Faith-based," 68.

³⁸⁶ Matthew Hilton, James McKay, Nicholas Crowson and Jean-François Mouhot, *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 64.

³⁸⁷ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 3.

³⁸⁸ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 7-8.

³⁸⁹ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 55.

highly professional organizations with hundreds of paid staff at all levels³⁹⁰ as connected to the growth in status of expertise during the twentieth century.³⁹¹ Specific factors they highlight that signify this transformation include the emergence of NGO career paths and professional accreditations and qualifications from the 1950s; the development of titles for their leaders – from Administrator or General Secretary to Director, Director General or Chief Executive – and the increasing authority transferred to their boards of management.³⁹² Although professionalism had a long history going back to at least the 19th century, what changed during the 20th century was the rate at which it spread:

Entire areas, such as social work, which had originated within the voluntary sector, came during the mid-20th century to be both professionalized and assimilated into formal state provision ... Social work groups in the voluntary sector, such as the Family Welfare Association (as the Charity Organisation Society had become in 1946) and the Invalid Children's Aid Association, swung towards the maximum use of paid, trained staff, and away from older traditions of volunteering. The remaining volunteer contribution was seen as both strictly subservient to the new professional ethic, and itself in need of formalization and rationalization, under trained guidance.³⁹³

Kothari also discusses expertise in the latter part of the twentieth century, and more specifically, former colonial administrator's views on the 'perceived contrast between the forms of expertise and practice they mobilized in colonial and immediately post-colonial contexts and the very different skills and procedures of contemporary development professionals.'³⁹⁴ For example, she notes the shift from expertise being perceived as arising from living in one context for a long period of time and learning local languages, to expertise being perceived as arising from thematic, theoretical or technical experience. Indeed, the former colonial officers interviewed by Kothari highlighted that 'while they had experienced enduring and profound engagements with the places to which they were posted, the contemporary development 'expert' tends to move within a world of fleeting consultancies.'³⁹⁵

From the perspective of logics, it could be argued that this evidences a shift from the logic of profession, according to which expertise is embedded in the individual and their network of relationships, to the logic of corporation, according to which expertise is embedded in the organisation. A further distinction in the conceptualisation of 'expertise' was that within the Colonial Office 'reliability, honesty and "good character" were valued much more highly than academic knowledge and technical skills.'³⁹⁶ Interesting here is the shift from an emphasis on personal and community-focused attributes related to character and social relations, which point towards the logic of community, to a more theoretical and

³⁹⁰ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 54.

³⁹¹ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 55.

³⁹² Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 76-78.

³⁹³ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 65. Baughan also refers to the 'rapidly professionalizing aid sector' of the 1920s (Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 36).

³⁹⁴ Kothari, "From Colonial Administration," 58.

³⁹⁵ Kothari, "From Colonial Administration," 59.

³⁹⁶ Kothari, "From Colonial Administration," 60.

technical emphasis, which points towards the logic of corporation that was beginning to be evidenced as the sector was becoming increasingly established.³⁹⁷

4) *The influence of the logics of corporation and market on organisational practice*

The focus of Hilton et al.'s text is different from that of this chapter, as already stated. Hilton et al. focus on NGOs, which they note are also commonly referred to as 'civil society', 'the voluntary sector,' 'charities', or 'the third sector.'³⁹⁸ They see 'international aid and development' as another specific sector that incorporates NGOs.³⁹⁹ While reference to 'voluntarism' is often made due to the sector's history being rooted in voluntary associations, Hilton et al. argue that 'as a conceptual framework it fails to account for the professionalization of organizations, the common eschewal of participative memberships, or the reliance on mass contributions supporting a non-voluntary and highly skilled expert staff.'⁴⁰⁰ This professionalism infiltrated every aspect of such organisations, from their organisational structures, which were heavily influenced by the business world, to their fundraising practices, in which '[b]randing, advertising, and self-promotion became both increasingly skilled and increasingly important in a crowded marketplace for expert politics.'⁴⁰¹ The example of Oxfam, founded in 1942, is worth highlighting here, whose rise to become a major INGO was due in large part to the belief of its co-founder Cecil Jackson-Cole that charities should operate as businesses.⁴⁰²

Hilton et al. highlight the growing popularity of professional marketing strategies and practices across the sector.⁴⁰³ Again, while the use of these techniques increased rapidly during this period, they were not new. Describing Save the Children's marketing tactics in the 1920s, Baughan writes that:

Children were, according to the Fund's press secretary, a "good product," and child relief "sold." Throughout the course of the Russian famine, the Fund honed its "marketing" of child hunger, zeroing in on powerful motifs – the child alone, orphaned, starving, and naked. Working with the ICRC, Save the Children shared curated famine images, as well as how-to guides describing the best way to appeal to different sections of the general public, with child welfare societies across Europe and the British Empire. By doing so, it standardized depictions of human suffering in ways that defined a genre of humanitarian film and photography for a century to come.⁴⁰⁴

Underlying the increased income and subsequent rapid growth of NGOs during the twentieth century, then, was their more professional approach to marketing. While some organisations,

³⁹⁷ David King documents a similar trend towards professionalisation within World Vision International (WVI) in the US during the twentieth century, with reference to aspects of organisational practice associated with the logic of religion; for example, he explains that WVI 'could no longer afford to hire pastors and missionaries and give them on the job training,' and that they 'expected both professionalism and piety, but when forced to choose, some favored technical expertise' (David P. King, *God's Internationalists: World Vision and the Age of Evangelical Humanitarianism*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 200.)

³⁹⁸ See Chapter 1 for further discussion on this.

³⁹⁹ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 2.

⁴⁰⁰ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 12.

⁴⁰¹ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 68.

⁴⁰² Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 60.

⁴⁰³ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 81.

⁴⁰⁴ Baughan, *Saving the Children*, 43-44.

such as Save the Children and Oxfam, began to take this approach much earlier, the change became more widespread during the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁰⁵ Logos also became increasingly common – an important feature since they enabled the ‘product’ to be widely recognised – as well as a focus on ‘brand’.⁴⁰⁶ As one journalist writing in 1970 in *The Times* about aid and development agencies put it: ‘Disaster relief has undergone a complete metamorphosis in the past decade. ... [T]raditional activities are rapidly being overtaken by high-powered advertising campaigns and selective mailing shots, chosen by the most sophisticated marketing techniques.’⁴⁰⁷ While practices such as these strengthened organisations’ financial security – and in many ways, their existence has been dependent on them⁴⁰⁸ – they also transformed NGOs to the extent that they became ‘indistinguishable’ from commercial organisations in the way that they operated.⁴⁰⁹ Further, this led to distinguishing features of NGOs becoming increasingly standardised, as organisations:

have broadly followed a similar trajectory. This encompasses financial expansion driven by innovations in fund-raising, growing numbers of paid, skilled staff and a tendency to drift towards more respectable, politically moderate solutions ... They have learnt from one another, swapping tactics, operations, and strategies. And they have shared personnel as increasingly well-paid staff have built careers through promotions and transfers within the sector as a whole.⁴¹⁰

Other factors that drove the process of professionalisation and organisational reform included the quest for state funding, which increased the influence of regulations and norms concerning ‘management, accountability, and internal governance’;⁴¹¹ and the requirements stemming from the sector’s institutional infrastructure, such as the Charity Commission.⁴¹² Nevertheless, as Hilton et al. point out, the fact that organisations within the sector look so similar to commercial organisations has enabled greater collaboration between the two sectors. They cite corporate sponsorship as an example of this.⁴¹³

5) Key aspects of logics evidenced within the practice of aid post-WWII

Although development, humanitarianism and advocacy have had different historical paths, they began to merge during the twentieth century, with a large number of organisations now actively engaged in all three. One of the consistent threads that ran through each of these spheres of activity was their focus on shared humanity and consequently, their commitment to the needs of others. An important change in the logics underpinning the practice of aid compared to the earlier practice of development, humanitarianism and advocacy occurred in this regard; that is, there was a shift in emphasis from divine law – where the commitment to others was a divine directive – to human rights. Barnett refers to the ‘sense of community’

⁴⁰⁵ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 92.

⁴⁰⁶ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 95-96.

⁴⁰⁷ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 106.

⁴⁰⁸ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 95.

⁴⁰⁹ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 100.

⁴¹⁰ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 106.

⁴¹¹ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 85.

⁴¹² Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 86.

⁴¹³ Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise*, 101.

instilled by the development of the 'global aid society,'⁴¹⁴ evidence perhaps of the logic of community's increasing influence within the sector.

The logics of corporation and market have also played a role in shaping the practice of aid. The logic of corporation arguably influenced organisational practice because as NGOs' operations were expanding, corporations were a known and seemingly successful model of organisation that they could gain inspiration from. The logic of market's influence on the practice of NGOs was due to the reliance of organisations on external funding. The drive to professionalise within the wider charitable sector also impacted the practice of NGOs and increased the influence of the logics of corporation and market. Also interesting to note here are the ways in which interaction with these logics has shaped the practice of aid in a more fundamental sense. To give an example, while aid's dominant 'source of legitimacy' is 'human need' – understood not only in economic or material terms, but also in relation to aspects such as fulfilment of potential, empowerment and so forth – during the post-WWII period, such human need can increasingly be seen to be articulated in terms of a cause or 'product' that can be sold. Thus, while the dominant logic underpinning the practice of aid was previously a blend of the logics of religion and community, it was influenced by the logic of market in such a way that human need began to be articulated in terms of specific 'causes', connecting to the emphasis within marketing on building a brand, and on the need to give people a product that they can buy into. Achievements within the sector also came to be increasingly articulated in relation to these causes and products, with success being measured by positive change in this regard or, in other words, 'return on investment' – again evidence of the way in which the logic of market was shaping the practice of aid.

In theory, aid's dominant 'source of authority' shifted post-WWII from 'appeals to God' to 'appeals to humankind', and its 'source of identity', to organisations' work on behalf of humanity. Worth noting here is that impartiality was still an important source of identity for humanitarian work, and something that organisations whose main focus was humanitarian, would have highlighted. The 'basis of strategy' underpinning the practice of aid related to the lives of those in need; more specifically, saving lives and improving lives, with lives being conceived of not simply in a material sense, but also in terms of their social dimension. Because of this, there was also an increasing emphasis on partnership and participation. In relation to recruitment, whereas the Colonial Office emphasised character and personal attributes, there was a shift to careerism, with sector-based experience therefore being important – as Hilton and Kothari note, the expectation now is that aid workers will move from one organisation to another. Finally, the 'telos' of aid still related to human need and the saving of lives, but there was an increasing emphasis on both justice and human rights.

The practice of aid is being explored within this chapter in relation to NGOs, but it is important to briefly mention its connection to and interaction with other entities. For instance, the practice of aid has been connected to the state in differing ways. Development was first carried out either through missionaries receiving grants from the state under the Act, or through the colonial administration, and there was also a movement of ex-colonial officers to the development sector in the aftermath of decolonisation. The state also began to fund humanitarian work during the post-WWII period, which led to an interesting

⁴¹⁴ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 103.

relationship with the state; on the one hand, humanitarian work prided itself on being neutral or impartial, but on the other, was also reliant on the state for its existence and spread.⁴¹⁵

The practice of aid has also interacted with the professions in various ways, not only through the reliance of humanitarian organisations on professionals and the general engagement of the sector with networks of volunteers such as education, health or medical professionals, but also on account of the increasing emphasis on ‘technical expertise’ during the twentieth century. The practice of aid is distinct from the logic of profession since it has a very different mission, but it interacts with the logic of profession through the various regulatory bodies that are part of the institutional infrastructure, and the consequent processes that have been established. Nevertheless, when professionals join an organisation, they are subject to the dominant logics underpinning the practice of aid – in other words, to the cause, and to the structures of the organisations of which they are a part.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored aspects of the historical backdrop to the practice of aid that will be developed in the following chapters. Using the framework provided by the institutional logics perspective has brought to light dynamics in relation to the logics underpinning the practice of development, humanitarianism and advocacy that are important with reference to the contemporary practice of aid. Further, it has highlighted some of the tensions and overlap between the practice of aid and logic of religion; showing, to give one example, that while a common focus of organisational activities might be responding to human need, this has been conceptualised in varying ways, as have the ends, or telos, of doing so.

Through the chapter, I have also highlighted different organisational practices that enabled the work first of the societies, and then of NGOs, to continue, and that have persisted to the present day. These include the mobilisation of members of the population through educational activities, fundraising and publications, including information bulletins, letters and diaries from the field. In later years, these activities included the production of films and other resources that are today commonly used in NGOs’ marketing campaigns. In this regard, the chapter discussed the increasing influence of the corporate and market logics in organisational practice by the early twentieth century, which have played a key role in shaping the practice of aid and represent a shift from the dominant influence of the logics of religion and community, for example.

The chapter also demonstrated that what tend to be thought of as ‘secular’ practices are actually the product of complex negotiations between varying influences. The origins of the humanitarian sector offer one example in this regard, but another example emerging through the chapter is that of the similarity between aid organisations and commercial organisations. While the operations of aid organisations might be increasingly indistinguishable from commercial organisations, they are still ‘aid’ organisations.

In closing, it is important to emphasise that the contemporary sector is wide-ranging and encompasses a broad variety of organisations. It is for this reason that in order to develop the analytical tool for the empirical research, a subcomponent of the field was identified, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁴¹⁵ See, for example, Dromi, *Above the Fray*, 62. Dromi notes that scholars such as John Hutchinson are of the opinion that ‘the spread of the Red Cross across borders occurred primarily on the diplomatic level.’

Chapter 4: Developing the Typology of Logics

Chapter Summary

The first stage of the empirical research was to construct a field-level typology of logics, which became the tool used to process and analyse data related to the organisational practice of the FBO of focus in my research. As illustrated in Chapter 2, there is a body of theoretical research on institutional logics that shows that societal-, field- and organisational-level logics are connected, and one of the assumptions underlying the thesis is that such multi-level analysis is important for understanding organisational practice.

The aim of the research introduced in this chapter, then, was to design the tool for use in processing and analysing the data collected within the case study FBO. I begin by introducing important elements of the field in which the organisation operates, before presenting the field-level typology of logics – including its process of construction, logics and categories.

1. Constructing the Field-level Typology of Logics

A) Identifying a suitable sub-component of the field

As discussed in Chapter 2, the definition of ‘field’ that I employ in this thesis derives from institutional theory: it is a group of organisations ‘that partakes of a common meaning system’ and whose interaction and engagement is frequent and significantly shapes practice.⁴¹⁶ The field as a whole incorporates differing organisations, but my interest in this thesis is in NGOs – that is, one specific subcomponent of the field – rather than regulatory bodies, professional associations or institutional funders. In order to explore the dynamics of the field in which my case study FBO operates in greater depth, I first needed to find a suitable group of organisations to study. The purpose of so doing was to enable me to develop the typology of field-level logics for use in data analysis. Since my interest is in organisational practice, I needed to identify a group that would enable me to capture the practice of comparable organisations. Thus, although many international humanitarian, development and advocacy NGOs could be considered part of the broader sector, these did not need to be represented within the group.

Delineating the relevant component of NGOs working within the sector was problematic due to the sector’s broad remit and contested boundaries, and the wide range of potentially relevant organisations operative within it. Further, cooperation and interaction between organisations can occur along thematic or regional lines. While entire organisations might collaborate on certain ventures, it might also be the case that only individuals or individual teams within organisations that are quite different in nature, do so. Nevertheless, it was clear at the same time that there were organisations whose interaction and engagement seemed more frequent and of greater consequence than others.

I explored the possibility of using a network such as Bond as the basis from which to select a group of organisations; however, Bond also has a broad remit, and its boundaries are

⁴¹⁶ Richard W. Scott, *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests*, 3rd ed., (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008), 86. ‘Meaning system’ here relates to the shared behaviours, norms and values that exist between organisations within the field.

unclear in terms of the nature of member organisations. Further, it was difficult to get hold of comprehensive lists of member organisations, let alone the information I would need about each organisation in order to select an appropriate group of organisations. The network comprises 435 organisations of differing sizes and foci, and therefore I would have needed to select the group with detailed information about each organisation to hand. Since my interest is in organisational practice in general, the most important factors were that the organisations included within the group had comparable remits, were of comparable size, public standing and influence within the sector, and had similar funding pools; in other words, the organisations needed to be operating and competing within the same subcomponent of the sector. In order to identify a suitable group, I therefore used the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), whose data is publicly available, as a starting point.

1) The National Council for Voluntary Organisations

NCVO is a registered charity and the largest membership body representing the voluntary sector in England.⁴¹⁷ It has over 14,000 member organisations at present.⁴¹⁸ The NCVO's main purpose is to actively promote the sector and improve practice within it through research, the connections enabled through its network, and its own links with policy-makers. Organisations whose gross annual income is less than £30,000 are exempt from membership fees, but for those above this threshold annual fees range from £50, to £826 for those with a gross annual income of over £5million. An additional membership tier, 'Membership Extra', is also offered for an annual fee of £1,296 to those that have an annual income of over £1million and wish to receive invitations to private events such as parliamentary receptions.⁴¹⁹ I note the annual membership fees of the NCVO since they are relatively low in comparison to income and therefore appear to be set at a level to encourage as large a membership base as possible.

The NCVO publishes the 'UK Civil Society Almanac' each year, which uses registered charities' financial accounts – details of which are publicly available via the Charity Commission – to build a broad picture of the sector. It is important to note that the Almanac has been designed to capture data for 'general charities', which are those that meet the following criteria:

- Formality (institutionalised to some extent)
- Independence (separate from the state)
- Non-profit distributing (not returning profits generated to owners or directors)
- Self-governance
- Voluntarism (involving some meaningful degree of voluntary participation)
- Public benefit⁴²⁰

Therefore, the Almanac does not include all registered charities. Data from the Almanac 2018 will be drawn upon in this section, which is based on charities' documents from the financial

⁴¹⁷ Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales each have equivalent membership bodies: the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action (<https://www.nicva.org/>); the Scottish Council for Voluntary Action (<https://scvo.scot/>); and the Wales Council for Voluntary Action (<https://wcva.cymru/>).

⁴¹⁸ NCVO, "About us," accessed December 2, 2016, www.ncvo.org.uk/about-us.

⁴¹⁹ NCVO, "Join NCVO," accessed December 2, 2016, www.ncvo.org.uk/about-us/join-ncvo.

⁴²⁰ NCVO, "Definitions used in the Almanac," accessed December 2, 2016, data.ncvo.org.uk/about/definitions/.

year 2015/16.⁴²¹

The Almanac categorises organisations using Lester Salamon and Helmut Anheier's 1996 classification.⁴²² Their 'international' category includes: 'exchange / friendship / cultural programs,' 'development assistance associations,' 'international disaster and relief organizations,' and 'international human rights and peace organizations.'⁴²³ Thus, the Almanac's international category is broader than the areas in which the NGOs of interest in this thesis operate. The Almanac does include a religious category encompassing 'religious congregations and associations,'⁴²⁴ and some organisations included in this category carry out aid and relief work internationally; however, organisations are categorised according to their main focus, and my interest here is in those that would first and foremost be categorised as development, humanitarianism, and advocacy organisations rather than religious congregations or associations.

During the financial year 2015/16 there were 166,001 voluntary organisations operating within the UK.⁴²⁵ Of these, 6,378 organisations had an 'international' focus. 'Large', 'major' or 'super-major' organisations accounted for 3% of this figure; in other words, 191 organisations with an international focus had an annual income of over £1million. The Almanac categorises each organisation's size according to annual income as follows:

Micro: less than £10,000
Small: £10,000 to £100,000
Medium: £100,000 to £1,000,000
Large: £1,000,000 to £10,000,000
Major: over £10,000,000
Super-major: over £100,000,000

The organisations of particular interest in this thesis are those that are major and super-major. Therefore, the number of organisations operating within the UK whose practice is of relevance to this research will be fewer than 191. This is not only due to the inclusion of 'large' organisations within this figure, but also because the remit of the international category is broader than that of interest to me here, as highlighted above. Although it is not possible to obtain a precise figure regarding the number of organisations within the sub-component of relevance to the research, it is helpful to know that the maximum number of organisations that could potentially be relevant is 191.⁴²⁶ It is also worth noting that there are a greater number of 'large', than 'major' organisations, and therefore the number of 'major' and 'super-major' organisations is likely to be significantly lower than 191.

⁴²¹ National Council for Voluntary Organisations, *The UK Civil Society Almanac 2018*, (London: NCVO, 2018).

⁴²² Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, *The International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations: ICNPO-Revision 1, 1996*, (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, 1996).

⁴²³ Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, *The Emerging Non-profit Sector: An Overview*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 19.

⁴²⁴ Salamon and Anheier, *The Emerging Non-profit Sector*, 20.

⁴²⁵ Of these, 45 were 'super-major' organisations – in other words, they had an income of over £100 million – and 641 were 'major' organisations, with an income of over £10 million. It is worth noting that there are 686 organisations that have an income of over £10 million, since the organisations within my sample would need to fall within this category.

⁴²⁶ It is important to note here that as per the Almanac 2021, this figure has increased to 336, since there are: 736 'major' and 59 'super-major' organisations in the UK; 6722 organisations with an 'international' focus, and 5% of these are 'large', 'major' or 'super-major' (National Council for Voluntary Organisations, *The UK Civil Society Almanac 2021*, (London: NCVO, 2021)).

2) *The Disasters Emergency Committee*

The Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) is a UK-based group of organisations that enables members to fundraise jointly during humanitarian crises. Consisting of 14 member organisations as of 2016-18, including the case study FBO, it was a fitting group of organisations for the empirical research.⁴²⁷ The DEC organisations are all influential actors within the sector with high status. I am interested in the larger organisations within the sector since on account of their status they play a significant role in shaping practice and conceptions of legitimacy. Most Christian member organisations have their roots in both the classical and faith missions. Although the DEC is emergency-focused, this was not thought to be problematic since the majority of member organisations have a broader remit, and further, they interact outside of the DEC on a regular basis through networks such as Bond. Context-building interviews within 4 of the 14 member organisations – two of which are faith-based – confirmed that organisations within this group influence one another’s practice, and thus they represent an important sub-section of the larger field in which the case study FBO operates. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the DEC is an important component of the sector established to foster collaboration and cooperation.

Although DEC appeals are for disaster response and humanitarian crises, the main criterion for membership is that the organisations are ‘leading’ aid charities in the UK. The majority of member organisations encompass humanitarian, development and advocacy work within their operations. Thus, the diversity between organisations primarily relates to their specific main focus. Potential member organisations have to go through a rigorous selection process, and even once admitted to the DEC, an organisation’s status is reviewed every three years and dependent upon the organisation’s continued performance against the DEC’s criteria. As outlined on its website:

The DEC has formal criteria for membership which apply to both prospective and existing members. The criteria are set and judged by the Membership and Accountability Committee of the DEC Board which is always led by an independent trustee.

Trustees have established that the DEC will have a maximum membership of 15 so that it remains manageable and cost effective. The purpose of the membership criteria is to ensure that the DEC consists of the UK’s leading aid agencies.

To qualify as a member, organisations must meet strict governance, financial and programme quality requirements. They must also show what diversity they can add to the DEC in addition to current members, in order to extend the reach of a DEC appeal and in providing global humanitarian aid.

Existing members are subject to a three-yearly review where the membership criteria are considered alongside Secretariat scores of members’ performance, as well as an

⁴²⁷ As of 2016-18, when the typology was initially developed, the DEC had 14 member organisations. The DEC now consists of 15 organisations – the maximum number allowed according to its regulations – since the International Rescue Committee became a member in September 2021.

annual process for members to submit income and expenditure for the calculation of the Indicator of Capacity.⁴²⁸

Since according to the NCVO data there are significantly fewer than 191 organisations potentially relevant for this component of the research, 14 is a suitable size for the group. The DEC does include a range of organisations in terms of remit and income, but all would be classified as either major or super-major by the NCVO. Three of the DEC member organisations are among the top ten largest in the UK in terms of annual income.

3) Using the subcomponent of the field to construct the typology

In order to construct the typology of field-level logics, I collected a set of documents related to the DEC member organisations from publicly available information. This included each organisation's website, job advertisements, and annual reports.⁴²⁹ While it is important to keep in mind the fact that these are public-facing documents and therefore intended for an external as well as internal audience, they nevertheless contain useful data regarding organisational practice. In developing the typology, I used this set of documents as a pool from which data could be sourced.

In addition to the set of documents, I conducted context-building interviews with staff within four DEC member organisations that were not the focus of my empirical research. These took the form of informal conversations or formal interviews online and in person, for which I either used the same interview guide as I had planned to use within the case study FBO – which proved to be a good way of piloting the guide – or more targeted questions in order to probe specific areas. My selection criteria for the interviews was simply those I was able to gain access to, but I sought to speak with at least one other faith-based organisation, and at least one organisation that would describe itself as 'secular'. I was able to conduct several interviews within two Christian organisations, and this was not only helpful for the typology development, but during the second stage of the research gave me an idea of some of the major similarities and differences in comparison to the FBO in which I conducted more in-depth research. One of the main weaknesses of this first stage of the research was that I was unable to interview a representative from Islamic Relief, which is the only FBO that is faith-based, but not Christian, within the DEC. Thus, the logic of religion within the typology is in reality more representative of Christianity within the field than Islam, although I ensured that I examined documents from Islamic Relief.

Through the interviews and documents, I developed the typology of logics, identifying key logics in the field and the categories according to which they could be examined. In the following section, I provide more detail regarding how the field-level typology was constructed.

B) The process

1) Identifying logics and categories

In order to build the field-level typology of logics, I used the existing theory and literature as the starting point, exploring their application within my specific field of interest. Beginning

⁴²⁸ DEC, "Membership," accessed December 2, 2016, www.dec.org.uk/articles/membership. The Indicator of Capacity is the DEC's means of assessing what percentage of the funds raised through an appeal each member organisation receives.

⁴²⁹ The rationale behind my choice of documents is outlined in Chapter 2.

with Thornton et al.'s ideal types, my approach to developing the typology was similar to that taken by Goodrick and Reay,⁴³⁰ in that the question underlying its construction was: 'what would one expect an organisation within the field's practice to be if it was influenced only by the logic of corporation, market, or religion, for example? Put differently, what are the "sets of expectations" within the field connected to each of these logics?'⁴³¹ Nevertheless, my approach differed from Goodrick and Reay's in that the development of the typology was also steered by the initial interviews conducted and documents studied. Thus, the typology was developed using a combination of the existing theory and literature, and documents and interviews from within the field to provide insight regarding context. This proved to be a good means of checking for consistency between the two sources of input, with each serving to 'correct' the other.

In order to limit the scope of the research, I had to narrow down the number of logics examined, and therefore in addition to the logic of religion – important due to the focus of my research – and the logic of community, which was important for reasons discussed in Chapter 3, I developed ideal types for the logics of corporation and market, since those appeared most prominently within the DEC data. It was evident from an initial scan of the job advertisements collected, for example, that the logic of market plays an important role within the sector, with several senior marketing and brand-related roles advertised, as well as those acquiring, retaining and caring for supporters. The job profiles for positions of this nature often included previous experience in branding, sales or telemarketing as essential for the roles. The logic of corporation is also clearly influential due to the presence of board members and employees in senior leadership positions with MBAs and corporate backgrounds. While present within the data and historically important for the sector, as discussed in Chapter 3, the logic of profession was not seen to be as prominent within organisational practice as the logics of market and corporation, and therefore it was not included in the field-level typology.

Certain categories were included within the typology because they are recognised within the existing literature in the field as being of importance for organisations; for example, sources of legitimacy, authority and identity. Others were added to these initial categories because they emerged as significant during the process, such as 'recruitment priorities', 'professional background', 'decision-making process', and 'definition and determination of success;' indeed, as became evident during the empirical research, all of these additional categories were identified as being a source of tension within the FBO in which more in-depth research was conducted. Lastly, the category 'mission' was included since it was important on account of my research question and particular interest in the logic of religion. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there was continuous interaction between the data collection, processing and analysis stages of this research.

2) The significance of the 'telos' for the typology of logics⁴³²

During the process of exploring the logic of community, it became clear that the logic points or aims towards something that is not captured by the categories within Thornton et al.'s typology. For example, while its 'source of legitimacy' is 'the needs of the community,' the needs that legitimate the existence and practice of an organisation are always clearly specified, yet the logic of community also points towards something that reaches beyond this

⁴³⁰ Goodrick and Reay, "Constellations of Institutional Logics," 378.

⁴³¹ Kurlberg, "The 'Telos' as a Lens," 251.

⁴³² Some of the content in the first two paragraphs of this section has been previously published in Kurlberg, "The 'Telos' as a Lens," 249.

– that could be referred to as ‘the common good’. In Chapter 3, this was described as the ‘telos’, and reflecting on this concept in relation to the existing theory, the set of documents collected and the initial interviews I had led me to Friedland’s understanding of ‘institutional substance’, which he has described as ‘an absent presence towards and around which practice incessantly moves, known only through this movement.’⁴³³ The concept of institutional substance has been developed in Friedland’s recent work to include a more explicitly teleological element, which he envisions as being internally related to its ontological element. As Friedland explains, an institutional substance ‘bounds the ontological and the teleological, its reality as well as its orienting quality, its goodness.’⁴³⁴ Therefore, as a category, the ‘telos’ could be seen as that which orients the institutional logic and towards which organisational practice is moving.

Thus, the y-axis category that emerged as particularly important within the initial empirical research can helpfully be described as the ‘telos’ – that is, the ultimate aim or intention of the institutional logic. While Friedland’s conceptualisation of the institutional substance is broader than the concept of ‘telos’, encompassing both teleological and ontological aspects as it does, ‘telos’ is a helpful category for analytical purposes given my research context on account of the directional, goal-oriented dynamic within NGOs. Due to the expectation within the sector that organisations are organised around specific social ‘causes’, FBOs are often very goal-focused. While I agree with Friedland that teleology and ontology are internally related,⁴³⁵ and that therefore the telos of an institutional logic is in reality inseparable from the institutional substance, focusing solely on the ‘telos’ in analysis sheds light on an important dimension of the institutional substance. Further, as the ‘telos’ of all action, other categories are orientated towards it, and this became an important basis of my approach to developing the content of the cells within the typology, and resonated with Goodrick and Reay’s thinking regarding ‘sets of expectations,’ discussed above. Since practice is oriented towards the telos, it is the telos that therefore guides these expectations. Therefore, the telos was instrumental in developing the ideal types according to sets of expectations, and these were then corroborated with the set of documents and interviews within DEC member organisations and adjusted if necessary.

In corroborating the content of the cells within the typology of logics, I looked for vocabulary that indicated particular logics might be in action; for example, reference to divine beings such as ‘God’ and ‘Jesus’ implied the logic of religion, whilst mention of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) hinted at the logic of corporation.⁴³⁶ I then examined the context surrounding such words to gain more information, if possible, as to how the logic indicated was being invoked. I also searched for sections within the documents that were relevant to specific categories. For example, I examined the sections in job advertisements related to necessary qualifications and skills for various roles. Interesting here was to examine comparable roles from different organisations side by side to see what the similarities were. To give another example, the phrase ‘[Organisation X] is...,’ which often appeared at the start of job advertisements or the annual reports, seemed to indicate the identity that the organisation wanted to portray to the document’s intended audience.

⁴³³ Friedland, “The Endless Fields,” 908.

⁴³⁴ Friedland, “The Endless Fields,” 1371.

⁴³⁵ Friedland, “The Endless Fields,” 1376.

⁴³⁶ KPIs are quantifiable indicators designed to measure performance against a specific set of objectives over a certain period of time. They are used within NGOs to measure an organisation’s overall performance.

The process of finalising the table involved a great deal of cross-referencing between sources of data, not least due to my own positionality. For instance, with reference to the logic of community, it appeared evident from examining both the vision and mission statements of the majority of DEC member organisations, and the images used on their websites and job profiles, that their ‘source of legitimacy’ was ‘the needs of the community,’ and their ‘mission’, ‘action in service of the community.’ Further, while surveying statements that sought to portray organisational identity, I gained the impression that under the logic of community, member organisations’ ‘source of identity’ was their ‘connection with and reputation amongst community members.’ However, I was aware that these impressions were also connected to my own previous professional experience within the sector, and not only the organisational material. Therefore, I needed to verify the content of the cells within the typology through the interviews and informal conversations I had with different DEC member organisations. As an additional feedback mechanism, I also took the typology of logics to representatives of these organisations once it had been developed, and it was amended through this process.

2. The Typology of Logics

The typology was developed using data collected during the research period according to the process outlined above. Nevertheless, in order to demonstrate the continued relevance of the typology, the examples provided below not only include those from the context-building interviews and set of documents assembled during the initial stages of the research, but also those captured towards the end of the writing process. The data collection process was interactive, and adjustments were made to the typology throughout the process of research as initial ideas developed through engagement with additional data.

A) The logics

1) *Corporation*

This logic is embedded in the logic of corporation as developed by Thornton et al. It upholds the primacy of the organisation, to which all practice is orientated towards building and sustaining. The influence of the logic of corporation in this specific field stems from the growing emphasis on ‘professionalisation’ within the wider NGO sector. As discussed in Chapter 3, this has been both a cause and consequence of the increasing volume of funds passing through the sector, the expanding scope of work being carried out by organisations within it, its hierarchical governance, and its emphasis on management and efficiency. It is worth restating here that the emphasis on professionalisation is mentioned with reference to the logic of corporation because expertise within the sector is ‘embedded in the corporation, not the person or their relational network.’⁴³⁷

2) *Market*

This logic is also embedded in Thornton et al.’s theoretical work. Under the logic of market, practice is orientated towards generating capital. As shown in Chapter 3, the survival of organisations within the wider NGO sector is dependent upon securing funds. Given the decreasing availability of funds within the sector, it follows that practice is even more profoundly shaped by the need to secure capital. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that a

⁴³⁷ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 55.

logic of market is influential within the field, and that donors – both individual and institutional – have considerable power and control.

3) Religion

The FBOs that are of particular interest within this thesis are those that view themselves as ‘Christian’ and see their faith as a fundamental aspect of their organisational identity. The field-level logic of religion is connected to Thornton et al.’s societal-level logic of religion, but it is deliberately broad; although it is not possible to cover all religious traditions within one logic, one of the purposes of the typology is to enable the specificity of individual situations to be highlighted during the process of data analysis, as discussed in Chapter 2. The cell content within the typology for this logic was adapted through the research process, as further conversations were had with representatives of various DEC member organisations and the data from the interviews examined more closely. It is important to emphasise here, however, both that only Christian and Islamic organisations are members of the DEC at present, and that no interviews took place within Islamic Relief, the sole Islamic member organisation. The decision was taken not to adjust the label ‘religion’ to ‘Christianity’ since ‘religion’ was felt to be more analytically useful, with regards to both the institutional logics perspective, and future research, where the typology could be adjusted in line with diverse groups of faith-based organisations within the field.

The logic of religion has the ultimate aim of worshipping God. In terms of material practices, it is by nature more flexible than logics such as that of market, for instance. Further, since in order to take religion on its own terms there needs to be space for the transcendent, or what cannot be observed, it is necessary to highlight that logics are not mutually exclusive. Put differently, a focus on observation does not preclude the transcendent. For example, a statement or idea might appear to evidence the logic of corporation without precluding the possibility that this is underpinned by religious motivations. The question that is being addressed through the empirical research concerns which logics appear to be in action within the field, recognising that institutional logics are symbolic as well as material, and therefore that whatever is seen in the documents and webpages is only one aspect of a much larger picture. In the second phase of the research – which was predominantly interview-based – motivations, values, and beliefs could be explored in greater depth, in order to broaden understanding of the logic of religion.

4) Community

Also embedded in the societal-level logic of community as developed by Thornton et al., this logic has the ultimate aim of ‘[pursuing] the common good:’

A community is driven not just by the economic disposition of goods and services, but also by value systems that order its economy. A community is constituted by a “territory” and by social action that is not restricted exclusively to the satisfaction of common economic needs of the communal economy.⁴³⁸

The logic of community is also a relational logic, connoting, for example, ‘collective relationships between people that emphasize the interpersonal and particularistic.’⁴³⁹ The

⁴³⁸ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 68.

⁴³⁹ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 68.

logic places particular emphasis on the community itself rather than on actors working on the community's behalf, and rather than the cause as defined by the organisation. The 'territory' of the logic of community, and how social action is conceived of within it, differs from other logics, with the logic of community spanning a narrower, more personal territory and internally-facing action. Interestingly, some ideas that resonate with the practice of aid as described in Chapter 3 emerge within Thornton et al.'s literature review on the community as an institutional order and consequent articulation of the logic of community. They connect the logic of community with that of economic development, noting that:

Lounsbury (2005) and his fellow researchers (Lounsbury, Ventresca, and Hirsch 2003) showed that the early stage of the recycling movement was founded and driven by a community logic of economic development before it was challenged by a more hierarchical national approach that promoted building a profit-making recycling industry according to corporate and market logics.⁴⁴⁰

B) The categories

1) *Telos*

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Telos	Build up and sustain the organisation	Generate capital ⁴⁴¹	Worship God	Pursue the common good ⁴⁴²

As discussed above, the category 'telos' denotes that towards which organisational practice is aiming. The 'telos' of each institutional logic also guides the content of the cells within the typology of logics for all other categories. In relation to the logic of corporation, the telos is to 'build up and sustain the organisation.' During the research process, the telos of the logic of market was adjusted from 'capital' to 'generate capital' – although similar, the latter captures the sense of movement within the logic. In relation to the logic of religion, the telos is to 'worship God'. The logic of community's telos is to 'pursue the common good,' based predominantly on Thornton et al.'s overview of the logic. As discussed in Chapter 3, in relation to the contemporary practice of aid in the field, the 'telos' appears to be 'social justice and relief,' evidencing the logic of community most clearly.

2) *Mission*

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Mission	Increase the scale and scope of the organisation	Increase income, efficiency, and profit	Carry out God's purposes	Act in service of the community

This category is related to the 'telos' but concerns the means by which the telos can be achieved. While it might be argued that 'mission' has solely religious undertones and is therefore inappropriate for use in relation to the field, it is a term that is widely used in both

⁴⁴⁰ Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 71-72.

⁴⁴¹ Adjusted through the research process from 'capital' to 'generate capital'.

⁴⁴² Adjusted through the research process from 'the common good' to 'pursue the common good.'

the corporate and charitable sectors. In the interviews, ‘mission’ was often additionally referred to as the ‘bottom line’, although this phrase was not adopted as the title of the category within the typology since it was primarily used by those with a corporate background and is suggestive of the logic of market. To give an example of the use of the category within non-faith-based organisations, a job advertisement for a role at Save the Children, whose cause is articulated within this advertisement as relating to the needs of children – saving their lives, fighting for their rights and helping them fulfil their potential – states the following: ‘Our mission is to inspire breakthroughs in the way the world treats children and to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives.’⁴⁴³ Thus, this evidences the logic of community, whose mission is to ‘act in service of the community.’

To give an example of the logic of corporation according to this category, a job advertisement from ActionAid for the position of Senior Corporate Fundraiser in November 2018 states the following: ‘Corporate Partnerships is an ambitious team within ActionAid, created to establish collaborative working relationships with corporates, to help realise our broader mission.’⁴⁴⁴ While the meaning of ‘broader mission’ is ambiguous, it nevertheless concerns increasing the scope of the organisation to engage with the corporate sector. Further, the purpose of the role is stated within the advertisement as being ‘to secure long term, substantial support’ and thus feeds into the telos of both the logic of corporation and that of market.⁴⁴⁵ A further example that illustrates the logic of market has been taken from one of Save the Children’s job advertisements, for the role of Data Import and Integrity Executive in June 2017. The purpose of the position is to manage supporter data in order to ensure both the quality of supporter experience and the work of the direct marketing teams, and within a section titled ‘Job Description’ the document states: ‘[w]e have extremely ambitious growth targets,’⁴⁴⁶ thus suggesting that the organisation is aiming to increase its income.

An interesting example that illustrates the logic of community, as well as the logic of market’s influence on the practice of aid, can be seen in the opening paragraph of a job advertisement from Action Against Hunger, which states the following:

Action Against Hunger has a vision of a world free from hunger. For almost 40 years, across nearly 50 countries, we have led the global fight against hunger. We save the lives of children and work with their communities before and after the disaster strikes. We enable people to provide for themselves, see their children grow up strong, and build prosperous communities. We constantly search for more effective solutions, while sharing our knowledge and expertise with the world. We push for long-term change. We will never give up. Until the world is free from hunger.⁴⁴⁷

As noted in Chapter 3, while the dominant logic underpinning the practice of aid was

⁴⁴³ Corporate Programme Manager (Save the Children, November 2018). By way of a more recent example, CARE International UK’s home page has a section titled ‘Our mission’, that explains the organisation’s mission in this way: ‘CARE works around the world to save lives, defeat poverty and achieve social justice. We put **women and girls** at the centre of our work, because we know that we cannot overcome poverty until all people have equal rights and opportunities’ (CARE International UK, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.careinternational.org.uk/>. Emphasis original.)

⁴⁴⁴ Senior Corporate Fundraiser (ActionAid, November 2018).

⁴⁴⁵ Senior Corporate Fundraiser (ActionAid, November 2018).

⁴⁴⁶ Data Import and Integrity Executive (Save the Children, June 2017). Emphasis added.

⁴⁴⁷ Corporate Partnerships Manager (Action Against Hunger, October 2018).

previously a blend of the logics of religion and community, the increasing influence of the logic of market in this sphere has led to human need being articulated in terms of specific ‘causes’ that can be sold, in the hopes that this will lead to increased income. From this text, it is clear that the organisation’s cause is a ‘world free from hunger’ – the paragraph is framed by the articulation of this cause. Yet this statement also indicates ‘action in service of the community,’ with the mention of the children of those who are the focus of projects and programmes building prosperous communities, and thus pointing beyond the cause to the community as well.

According to the logic of religion, an organisation’s mission will be to ‘carry out God’s purposes,’ as demonstrated in a job advertisement of Tearfund’s from October 2018, which states under the section ‘our mission’: ‘[w]e follow Jesus where the need is greatest, responding to crisis and partnering with local churches to bring restoration to those living in poverty.’⁴⁴⁸ The current articulation of the organisation’s mission on its website is the same, apart from the final clause, which instead reads: ‘responding to crises and partnering with local churches and organisations *to help people lift themselves out of poverty.*’⁴⁴⁹ As an aside, the change in language from ‘to bring restoration to those living in poverty’ to ‘to help people lift themselves out of poverty’ is worth spotlighting. It demonstrates a shift in actors in relation to agency, with the logic of community arguably increasing in importance as agency is seen as primarily residing in the people who are to ‘lift themselves out of poverty,’ rather than Tearfund or local churches, who were previously responsible for ‘bringing restoration’.

An interesting comment from one of the context-building interviews illustrates the potential tension between the logics of corporation and market on the one side, and religion and community on the other in relation to this category. The biblical reference to being the ‘salt of the earth’ and ‘the light’ in the below quotation alludes to Jesus telling his followers that they are the salt of the earth and the light of the world – in other words, that they should be carrying out God’s purposes on the earth:⁴⁵⁰

there is a school of thought that we should be as big as we can, because the poverty and suffering and injustice is big so we should be big and get as much money as we can so that we can respond... but how? And then, those of us that maybe, sort of feel that [the organisation’s] role isn’t to be like a big UN agency or [any other large NGO], but it’s about being that salt of the earth, the light, that is a bit different, and challenging, and gets people out of their comfort zone a little bit.⁴⁵¹

3) Source of identity

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Source of identity	Position within the organisation	Whatever sells	Association with God	Connection with and reputation amongst community members

⁴⁴⁸ Head of UK Finance (Tearfund UK, October 2018). Emphasis added.

⁴⁴⁹ Tearfund, “Vision and values,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.tearfund.org/about-us/our-vision-and-values>.

⁴⁵⁰ Matt. 5:13-16.

⁴⁵¹ Context-building interview, UK, October 2017.

This category has been taken from Thornton et al.'s typology, although the content of some of the cells has been adjusted.⁴⁵² Identity here is an organisational-level category, and therefore concerns the source of identity as it is being driven by organisational, rather than individual, practices. Further, it is multidimensional; the different identities operative within organisational practice not only intersect and overlap within one another, but whether or not they are made explicit will be dependent upon context. 'Position within the organisation' and 'Association with God' are closely related to Thornton et al.'s typology, but also emerged within the context-building interviews.

Under a market logic, an organisation will draw on whichever of its identities will generate funding – that is, 'whatever sells' – and an example of where this might be seen in action is emergency appeals; in this instance, the logic of market would be the dominant logic, supported by other logics as necessary. The webpage on ActionAid's website titled 'Emergencies, disasters and our humanitarian response,' for example, seeks to demonstrate, amongst other factors, the organisation's connection with women and girls through its local staff:

We work directly with local women and girls to provide support and save lives. Our approach in an emergency is to **empower local women to lead the response**. Local women know best what their communities need, and are able to get life-saving supplies quickly and fairly to those who need it most. Ensuring that we work with women means we do not overlook needs or vulnerabilities that are specific to women and girls.⁴⁵³

Evidence of the logic of market's influence on the practice of aid can also be seen through organisational efforts to demonstrate 'commitment to the cause,' most likely because of the need to show why people should choose to give funds to one organisation over another. One job advertisement posted by Save the Children included the following statement: 'Working in more than 120 countries, *we do whatever it takes* to create breakthroughs in the way the world treats children.'⁴⁵⁴ Another stated in the 'Background' section: 'we are always among the first to respond and the last to leave.'⁴⁵⁵ In the 'About us' section of a job advertisement at Christian Aid, whose cause could be described as being to end poverty and injustice worldwide, there was this statement, which emphasises the organisation's commitment through its use of the verb 'striving': 'We are striving to bring lasting change to the lives of the poorest communities.'⁴⁵⁶ Statements that demonstrate 'commitment to the cause' can also be seen on organisations' current webpages in the 'who we are' or 'about us' sections:

World Vision UK – 'World Vision has a long history of taking action that transforms the world. Our focus is on helping the most vulnerable children, in the most difficult places, overcome poverty and experience fullness of life. Together, with supporters like you, we've helped millions of children and families out of poverty and *we are often first on*

⁴⁵² Thornton et al., *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 63.

⁴⁵³ ActionAid, "Emergencies, disasters and our humanitarian response," accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.actionaid.org.uk/our-work/emergencies-disasters-humanitarian-response>. Emphasis original.

⁴⁵⁴ Data Import and Integrity Executive (Save the Children, June 2017). Emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁵ CRM Data Analyst (Save the Children, December 2018).

⁴⁵⁶ Humanitarian Programme Support Officer – Indonesia Tsunami Response (Christian Aid, November 2018).

*the ground when a crisis strikes.*⁴⁵⁷

Concern Worldwide – ‘We are an international humanitarian organisation that *strives* for a world free from poverty, fear and oppression. *Extreme geographies. Extreme climate challenges. Extreme crises. Nothing will stop Concern fighting extreme poverty.* Our teams on the ground are working together with people living in the most difficult situations, rebuilding and transforming lives, livelihoods, and communities. We deliver life-saving and life-changing interventions to some of the world's poorest and most vulnerable people. From rapid emergency response to our innovative programming in health and nutrition, livelihoods and education, *we go to the hardest to reach places to make sure that no-one is left behind.*⁴⁵⁸

As additional examples, the text under ‘Working at Oxfam’ on Oxfam GB’s ‘About us’ page reads: ‘Oxfam is a global movement of people *who won’t live with poverty*, and we work together to end this injustice for everyone. Thousands of talented people *commit their time to make this happen.*⁴⁵⁹ Islamic Relief Worldwide’s ‘About Islamic Relief’ page includes the phrase: ‘we save lives before they are lost.’⁴⁶⁰

The source of identity as far as the logic of community is concerned relates to an organisation’s position and status within the community rather than in relation to a cause. It has a reciprocal emphasis, as already noted. To give an example, the ‘who we are’ page of World Vision UK’s 2017 annual report states the following: ‘In thousands of communities across the world, *our local staff* stand with these vulnerable children. Living and working alongside them and their families, whole communities become involved in protecting children and building a more secure future for them.’⁴⁶¹ The photograph on this page of the report (see below) is described as follows: ‘Myint, a World Vision volunteer, teaches her community about good hygiene. This well, provided by World Vision, ensures children like hers – Hein, 11 and Ko Ko, 13 – no longer suffer from water-borne diseases.’⁴⁶² Within this section of the report, then, the organisation’s identity is clearly being portrayed in relation to its connection with local communities through its local volunteers and staff members.

⁴⁵⁷ World Vision UK, “Learn about World Vision,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.worldvision.org.uk/about/world-vision/>. Emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁸ Concern Worldwide, “Who we are,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.concern.org.uk/who-we-are>. Emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁹ Oxfam GB, “About us,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/about-us/>. Emphasis added.

⁴⁶⁰ Islamic Relief Worldwide, “About us,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/about-us/>.

⁴⁶¹ World Vision UK, *Transformation: World Vision UK Trustees’ report and accounts for the year ended 30 September 2017* (Milton Keynes: World Vision, 2018), 6. Emphasis added.

⁴⁶² Khaing Min Htoo, “Myint, a World Vision volunteer, teaches her community about good hygiene,” (Milton Keynes: World Vision, 2016) In World Vision, *Transformation*, 6.



4) Source of legitimacy

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Source of legitimacy	Status within the sector	The success and marketability of the product	God's call ⁴⁶³	The needs of the community

As noted in Chapter 2, 'legitimacy' is particularly important within the sector, and as per the typology of logics relates to the most significant factor that gives legitimacy to an organisation. Under the logic of corporation, for instance, an organisation's legitimacy primarily comes from its 'status within the sector.' By way of examples here, a job advertised by Oxfam GB refers to the organisation's 'well reputed inequality work,'⁴⁶⁴ one advertised by Action Against Hunger states in the opening paragraph: 'For almost 40 years, across nearly 50 countries, we have *led* the global fight against hunger,'⁴⁶⁵ and the following is an excerpt from a job advertised by World Vision UK in October 2017:

World Vision is *the world's largest* international children's charity. Every day we bring real hope to millions of children in the world's hardest places as a sign of God's unconditional love. At World Vision, our aim is simple – to keep every child free from

⁴⁶³ Although there was no emphasis on calling within the documents from Islamic Relief, in relation to Islam, Gümüşay et al. note the sense of 'calling' that staff felt to work at the bank on account of their Muslim faith ("God at Work," 140).

⁴⁶⁴ Director of Campaigns, Policy and Influencing (Oxfam GB, May 2016).

⁴⁶⁵ Corporate Partnerships Manager (Action Against Hunger, October 2018). Emphasis added.

fear. We are also proud to be ranked 9th place in the top 100 'Best Not-For-Profit Organisations to Work For' in 2016.⁴⁶⁶

In a similar vein, Islamic Relief Worldwide included the following image in its annual report for 2017:⁴⁶⁷



The focus on status within the sector can also be seen on the home pages and 'About us' pages of several organisations, including the following:

CARE International UK: 'one of the world's leading humanitarian agencies'⁴⁶⁸

ActionAid: 'We have an enviable international reputation'⁴⁶⁹

Action Against Hunger: 'We're pioneers in the field of life-threatening hunger and malnutrition'⁴⁷⁰

Under the logic of market, an organisation's legitimacy primarily stems from the 'success and marketability of the product' they are 'selling'.⁴⁷¹ This would relate to the success and marketability of the 'cause', and one way this might be evidenced is through the number of supporters an organisation has, for example. The following image taken from Christian Aid's current homepage serves to illustrate this. When one arrives at the webpage, the figures on the image below rapidly increase from 0, creating a dynamic that gives the impression that the organisation's success is currently and constantly increasing:⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁶ Regional Portfolio Manager (World Vision UK, October 2017). Emphasis added.

⁴⁶⁷ Islamic Relief Worldwide, *2017 Annual Report and Financial Statements* (Birmingham: Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2018), 43.

⁴⁶⁸ Programme and Policy Director (CARE International UK, May 2016). See also CARE International UK, "About," accessed November, 10, 2022, <https://www.careinternational.org.uk/about/>.

⁴⁶⁹ Chief Operating Officer and Director of Policy, Advocacy and Programmes (ActionAid, May 2016).

⁴⁷⁰ Action Against Hunger, "About Action Against Hunger," accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.actionagainsthunger.org.uk/about-action-against-hunger>.

⁴⁷¹ See Chapter 3 for a further discussion on this point in relation to NGOs within the sector more broadly.

⁴⁷² Christian Aid, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.christianaid.org.uk/>.

Christian Aid exists to create a world where everyone can live a full life, free from poverty.

1.7m

people in need reached by our humanitarian programmes

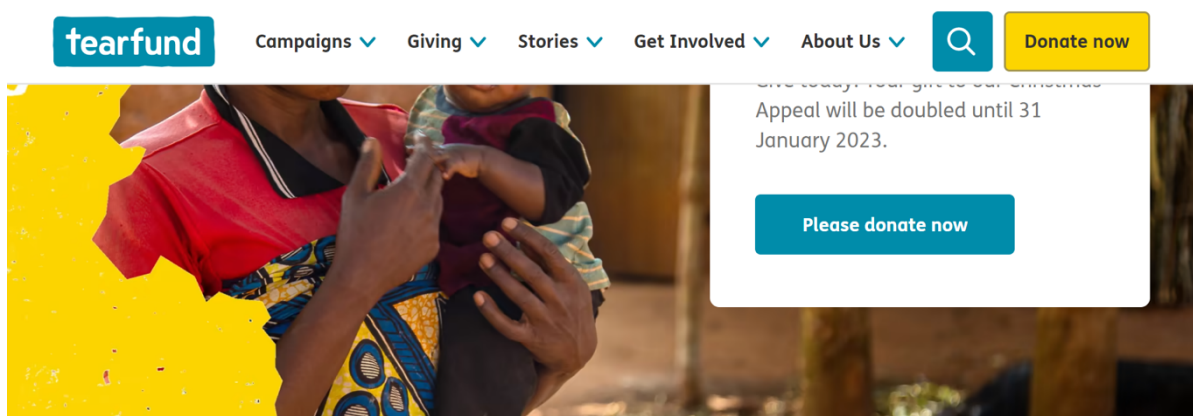
57k

volunteers gave their time and talents during Christian Aid Week

12k

churches took part in fundraising activities

According to the logic of religion, an organisation’s legitimacy comes from God’s call. Tearfund’s current home page demonstrates this particularly well. The page begins with a picture and advertisement for their Christmas Appeal, but directly beneath this is a reference to God’s call in relation to the organisation’s cause, which is ‘to end extreme poverty and injustice.’⁴⁷³

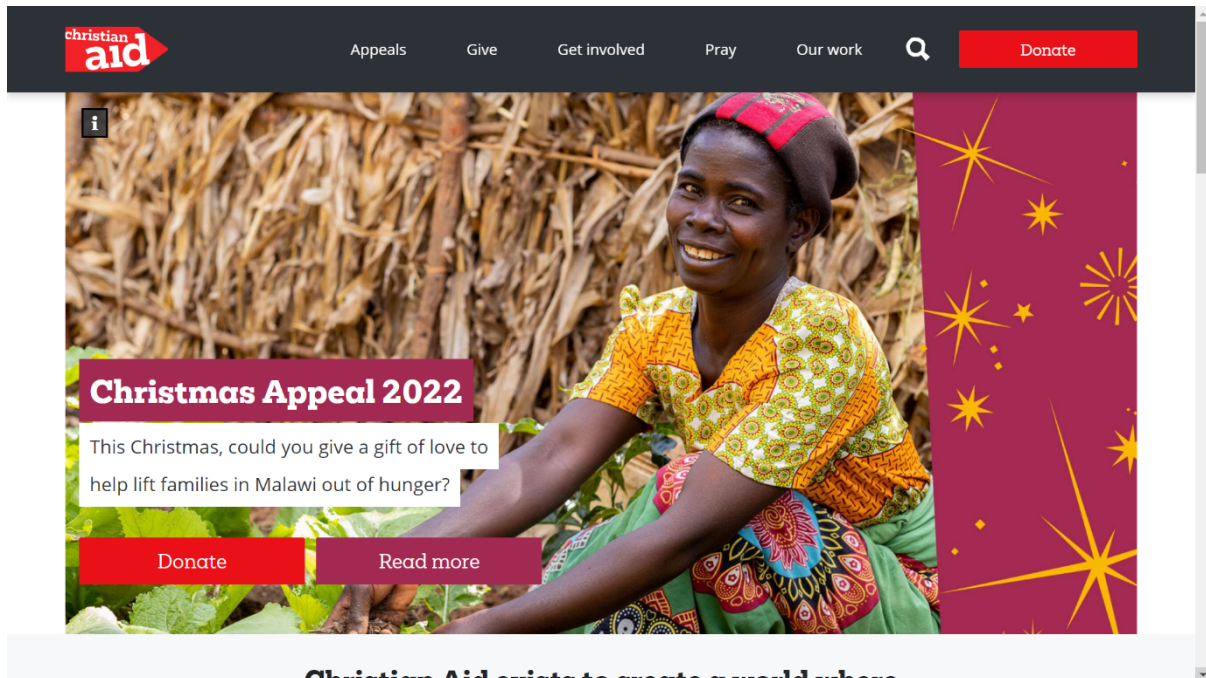


Join us and play your part

God is calling all of us to play our part and bring an end to extreme poverty and injustice.

In relation to the logic of community, an organisation’s legitimacy stems from ‘the needs of the community.’ Although these needs are typically articulated in terms of a ‘cause’ due to the logic of market’s influence on organisational practice, the logic of community is still evidenced on the webpages of several organisations. The following is a screenshot of the top of Christian Aid’s home page, which depicts the primary need of the community – which is to be free from hunger – along with the organisation’s Christmas Appeal:

⁴⁷³ Tearfund, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.tearfund.org/>.



5) Source of authority

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Source of authority	Board of trustees Top management	Marketing	Appeals to God	Appeals to local communities

The category ‘source of authority’ concerns where power sits within an organisation. Under this category, the logic of corporation is in essence the same as that within Thornton et al.’s typology, with those at the top of the hierarchy ultimately holding authority, although the Board consists of ‘trustees’ rather than ‘directors’. One example of how this might be seen in action can be found in the annual reports of the 14 DEC member organisations from 2017, which all contained messages from the Chair of the Board and / or head of the organisation, whether referred to as the Chief Executive or Director, within their opening pages.⁴⁷⁴ Other aspects of the annual reports or websites that demonstrate this include, for example, the sections on structure, governance and management.

An example that emerged in the context-building interviews that demonstrates the logic of market according to this category is also worth noting. The interviewee explained how aspects of their work are directed by colleagues working within communications because of the organisation’s need to secure funding. Communications sits within the same organisational function as marketing, since it concerns the means through which marketing occurs:

we have this argument with our communication colleagues who, it’s always much more easy to give your 5-minute talk about a community and a well, and what difference that

⁴⁷⁴ The annual reports that were examined all dated from 2017 or FY2016/17. Of the fourteen organisations, nine included messages from both the Chairs and Chief Executives / Managing Directors, and the remaining five contained a message from one of the two.

makes. Try and give a 5-minute talk about organising a community to then go and, you know, blockade the... to sit and demonstrate in front of their local government office demanding this, our communications people would say, 'Oh, that's not very attractive.' And I say, 'Well, have you tried it?' And there's always that fear, well, if we try it and then we don't get the money, we've lost the money, so let's push something that's a bit safe and we know we'll get the money for it.⁴⁷⁵

To give another example, if potential supporters have certain interests or tend to give towards certain areas, an organisation wanting to secure funds from such supporters will often censor its communications accordingly. Another comment from the same context-building interview is insightful in this regard, illustrating not only the above point regarding the difficulty of funding initiatives that have less tangible outputs for donors, but also the competition that no doubt shapes the thinking of marketing and communications departments in this regard:

the other thing about the big money, the big projects, they tend to be for quite concrete outputs, you know, your wells, your clinics, and the kind of work that we do in [several countries] is much more about human rights, about empowerment. It's about getting people participating, engaging with their governments, it's about influencing. And all that is extremely hard to measure, and also it doesn't require huge amounts of money. So we do struggle in the sense that the majority of donors aren't really interested in supporting that kind of work and then the ones that do, there's a lot of competition for their money.

According to the logic of religion, power sits with the divine being; that is, 'God' or 'Allah' in relation to the current DEC member organisations. Therefore, 'appeals to God' are a key 'source of authority' under this logic. An example of this is the strapline under Tearfund's logo, which until 2021 was 'Following Jesus where the need is greatest.'⁴⁷⁶ Under the logic of community, 'appeals to local communities' will be the ultimate source of authority, since the focus is on the community itself, which is therefore of utmost importance. For example, Tearfund's annual report from 2017 includes the story of Pastor Moses Maomou, a church leader in Liberia. The text portrays Pastor Moses as the primary source of authority in relation to Tearfund – although it is clear that Tearfund played a role in the Church and Community Mobilisation (CCM) process, which the text implies is the reason for the pastor's success – the pastor is the only person named in the text and Tearfund remains in the background:

Local chiefs had tried to galvanise villagers into action to build a bridge, but without success. Then Pastor Moses became involved with church and community mobilisation (CCM), one of the first such programmes we helped run in his country. He is based in Kakata town, north-east of Monrovia, and it was his church which helped the two villages reconnect. Moses' church led villagers through the CCM process, and helped local people identify for themselves the issues they wanted to address.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ Context-building interview, UK, October 2017.

⁴⁷⁶ See, for example, Tearfund, *2016/17 Annual Report* (Teddington: Tearfund, 2017).

⁴⁷⁷ Tearfund, *2016/17 Annual Report*, 11.

6) Decision-making process

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Decision-making process	Top-down	Resource-led	Through prayer and consulting the sacred texts ⁴⁷⁸	Consensus-building amongst a range of actors; partnership and participation are important

This category emerged as a potential source of intra-organisational tension. For example, according to a corporate logic, decision-making is a predominantly top-down process, since this is seen as more efficient than attempting to build consensus around a course of action, which can be time-consuming. Yet under the logic of community, where values such as partnership and participation are championed, decision-making through consensus-building is expected, as these excerpts from the ‘What we do’ and ‘Our work’ pages demonstrate. The quote from ActionAid UK demonstrates a focus on local staff, which also relates to the logic of community’s emphasis on decision-making being participatory, with an emphasis on partnership.

Oxfam GB – ‘Every day, Oxfam is helping thousands of communities around the world work their own way out of poverty’⁴⁷⁹

Tearfund UK – ‘We work with local churches and organisations in more than 50 countries to tackle the complex challenges of poverty’⁴⁸⁰

ActionAid UK – ‘ActionAid is an international charity that works with women and girls living in poverty. Our dedicated local staff are changing the world with women and girls. We are ending violence and fighting poverty so that all women and girls, everywhere, can create the future they want’⁴⁸¹

British Red Cross – ‘We partner with other Red Cross and Red Crescent societies around the world to prevent or ease human suffering’⁴⁸²

Turning to the logic of market, it is important to note the difference between ‘marketing’ and being ‘resource-led’ in relation to this category. ‘Marketing’ refers to the fact that the organisation will orient its marketing and communications towards funding, wherever it sits. Being resource-led, on the other hand, refers to the resources that are already in the possession of the organisation, and the role these play in decision-making. Under the logic of religion, prayer and consulting the sacred texts play key roles in decision-making processes.

⁴⁷⁸ Adjusted through the research process from ‘through prayer’ to ‘through prayer and consulting the sacred texts.’

⁴⁷⁹ Oxfam GB, “Oxfam in action,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/oxfam-in-action/>.

⁴⁸⁰ Tearfund, “What we do,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.tearfund.org/about-us/what-we-do>.

⁴⁸¹ ActionAid, “Our work,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.actionaid.org.uk/our-work>.

⁴⁸² British Red Cross, “What we do,” accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.redcross.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do>.

7) Definition and determination of success

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Definition and determination of success	Success is defined by organisational performance as determined by Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)	Success is defined by return on investment and determined by income generated	Success is defined and determined by ethical precepts	Success is defined and determined by the community

This category is important because of the emphasis on measuring and demonstrating success within the sector, perhaps reflective of the influence of the corporate and market logics on the practice of aid. In relation to the logic of community, the ‘About us’ section of a job advertisement at Christian Aid included the following paragraph:

More than half the world lives in poverty. Poverty is an outrage against humanity. It robs people of dignity, freedom and hope, of power over their own lives. Christian Aid has a vision – an end to poverty – and we believe that vision can become a reality. We are striving to bring lasting change to the lives of the poorest communities. We work wherever there is great need, helping people to find their own solutions to the problems they face, irrespective of their religion, caste or creed. If you’re passionate about positive change across the world, then this job might be for you.⁴⁸³

Mention of ‘positive change’ in this text exemplifies the insights emerging in Chapter 3 that success within the sector is increasingly being measured by positive change in relation to the cause – in other words, ‘return on investment’ – one of the ways in which the logic of market has shaped the logic of community.

References to KPIs not only featured in the context-building interviews, but were also noted in a number of job advertisements.⁴⁸⁴ According to the logic of market, ‘definition and determination of success’ relates to ‘return on investment.’ On organisational home pages, the key section showing success typically refers to ‘impact’,⁴⁸⁵ such as the below excerpts from CARE International UK and Concern Worldwide’s home pages.

CARE International UK:

⁴⁸³ Humanitarian Programme Support Officer – Indonesia Tsunami Response (Christian Aid, November 2018).

⁴⁸⁴ Head of Partnerships New Business (Save the Children, June 2018).

⁴⁸⁵ Impact is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

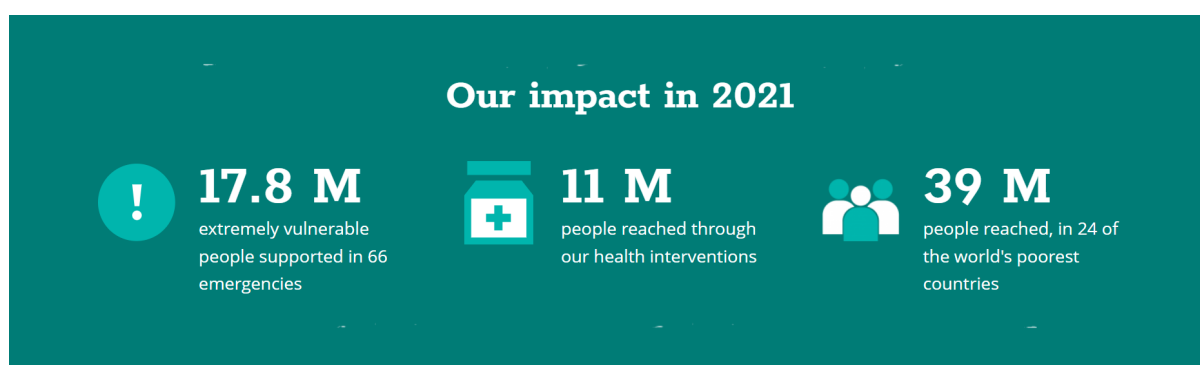
CARE's impact in 2021

100 Million
people reached directly

1495
projects

102
countries

Concern Worldwide.⁴⁸⁶



8) Professional background

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Professional background	Corporate or charitable sectors (function-specific)	N/A	Faith-based sector	N/A

The focus of this category is the sectors from which existing staff have been recruited. It is important both because it communicates something about organisational priorities, and also because individuals are carriers of logics and thus influence the logics in action within an organisation. Although the only logic of relevance in relation to the data is that of corporation, it is important because of the way in which it interacts with 'recruitment priorities', which is the next category. Interesting to examine in relation to this category are the person specifications identified for specific roles within job advertisements, some examples of which have been included below:

⁴⁸⁶ Concern Worldwide, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.concern.org.uk/>.

Regional Portfolio Manager, World Vision UK – ‘Experience of portfolio and matrix management, cross-cultural and cross-functional working is essential. Proven experience of successful programme management in developing countries, and understanding of development theory policy and practice are all key requirements.’⁴⁸⁷

Programme Funding Manager – WCA, Tearfund UK – ‘The ideal candidate will have experience within the Relief and Development Sector, and experience of training and capacity building; undertaking needs assessment; project design, development and reporting; alongside experience in budgeting and financial management, monitoring and evaluation, and a proven ability in securing funding and managing relationships with major institutional donors (such as USAID, DFID, or the European Commission).’⁴⁸⁸

Digital Fundraising Officer, Oxfam GB – ‘The successful candidate will have experience of a mix or variety of digital channels (such as web, email, sms, social media, and so on), will understand digital marketing, product development and conversion rate optimisation. The digital fundraising officer will work across supporter acquisition, supporter retention, and supporter participation teams. The successful candidate will be proficient across different channels, be able to learn new tools and up skill others.’⁴⁸⁹

Under the logic of religion, experience within the faith-based sector would be required, but this was not evidenced within either the documents or context-building interviews.

9) Recruitment priorities

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Recruitment priorities	Proven track record	Entrepreneurial skills	Faith	Personal attributes (e.g. language, culture, character)

This category relates to the factors that have ultimate priority when it comes to recruiting staff, and arose in several context-building interviews as a cause of intra-organisational tension. Under the logic of corporation, a proven track record would be prioritised. Examples of this can be seen in the frequent emphasis within job advertisements on the need for concrete proof of competence, with adjectives such as ‘proven’ and ‘demonstrable’ repeated numerous times.⁴⁹⁰ For instance, the person specification for a Director role advertised by ActionAid listed items such as the following under the first category, ‘Strategic leadership’:

Demonstrable strategic and creative leadership and management skills preferably gained in a variety of organisations

Proven track record of leading and implementing change in complex, multi-stakeholder organisations

⁴⁸⁷ Regional Portfolio Manager (World Vision UK, October 2017).

⁴⁸⁸ Programme Funding Manager – WCA (Tearfund UK, November 2017).

⁴⁸⁹ Digital Fundraising Officer (Oxfam GB, March 2016).

⁴⁹⁰ See, for example, Director of Campaigns, Policy and Influencing (Oxfam GB, May 2016).

A high-level capacity and *demonstrated* skill in setting vision, developing strategy on a broad scale and the ability to implement this on a practical level⁴⁹¹

Under the logic of market, however, skills that will be able to generate capital are prioritised. A Corporate Partnerships Manager role advertised by the British Red Cross, for example, listed the following as ‘essential’ skills for the role:⁴⁹²

Highly developed ability to verbally present information about projects and fundraising pitches to influence a range of audiences in an inspiring and confident way

Highly developed written communication skills that result in the production of clear and persuasive proposals and reports

Ability to develop and maintain positive working relationships, with company contacts and operate at a senior management level

Proven ability to form positive and productive relationships with internal stakeholders

While there is arguably an emphasis within this list on ‘proven track record,’ greater importance is given within the person specification to influencing, communication and relationship skills; further, management skills were listed as ‘desirable’ rather than ‘essential’ skills for the role within the person specification.

According to the logic of religion, faith would be the greatest priority, and was evidenced within the job descriptions by phrases such as the following, from a role advertised at World Vision: ‘As an active Christian, this role offers you the opportunity to integrate your faith with your work, and enjoy working with people of different cultures and faith denominations.’ The implication within this statement is that the role needs to be filled by an ‘active Christian’, and indeed later in the advertisement this is made explicit.⁴⁹³

3. Conclusion

The aim of the empirical research described and discussed in this chapter was to design the tool for use in processing and analysing the data collected through the case study. Below is the full typology of logics developed through the empirical research. Where the content of the cells was adjusted during the research process, this has been indicated in the footnotes.

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Telos	Build up and sustain the organisation	Generate capital ⁴⁹⁴	Worship God	Pursue the common good
Mission	Increase the scale and scope of the organisation	Increase income, efficiency, and profit	Carry out God’s purposes	Act in service of the community

⁴⁹¹ Director of Policy, Advocacy and Programmes (ActionAid, May 2016). Emphasis added.

⁴⁹² Corporate Partnerships Development Manager (British Red Cross, November 2018).

⁴⁹³ Senior Marketing Officer (World Vision UK, November 2017).

⁴⁹⁴ Adjusted through the research process from ‘capital’ to ‘generate capital’.

Source of legitimacy	Status within the sector	The success and marketability of the product	God's call	The needs of the community
Source of authority	Board of trustees Top management	Marketing	Appeals to God ⁴⁹⁵	Appeals to local communities
Source of identity	Position within the organisation	Whatever sells	Association with God	Connection with and reputation amongst community members
Decision-making process	Top-down	Resource-led	Through prayer and consulting the sacred texts ⁴⁹⁶	Community-led
Definition and determination of success	Success is defined by organisational performance as determined by Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)	Success is defined by return on investment and determined by income generated	Success is defined and determined by ethical precepts	Success is defined and determined by the community
Professional background	Corporate of charitable sectors (function-specific)	N/A	Faith-based sector	N/A
Recruitment priorities	Proven track record	Entrepreneurial skills	Faith	Personal attributes (e.g. language, culture, character)

⁴⁹⁵ Referred to as 'Allah' within Islamic Relief Worldwide.

⁴⁹⁶ Adjusted through the research process from 'through prayer' to 'through prayer and consulting the sacred texts.'

Chapter 5: Empirical Research within an FBO

Chapter Summary

This chapter focuses on one FBO and seeks to address the questions for the empirical research through interviews conducted within this organisation. I use the field-level typology developed in Chapter 4 to analyse the interview transcripts, and discuss each of the typology categories in turn in preparation for discussion of the research questions in Chapter 6.

1. Data Collection and Processing

In this chapter, I focus predominantly on the second stage of the empirical research; that is, collecting and processing data generated through interviews within the UK national office of an international non-governmental faith-based organisation (FBO). This FBO is a DEC member organisation. As discussed in Chapter 2, the questions I set out to address through the empirical research as a whole are:

- 1) What institutional logics are in force within the organisation?
- 2) How are they manifested within the organisation?
- 3) How do individual actors negotiate them on a daily basis?
- 4) What roles does the logic of religion play and how does it interact with other institutional logics?

Examination of the logics in action within the field in Chapter 4 laid the foundations for addressing these questions: the typology of logics developed through the field-level research is the basis on which the interviews transcripts will be analysed here. The research questions will be discussed in Chapter 6.

A) Data collection

1) *Research process*

Before conducting the interviews within the FBO, I carried out four pilot interviews within another large faith-based organisation, also a member of the DEC. These interviews fed into the development of the typology introduced in Chapter 4, where they are grouped together with the interviews and conversations I conducted within other DEC member organisations as 'context-building interviews'. They also enabled me to test and obtain feedback on the interview guide and process so that it could be adapted before use.

Obtaining access to the FBO was challenging and it took a year to find the right gatekeeper for the UK office. As a result of difficulties in communication that ensued once access had been obtained, mainly due to limited staff capacity within the organisation, I was not able to conduct as many interviews as I had hoped. Further, I had planned to conduct ethnographic research within the organisation, but the UK office did not have the capacity to host me for this at the time, and it was not possible at a later stage either due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Instead, I received permission to conduct 5-10 interviews over the course of a week, and was informed that the exact number of interviews would not be decided by the organisation until nearer the time.⁴⁹⁷ Another challenge arrived in the form of snow during

⁴⁹⁷ Experiences such as this are common in relation to religions and development field research (see, for example, Hefferan, "Researching religions and development," 44).

the week that I was due to conduct my interviews, which made it difficult for staff to travel into work. The first interview therefore took place via Skype, I then went into the office for two days to conduct several more interviews, and the final interviews also took place via Skype. During this week, I was able to conduct 8 interviews in total.

Nevertheless, during my days at the UK office the FBO had their Christmas celebrations and allowed me to participate in these. This was an invaluable experience that not only facilitated informal interaction with staff members, but also enabled me to see the organisation in a different light. The celebrations involved the whole organisation, and included both corporate and faith-based elements, such as a carol service in a nearby church with a Christmas message from the Chair of the board. After the week of interviews, I was also able to have several follow up conversations with past and present staff members both in person and virtually, which provided a means of further unpacking and clarifying the data.

2) Interviews

As per the research design (see Chapter 2), the interviews were semi-structured, using the interview guide as a starting point. I kept to the sections as outlined in the guide, but allowed interviewees to talk freely and used follow up questions and probes to explore certain areas in greater depth. Although I probed questions that came up regarding challenges and tensions within the organisation, and added additional questions to follow the flow of the interviews, I also ensured that I covered the questions and sections that I had planned. I approached interviewees as employees of the FBO, asking them at the outset about their roles and daily work, including the aspects they enjoy and least enjoy, the challenges they face, what success looks like, and so forth. Each interview was recorded and transcribed, and with the exception of one very short interview of approximately 20 minutes, they lasted from 30 to 75 minutes. I was able to conduct eight formal interviews in total.⁴⁹⁸

As noted above, the interview guide was adjusted through the pilot interviews; for example, section four was removed since the responses did not generate data that related to the typology, and I felt it would be better to allow additional unstructured time within the interviews. I did, however, ask a question about interviewees' internal connections and relationships. Further, the questions in section two concerning the specific document outlining the organisation's vision, values and mission were removed because the answers interviewees gave were 'standard' responses; in other words, what one would expect an employee to answer about such a document. For example, even when it was clear that the interviewee was not completely familiar with or comfortable talking about the content of the document handed to them, they wanted to note the importance of that document in organisational life. Therefore, the section was reduced to three questions, which also allowed more time for unstructured conversation within that section.

The other amendment relates to Jeavons' comments regarding Sider and Unruh's typology, discussed in the Introduction, in which he critiques the fact that the focus of their typology is on aspects of faith that are explicitly expressed in organisational life. As he puts it, the authors 'assume a division between what is *internal* and personal and what is *expressive* and corporate that is too clean and facile,' and he uses the example of those traditions that see charitable work as 'inherently *religious*' and therefore may not engage in any explicit religious practices.⁴⁹⁹ This is an important point, and connects to a conversation I had with an

⁴⁹⁸ Since I have not adopted an ethnographic approach, details regarding interviewees will not be provided in this chapter, with the exception of those pertaining to their specific positioning within the organisation.

⁴⁹⁹ Jeavons, "Religious and Faith-Based Organizations," 142. Emphasis in original.

interviewee after one of the pilot interviews. When I asked for feedback on the interview, the interviewee noted that they had been expecting something different from it. On probing this further, it became apparent that they had been expecting me to ask more questions about faith than I had. Although their own view was that the work the organisation carried out was inherently religious, because of the focus of my research on faith, they were expecting me to ask questions about their faith. On this basis, and through further discussion with this interviewee, I included an additional question within the interview guide: ‘what does it mean to you that this is a Christian organisation?’ This was designed to capture the internal and personal dimension regarding faith; in other words, those aspects that are significant for individuals in relation to their day-to-day work, but not necessarily expressed when they speak about it.

B) Method for processing the data

1) *Coding the transcripts*⁵⁰⁰

I uploaded the interview transcripts to NVivo and began to code them using the software. I eventually decided to code them by hand, however, since given the number of interview transcripts I was examining, using hard copies enabled me to colour code the logics and view the transcripts alongside each other. I assigned codes on the basis of the categories within the typology. In line with the typology, there were therefore 34 codes; however, not all of these were evidenced in the interview transcripts.

Using the category ‘telos’ as an example, the specific codes for the four logics were:

‘telos is to build up and sustain the organisation’ (logic of corporation)

‘telos is to generate capital’ (logic of market)

‘telos is to worship God’ (logic of religion)

‘telos is to pursue the common good’ (logic of community)

The process of coding the transcripts included identifying key words, such as ‘sustain’ or ‘worship’, and exploring the context in which these key words were used and by whom. Words and phrases closely related to the key words were also noted; for instance, ‘serve God’ or ‘honour God’ were identified in relation to the logic of religion. Once these portions of the transcripts had been assigned a code, it was then possible to look more closely at the data and ask questions of specific practices and scenarios that were highlighted in relation to these words – for example, what was this practice aiming towards, what was the expressed intention behind it, or what was the reason given as to why this scenario unfolded as it did?

2) *Points of co-existence, conflation and conflict*

In analysing the data, I paid particular attention to points at which co-existence, conflation and conflict were evidenced between the logics. Co-existence is when two or more logics are in action without merging, and one example of this relates to organisational identity – as will be demonstrated below, several sources of identity were in operation within the organisation, and these often co-existed, emerging at different points in organisational life depending on context. The organisation’s Christmas celebration, for example, had components that demonstrated its Christian identity and those that demonstrated its corporate identity. The

⁵⁰⁰ Some of the content in this section has been previously published in Kurlberg, “The ‘Telos’ as a Lens,” 255-256.

celebration began with a carol service in a nearby church, which included prayer, sung worship and carols, and a Christmas message, and ended back at the office with mince pies, mulled wine, and a corporate celebration that included elements such as long-service awards for those that had been at the organisation five years, ten years, and so forth. No tension between these different organisational identities was evidenced during this celebration, which was seen as one big celebration with different components.

Conflation occurs when logics merge. An example of this can also be demonstrated using the Christmas celebration. During the carol service, the Chair of the Board gave the Christmas message. This evidenced a conflation of the corporate logic, which the Chair brought with them into that space as a symbol of authority within the organisation, and the religious logic, because they gave their talk within the context of a Christian worship service in a church that was not part of the office. Further, by way of content the talk included both religious and corporate elements, where the Chair referred to the Christian Christmas story and passages from the Bible, but also spoke of organisational successes over the past year that were a cause for celebration. Thus, there was no tension between the logics of corporation and religion, but rather a merging of the two. Points of conflict, on the other hand, exist when two or more logics are in tension or competing with one another. It was important to look for these points of co-existence, conflation and conflict within the transcripts due to the focus of the research questions on the interaction between logics.

2. Data Analysis

This section provides an overview of the logics in action at the organisational level according to the typology of logics. The first stage of addressing this question was set in motion in Chapter 4 through the development of the typology, but here I summarise the findings emerging from the data processing phase of the research, in which I used the typology as the lens through which to explore how the different institutional logics are expressed within the organisation. In order to pave the way for the discussion in Chapter 6, I discuss each of the categories included in the typology in turn. Translations of the logics are introduced in part in this section, but will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

A) Logics at the organisational level according to the typology

1) *Source of identity*

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Source of identity	Position within the organisation	Whatever sells	Association with God	Connection with and reputation amongst community members

The logics appeared to co-exist in relation to this category. Identity is complex and multifaceted. Not only do societal actors have multiple identities that intersect and overlap within one another, but also the identity shown in any given setting will depend to a degree on the context and intended audience. There is, further, an important distinction between the organisational identities presented to external audiences and those emphasised internally. Documentary analysis would therefore have provided a greater degree of insight into this category than the interviews, particularly in relation to the externally-facing aspects of organisational identity, as a brief scan of the documents collected during the first stage of

the empirical research showed. For example, in an emergency appeal an organisation will most likely choose to draw on whichever of its identities will generate the most funds; thus, the logic of market would be the dominant logic, but it is supported by other logics.⁵⁰¹ Yet in a job advertisement, an organisation might choose instead to highlight aspects of its identity that would be most likely to appeal to the candidates it is seeking to attract. Also important to point out is that this category has both organisational- and individual-level dynamics, the latter of which are noted below insofar as they overlap with the organisational-level discussion.

One key, but less visible, source of identity that emerged during the interviews is connected to staff members' position or role within the organisation, and therefore the logic of corporation. This is the basis on which staff engage and interact with one another and determines which conversations they have access to, the boundaries of their action and engagement, and how they are professionally perceived by others. When asked who they interact with outside of their team within the organisation and why, one interviewee said that they engage with everybody, but their response indicated that their conceptualisation of the organisation is in terms of position in relation to 'levels' and that those on the same level are seen as 'peers':

*with my peers, on the directorate, and with the CEO. But also, with heads-of, so the management, our extended leadership team level, the next level down across the board really. [...] So, yeah... every part of the business. People and culture – at the moment we're without a director, and I'm engaging there at the next level down and levels below that in terms of supporting our people.*⁵⁰²

The interviewee's reference to the organisation as 'the business' is also indicative of the logic of corporation in action, and the term occurred in other interviews with those in the extended leadership team as well.⁵⁰³ The interviewee's conceptualisation of organisational positions in relation to levels also emerged in other interviews, and again, particularly with those in leadership roles within the organisation. For example, another interviewee responded to the question in the following way:

*I myself would probably interact with most of the directors around their financial management, and the CEO sometimes. And then my peers at head-of level, so the leaders of all the teams we have an extended leadership team [...] So they'd be my main people.*⁵⁰⁴

One manager responded with the following:

outside of my team, so obviously with my manager, and then across the policy and programmes department with other managers in particular, and we're trying to

⁵⁰¹ See, for example, ActionAid UK's East Africa Hunger Appeal webpage, which highlights the organisation's connection with community members: 'Local women, young people and ActionAid's partner organisations on the ground are leading our response, but they need urgent support to scale up their work to save lives and avert a catastrophe' (ActionAid, "East Africa Hunger Appeal," accessed November 11, 2022, <https://www.actionaid.org.uk/donate/emergency/east-africa-hunger-appeal>.)

⁵⁰² [Priscilla], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁰³ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁰⁴ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

*increase the use of managers as a resource for implementing policy, for planning, for rolling out our new strategy, for managing or resolving challenges with systems and processes that we have. So a lot of engagement with managers, some engagement with the heads of teams, which is the next level up. Occasionally, with the Director. And very occasionally with the CEO.*⁵⁰⁵

Another key source of identity within the organisation relates to the fact that it is a Christian organisation. This organisational identity was the most explicit, and was noted in all of the interviews. In relation to the typology of logics, it is notable that rather than the source of identity simply being about the organisation's association with God, it is in practice more about its association with *faith*. As one interviewee put it: 'so much of who we are is wrapped up in our faith.' The primary way in which the faith identity of the organisation is conceived by interviewees relates to its *active expression*, and this has externally- and internally-facing, as well as organisational- and individual-level dynamics. This interviewee went on to explain that:

*'there are lots of different ways that we look at our faith, so some of it would be, how do we express our faith externally to supporters, how do we express our faith in the field, how do we express our faith to donors and all that kind of stuff, and then, how do we express our faith, kind of, within the office, between each other, on a day-to-day basis.'*⁵⁰⁶

This organisational identity also often arose in the interviews in relation to the GOR, that is discussed in more detail in the section below on recruitment priorities. One aspect the comments made in this regard tended to emphasise was the need for roles externally representing the organisation to be filled by those with an active faith, since, among other requirements, postholders would 'have to be comfortable to reflect the organisational identity.'⁵⁰⁷ There were also comments concerning the importance of the GOR for maintaining the Christian character and culture of the organisation:

*real compromises can be made there and that can have implications further down the line, particularly if they are promoted within the organisation or it's a position of influence within the organisation. It can change the character of the organisation if nothing else [...] if we didn't have that, we'd be fishing from a much bigger pool of people of course. But it would change the nature and the values of [the organisation]. It would very much dilute, you know, our sort of faith credentials.*⁵⁰⁸

It became evident through the interviews that the new organisational strategy was one of the main reasons behind the renewed focus within the organisation on the active expression of faith. One of the five strategic imperatives – or corporate priorities – within the new strategy is for the organisation to 'live out its faith with boldness and humility.'⁵⁰⁹ This is connected to the wider global organisation's focus on its Christian identity, and is something

⁵⁰⁵ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁰⁶ [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁰⁷ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁰⁸ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁰⁹ [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

that is actively being prioritised and embedded within the organisation, in both internally- and externally-facing ways. One interviewee explained it to me in the following way:

*We have five strategic imperatives that are shaping the short-term priorities, and 'number 2' I am one of the support leads for, and it's about how we live out our faith with boldness and humility. And so, this is a cross-organisational group that is wrestling with our Christian identity, our messaging in light of that, and all that flows from that.*⁵¹⁰

The reference to 'messaging' in this quote suggests the influence of the market logic since the term is commonly used in the marketing industry. This interviewee's role sits within the marketing and communications department, and therefore it is unsurprising that they would be operating primarily according to the logic of market. Their response to a question at the outset of the interview about the overall purpose of their role was:

*[We're] on a strategic shift journey as the organisation intentionally re-engages with the church and Christian context, partly reflective of who we are and our identity, partly restoring where previously we'd stepped a little bit outside of that. And I think have benefitted from that in terms of getting breadth and going wide, but recognising that actually we've also missed out on something by not being as focused into those contexts as we would like. So [...] I'm coming in, giving temporary leadership to this team looking to see how we can help develop our presence and our messaging, our positioning and our resourcing and support, particularly into the churches. And the hope is that we can help the church address its responsibility in terms of engaging around the issues of justice, but with the invitation to stand with us alongside the world's most vulnerable children.*⁵¹¹

In relation to the overall purpose of the team, there was ambiguity in this response as to which logics are in action and which is the dominant logic. The church's responsibility regarding issues of justice is mentioned, but this includes 'the invitation to stand with us' – in other words, to support the organisation. This could indicate both financial and prayer support, but as above, the use of the words 'presence', 'messaging' and 'positioning' seem to indicate the dominance of the market logic.

It is clear therefore that at the organisational level, certain aspects of the drive within the organisation regarding its Christian identity also support the logic of market. This was confirmed by the insights that emerged in relation to another of the five key aspects that the organisation's new strategy focuses on, which is that it is moving from being a 'product-led' to a 'cause-led' organisation.⁵¹² Although on the surface this might indicate a shift towards the logic of community because of the focus on the needs of communities, through the research it became clear that this shift was actually market-driven; its purpose was to enable the organisation to have a multi-product focus, since a cause is broader than a single product, with the hope that this would generate greater financial support:

the previous strategy was very much about focusing down on doing a few things well. Previously I think there were 15 or more different things that we were trying to achieve,

⁵¹⁰ [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵¹¹ [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵¹² Job advertisement for the position of Director of People and Culture (2017), 3.

which was a bit like a sort of a shotgun approach and we weren't achieving any of those particularly well, we weren't getting the cut through that we wanted. So, the previous strategy was very much about focusing down on a few things. We've now realised from a fundraising point of view actually we've focused down too much. We've focused on essentially a single product and a single audience. So, part of this strategy is about going to multi-product, multi-audience, multi-channel. But also, there were other things that... in the previous strategy, the emphasis on Christian faith was actually taken out. And that's been put back in. One of the key drivers of this strategy is, you know, living out our Christian faith with boldness and humility. That wasn't specifically called out before, so it's created a Christian engagement team which we didn't have before. Things like that, so... I'd say, those are the main drivers. We've expanded our view slightly, and, you know, we've brought in some of these key things that we'd sort of left or missed off when we narrowed down, with hindsight, too much.⁵¹³

Thus, this particular aspect of the organisation's strategy – the move from being a 'product-led' to a 'cause-led' organisation – is underpinned by the logic of market, with the cause being used in its service: in other words, here the cause is the source of the organisation's identity because the cause is the thing that sells.

Also interesting within this category is the interplay between organisational- and individual-level dynamics, which will be discussed further below. Referencing the recent move within the organisation to refocus on its Christian identity, one manager spoke of the impact of this at a personal level:

we had a period probably 5/6/7 years ago when we did sort of lose our way a bit in terms of our faith. We lost our confidence with our church donors, we certainly decided we weren't going to work with the church, we were not as explicit about our Christian faith and why we did our work to big institutional donors, and I guess we lost our identity a bit and it didn't feel as good working here. And then in the last 2/3/4 years we've really started to pick up again our Christian identity and say look this is who we are. We must not hide who we are, you know, we must be much more overt about the fact that we're a Christian organisation and why we do our work. And we must be more prepared to take risks in that area. And I think it's felt a much better place to work, you know, it feels more purposeful, it feels more meaningful.⁵¹⁴

Thus, while at the organisational level the logic of religion is supporting the logic of market, this comment gives insight into how this interaction between logics at the organisational level is interpreted at the individual level, and the impact it has at this level.

2) Source of legitimacy

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Source of legitimacy	Status within the sector	The success and marketability of the product	God's call	The needs of the community

⁵¹³ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵¹⁴ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

The needs of the community are the ultimate source of the organisation’s legitimacy, because they are the reason for its existence. Yet for many interviewees, in responding to these needs, the organisation is responding to ‘God’s call’. In the words of one interviewee, the organisation’s mission ‘derives from our faith and what we feel Jesus is calling us to do, as individuals, and what we should get together corporately to do as well.’ This same individual remarked in relation to recruitment that ‘people have come with these callings and strange coincidences,’ and later in the interview commented that the organisation had recently felt ‘more of a call to the most vulnerable [communities] and the world’s toughest places, and I think that we would say that is something where we feel God’s called us to do that.’⁵¹⁵ Thus, the logics of religion and community are very closely interlinked in this category, and could be said to co-exist.

This stage of the research did not include documentary analysis, however, this category is particularly interesting in relation to different forms of public-facing documentation, where although the logic of community often remains dominant, the prominence of supporting logics varies according to the purpose of the document and intended audience. For example, in job advertisements the logic of corporation is often evidenced through references made to the organisation’s status within the sector.⁵¹⁶

3) Source of authority

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Source of authority	Board of trustees Top management	Marketing	Appeals to God	Appeals to local communities

The ultimate source of authority within the organisation is its most senior leadership, which comprises the global leadership team, the Board of Trustees of the UK office, and the UK directorate. The organisation also has an extended leadership team, which sits under the directorate. While the logic of corporation is dominant within this category, the logic of market is playing an increasingly important supporting role. This is because the sector’s financial environment is challenging and ever more competitive, and if the organisation does not secure sufficient funding it will cease to function. Although marketing holds a different type of authority to that of senior leadership – it is simply one factor that has the power to influence decision-making and is ultimately subordinate to the authority of the trustees and directorate – it is evident that the organisation’s financial situation is becoming progressively tighter. Thus, the organisation is necessarily oriented towards the direction of funding. At the organisational level, one of the ways in which this is most clearly seen in action is in the need to show organisational impact, which will be discussed further below.

Appeals to God are another key source of authority within the organisation; for instance, one interviewee noted that when formulating the new organisational strategy, the leadership spent time in prayer in order to listen to God. The resultant strategy was described as being something that God had called the organisation to.⁵¹⁷ Yet at the organisational level, the logic of religion is ultimately subordinate to the logic of corporation in this category since God’s authority is mediated through senior leaders. For example, if someone feels they have

⁵¹⁵ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵¹⁶ See Chapter 4 for further discussion on this.

⁵¹⁷ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

a ‘word from God’ relating to the organisation – that is, a specific message that they believe God has given them for the organisation – this is taken to senior leadership, who are responsible for discerning whether it is a word from God or not, and if it is a word from God, what it means for the organisation. It is also important to point out here that part of the reason why there is a Genuine Occupational Requirement (GOR) for those in more senior roles to have an active Christian faith is because there is the expectation that given their positions of authority, they will both act as role models within the organisation in relation to faith and have a pastoral influence within their teams.⁵¹⁸

Appeals to local communities did not arise as a source of authority within the interviews, but this is because documentary analysis and observation were not included in this stage of the research. Communities tend to feature most prominently within meetings, public-facing documentation, and project documentation such as proposals, quarterly reports, evaluations and case studies. In follow up communication, one interviewee confirmed this to be the case, explaining that their authority is implicit within the programming side of the organisation’s work. They also noted that the voices of local communities are increasingly becoming central to the organisation’s external communications, one example of this being policy conversations with the UK government.⁵¹⁹

4) Decision-making process

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Decision-making process	Top-down	Resource-led	Through prayer and consulting the sacred texts	Consensus-building amongst a range of actors; partnership and participation are important

It was clear from all the interviews that internal decision-making processes are for the most part top-down. However, it also emerged that the UK office’s financial situation has become tighter, something seen across the sector as a whole. Resources have therefore played an increasingly influential role in decision-making in recent years. One interviewee commented in relation to organisational planning and processes: ‘we tend to be more resource constrained than anything else.’⁵²⁰ This was echoed by a member of the directorate, who noted that: ‘now because the financial situation is a lot tighter for everyone, that wriggle-room is less. So it has to be financially viable otherwise we can’t do it.’⁵²¹ Thus, while the logic of corporation is dominant, with decision-making ultimately following the direction of line management – that is, staff are subordinate to their line managers – it is heavily supported by a market logic since decisions are often influenced by resources.⁵²²

Prayer also plays an important role within decision-making processes, with prayers said not only during staff devotions and prayer meetings, but also during other events, such as strategy meetings and job interviews. One interviewee also noted an increased willingness within the leadership team to listen to and be guided by God.⁵²³ Yet although space is made

⁵¹⁸ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵¹⁹ [James], Email communication with author, UK, February 2023.

⁵²⁰ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵²¹ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵²² [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵²³ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017. This was evidenced in another interview as well: [Priscilla], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

for prayer within decision-making processes, and therefore arguably the logic of religion is shaping that of corporation to a certain degree, these processes are still ultimately top-down.⁵²⁴ The tension that exists in this regard is arguably due to the predominantly low church expression of faith within the organisation, which at times comes into conflict with the hierarchical orientation of the corporate logic. An interesting comment from one interviewee, which points to the way in which the logic of religion adjusts to that of corporation in relation to decision-making, was that:

*there is a requirement on the senior leadership to be the ones that are modelling and living out their faith in a way that is seen by others, because they're the most visible people and they ultimately make the biggest decisions.*⁵²⁵

In spite of the dominance of the logic of corporation, a key finding from the interviews relates to the influence of the logic of community under this category and the way it appears to have shaped the corporate logic. One interviewee, reflecting on how the professional background of directors influences the way they operate, spoke about the process of adaptation that tends to occur as those from corporate as opposed to NGO backgrounds settle into the organisation, often becoming 'more engaging with the staff, more participating together around decision-making.' They used the example of a particular director, who had once said to them:

*when I came here to take on a directorate role, I came from a company where, as Director if I said, on Monday morning we're all going to jump up and down, everybody would jump up and down on Monday morning. Because as Director I could make the decisions, and if I made them, everyone did as they were told. [...] Coming here, I've actually had to learn how to be a manager again, in a fuller sense. So I've had to learn that actually I need to consult with people, I need to get them on board, because if I say all jump on Monday, not everyone will jump because people will say, but why? And I have to be able to justify my decisions.*⁵²⁶

This same interviewee explained: 'generally, what we try to do is to mirror in the organisation how we work with communities, which is participation, inclusion, moving forward together.' Another interviewee noted in relation to the wider global organisation that the method of working is generally 'by building consensus and understanding, and a shared vision,' and that therefore things can take time because rather than simply making decisions and informing people of these, one has to 'negotiate with 10 people.'⁵²⁷ Thus, although decision-making processes are ultimately top-down, there is both a 'meeting culture' within the organisation and a degree of participation around decision-making.⁵²⁸ Arguably, participation around decision-making also enables the logic of religion to play a role in shaping practice since staff members at all levels of the organisation can pray and consult the Bible in relation to decision-making processes. A final example that came to light during the interviews was where a

⁵²⁴ See also 'source of authority' above.

⁵²⁵ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵²⁶ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵²⁷ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵²⁸ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

director was able to change a decision that had been taken by the CEO: ‘the CEO decided he didn’t want to do a wholesale change. So, I talked to him and explained why I thought we needed to make a change here, and got the blessing to do it.’⁵²⁹ Nevertheless, while the logic of community has no doubt shaped the logic of corporation within the organisation to include an element of participation and partnership, it is evident that the increasing financial constraints on the organisation and the resultant impact of the market logic, referred to above, is a competing influence.

It is also important to highlight under this category the relationship between the UK office and wider global organisation, since decisions, ‘rules’ and ‘regulations’ from the global leadership team impact the UK’s operations, not only in relation to its own office, but in relation to its work and relationships with other national offices too.⁵³⁰

5) Definition and determination of success

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Definition and determination of success	Success is defined by organisational performance as determined by Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)	Success is defined by return on investment and determined by income generated	Success is defined and determined by ethical precepts	Success is defined and determined by the community

Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) were frequently referred to in relation to measures of success within the organisation. I asked interviewees how they knew whether or not an aspect of their work had been successful. All answered from the perspective of their roles, and although some discussed other measures of success, in the majority of interviews these were spoken of with reference to the KPIs. It quickly became apparent that KPIs were the key focus within organisational practice since they were the only aspect formally measured by the organisation. As one interviewee commented, for example, the organisation uses KPIs for all the ‘accountable’ aspects of employees’ work.⁵³¹ Some did note other factors related to success, although they tended to set these against those that the organisation measures.

Although at a surface level the interview transcripts showed that the logic of corporation is dominant within this category, it became evident through the interviews that the logic of market plays a more significant role across organisational practice as a whole. While individuals are accountable against their KPIs, at an organisational level success is defined by ‘return on investment’ – primarily determined by ‘impact in relation to the cause’ rather than income generation. This is an example of conflation between the logics of market and community, and will be discussed in greater depth in the section on ‘Mission’ below.

6) Professional background

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community

⁵²⁹ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³⁰ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³¹ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

Professional background	Corporate sector (function-specific)	N/A	Faith-based sector	N/A
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The professional background of those I interviewed was for the most part function-specific, from the corporate and charitable sectors, depending on which department they were in. The exceptions to this either had previous voluntary experience within the sector or had worked their way through the organisation. Commenting on the professional background of their team members, a manager from the finance department said: 'I think generally people have found their way into my team without the charity experience,'⁵³² mentioning a team member that had worked their way through the organisation as being an exception to this. It was noted by several interviewees that the organisation occasionally sponsored staff to gain qualifications relevant to their role.⁵³³ Within the policy and programmes department there seemed to be more staff members whose professional background was in the charitable sector, and the development sector in particular. Many also had overseas experience.⁵³⁴

7) Recruitment priorities

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Recruitment priorities	Proven track record	Entrepreneurial skills	Faith	Personal attributes (e.g. language, culture, character)

Interestingly, a tension emerged between the professional background desired in the recruitment process and recruitment priorities. Given the dominance of the corporate logic within the organisation, it would be reasonable to assume that the organisational priority would be to recruit those with a proven track record. This was of course mentioned by many interviewees as being of importance. For instance, one said: 'really you have to start with a basic in terms of when you're shortlisting, making sure that you've got the capabilities and the experience and the evidence of impact in the area that you're seeking for somebody to deliver in.'⁵³⁵ Unsurprisingly, a proven track record within the sector was a positive factor for most interviewees and a priority for several, particularly those in the policy and programmes department.

Nevertheless, it was also apparent that the need for a proven track record was in some cases in tension with the organisational priority to recruit those with an active Christian faith for certain roles. One interviewee initially responded to the question by emphasising competence: 'So you look for, obviously professional competence,' but later said: 'there's some non-negotiables, the non-negotiables are obviously the professional competence and then, depending on the level you are, your faith.'⁵³⁶ Another started with the importance of faith, but qualified that by saying: 'Obviously we have to have a very strong element of technically, can they do the job, that's the most important thing.' Yet this particular interviewee's priority in general was 'people that want to invest themselves in the mission somehow.' They mentioned that they have been very fortunate in relation to recruitment

⁵³² [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³³ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³⁴ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³⁵ [Priscilla], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³⁶ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

since ‘people have come with these callings and, you know, strange coincidences, and we’ve had some brilliant people.’ However, they then spoke about the ‘worst recruitment decision’ they had made, which was:

someone who was a supporter, they were really, really enthusiastic about the mission and a very keen Christian, and I thought they had the technical skills to do the job, and it just turned out they just couldn’t do the job, and that was very difficult to manage. And really hard, because you had that whole element of them being so invested in [the organisation], and so keen to work here, and being a supporter, and... you just don’t get that with other employment places. Other places it’s like, well, sorry this hasn’t worked out, you know. But there’s so much extra that they brought to the role and it just didn’t work, so that was really, really difficult. And I think as I was interviewing I was probably a bit side-tracked by their desire and keenness to join, and we just didn’t spot that their technical skills weren’t good enough.⁵³⁷

As already mentioned, it came to light through the interviews that certain roles within the organisation have a GOR for the post holder to have an active Christian faith, and there are criteria against which roles are assessed to see whether they have a GOR or not:

because it’s a Christian organisation and we’re trying to develop a Christian ethos and culture then, that’s one of the things that we’ll say: if you’re a line manager then you need to have a genuine Christian faith; if you are an externally-facing member of staff, so you are representing [the organisation] to the public, or to media, or to government [...] But, I mean we do get roles that come up where there is no requirement, it’s a support function, or, it doesn’t talk to the external audiences or it doesn’t manage any people.⁵³⁸

The source of tension that emerged through the interviews concerned prioritisation if in an interview process none of the candidates have the necessary skills, competence and experience as well as an active faith. Should a proven track record be prioritised over the GOR? It became evident that managers prioritised differently here, and several examples of unsuccessful recruitments along both lines emerged through the interviews.⁵³⁹ One manager explained the dilemma as they had experienced it:

you have to make a decision: well, have they met this requirement or not. If not, then does that rule this person out completely or not. And in the situations I’ve been in I / we have always concluded that was them out. And I think some other managers probably have ruled them in as it were. So yes, real compromises can be made there and that can have implications further down the line, particularly if they are promoted within the organisation or it’s a position of influence within the organisation. It can change the character of the organisation if nothing else. It’s a tough one though. Because, if you’ve got in front of you, sometimes, for some of these jobs we’ve had 70 / 80 applicants [...] there are only 3 or 4 people who have on paper the required qualifications and experience. You’ve interviewed 3 of them and none of them actually make the grade in

⁵³⁷ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³⁸ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵³⁹ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

*interview and this is your final candidate, and then you find they don't have that occupational requirement, what do you do? Do you say, well, OK, tough, we're going to have to start all over again? Which we have done in the past. Or do you say, well, OK, we can work on this, or, they seem a nice enough person, let's just go with it sort of thing.*⁵⁴⁰

The tension between logics exists because although the logic of corporation plays a dominant role within the organisation in general, this is a key point at which the logic of religion is prioritised over it. As the above quote illustrates, at the root of this tension is arguably also the matter of how individual employees understand and negotiate organisational-level logics, which will be discussed further below.

Another point to highlight is that within the policy and programmes department the logic of community was evidenced in this category. This is unsurprising, because the majority of the team's work is based on interaction with other national offices, and regional offices too, where there is no formal hierarchy. One interviewee within this department, when asked about their priorities for recruitment to the team, responded in the following way:

It sounds obvious, but in the type of role that, certainly that we're doing, where you've got very few easy, measurable results, is looking to see those who've got experience working where it's not all results-orientated work. And so again it's looking at those elements. And the other key thing that for us is very important is do they have any experience working across cultures. [...] More often than not with the interview process, what I've done is, I've actually had longer oral interviews and no written test. Primarily because the role is very much focussed around interactions.

They noted the importance of management by influence for the team: 'you manage the programme, but those that you manage, those who are involved in the programme, can take or leave any advice that you give, they're not obliged to do what you tell them to do.' While the majority of team members at the time had considerable experience of overseas work, as well as 'a longstanding history around working in NGOs in the development sector,' the interviewee shared an example of a recent recruitment where although the successful applicant's 'experience overseas level was probably a little lower than what I would normally want [...] they showed the cross-cultural skills and the other elements through other things that they'd done.'⁵⁴¹

8) Mission

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Mission	Increase the scale and scope of the organisation	Increase income, efficiency, and profit	Carry out God's purposes	Act in service of the community

In a similar vein to 'source of legitimacy,' in relation to this category both the logics of community and religion emerged as significant within the organisation, yet connected – while

⁵⁴⁰ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴¹ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

the organisation's mission is clearly to act in service of the community, to engage in this mission is understood to be carrying out God's purposes. One staff member referred to the mission as 'God's mission' several times during the course of the interview.⁵⁴² The logic of religion is also evidenced in this category in relation to the manner in which the organisation carries out its work – the organisation carries out God's purposes by reflecting God's love for others in the way that it works.⁵⁴³ In the words of one staff member, the organisation acts as 'Jesus' hands and feet.'⁵⁴⁴ Thus, the logics of community and religion are compatible in this category, co-exist and reinforce one another.

In relation to the logic of market, there is a drive within the organisation to increase income and efficiency – and those in management or finance-related roles often referred to profit and the 'bottom line' – but this drive is not ultimately for the sake of profit itself;⁵⁴⁵ rather, it is for the organisation to be able to 'make more of a difference' in the lives of those it was established to serve.⁵⁴⁶ The logic of market is therefore ultimately operating in service of the community. What is particularly interesting, however, is the way in which the logic of market is at the same time influencing and shaping the practice of aid in this regard. This is perhaps best illustrated using excerpts from an interview with a member of the finance team who was seeking to articulate the difference between the organisation and the non-faith-based company they previously worked for:

here we haven't got that bottom line. We don't want to make a huge surplus every year, we want to be effective in our fundraising, we want to be programming our funds as well as possible, and we want to be having the maximum possible impact we can for the amount we send to the field. So there are some strong driving principles, but the faith element here is really strong. We do this because we want to show God's love to people, because we believe that we've been called to do this work. And we're Jesus' hands and feet. So we have all that extra element on top.⁵⁴⁷

They go on to explain that:

*clearly the principles in the corporate of making the best possible investments for the long-term of the organisation still holds here. We invest in fundraising, we invest in our field programming, and we want to make sure that those fundraising investments are as effective as possible. We want to invest our money where we think we're going to get a better return, and we want to programme our funds as well as possible. So I mean those principles apply, but I guess the bottom line is different and sometimes it's hard to understand what our bottom line really is. It's not as clear as like, we must maximise our profit. But what is the bottom line here in [the organisation]? All that effort, all that hard work, what are we really trying to drive?
[...]*

⁵⁴² [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴³ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴⁴ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴⁵ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴⁶ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴⁷ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

*the problem is if you adopt the principles of business and force them onto [the organisation] somehow you lose something, because it's not all about ruthlessly driving our fundraising, it's not all about maximising our reserves position or whatever else, you know, it's much more about our work, it's more multidimensional.*⁵⁴⁸

Frequent reference to the 'bottom line' is indicative of the fact that the interviewee's own outlook is heavily shaped by the logic of market. The 'bottom line' is a term used in business to refer to a company's net income after all its expenses have been accounted for. Yet this term arose in other conversations as well.⁵⁴⁹ The three 'driving principles' the interviewee highlighted are for the organisation to be effective in its fundraising, programming its funds as well as possible, and achieving the maximum possible impact in relation to the funds programmed. Thus, the money directed towards the cause is seen as 'investment' and when it comes to the organisation's mission this is in practice 'to achieve the greatest possible impact in relation to the cause' rather than either 'increase income, efficiency, and profit' or 'act in service of the community.' Put differently, 'success' in relation to the mission is viewed according to the logic of market; that is, by return on investment. The interviewee notes that the bottom line is 'much more about our work' rather than 'profit', but it is ultimately evaluated by impact. Thus, rather than maximising profit, from these comments the bottom line appears to be more about maximising 'impact', and the influence of this across the organisation can be seen in other interviews as well. Whereas in a firm the expectation would be to drive profit for shareholders, here the organisation is driving the maximum possible impact primarily for the communities the organisation has been established to serve, as well as for donors. This represents the conflation of the logics of market and community within this category.

This insight ties in with the role of another interviewee, one aspect of which is to address the question: 'what are the most effective things we can do?'⁵⁵⁰ When asked about the most challenging aspects of their role, they noted that it is 'probably the sense that we're trying to do more than we physically can do.' They remembered the words of a speaker at a fundraising conference they had attended, who had said that:

'if you want to be a good fundraiser you need to be frustrated because you need to be thinking, we can do more, we can do this better, we can make more of a difference.' And so you live with this sense of frustration, you live with this sense of, if only we could get more of our supporters to give more, if only we could get more supporters in the first place [...] there's a sense of frustration of not being able to do enough.⁵⁵¹

In one sense these sentiments are connected to the organisational function that these two interviewees have as part of the finance and fundraising departments respectively, but in relation to 'impact' their influence can be seen across the organisation as a whole. In an interview with a member of the directorate, for example, in relation to how the approach of an NGO differed from that of a business, they remarked that: 'the driver isn't profit, it's more about the impact that you have in people's lives, which is a slightly different measure.'⁵⁵² By

⁵⁴⁸ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁴⁹ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵⁰ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵¹ [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵² [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

way of another example, during an interview with a staff member involved in the programmatic side of the organisation’s work, they noted that they had recruited two people in the previous two weeks, and ‘impact’ appears to have had an influence on the recruitment process. This is because of the recent expansion of the team’s remit to include reading and writing about reports:

This time round, because we’re taking on this report work, we did do a written test, but the written test was more about understanding how to pull out of a story whether the story’s actually showing impact, or whether it’s just giving you details rather than what actually happened, what was the impact that this had. So it wasn’t looking at detailed analysis of facts, figures, etc. it was... do we have something that actually shows what difference did we actually make to an individual or a community. So it was looking more at the soft side of a report rather than the data analysis side of a report.⁵⁵³

Finally, it is important to highlight the interviewee’s process of reflection quoted on the page above, that settled on the fact that the organisation’s mission is ‘multidimensional’. Others also referred to the multidimensional nature of the organisation’s mission, with one interviewee expressing it in this way: ‘there’s an added dimension to our understanding of poverty that includes a spiritual component.’⁵⁵⁴

9) Telos

Y-Axis Categories	X-Axis Institutional Orders			
	Corporation	Market	Religion	Community
Telos	Build up and sustain the organisation	Generate capital	Worship God	Pursue the common good

The interviews highlighted that the telos of the logic of corporation plays a key role within organisational practice. This was articulated within the organisation as being ‘to sustain the organisation in the long term’ rather than ‘to build up and sustain the organisation’. For example, referring to a recent decision that had to be taken to turn down a large grant that was offered because it did not cover the organisation’s administrative costs, one interviewee explained that the main reason behind the decision was because ‘down the road if we do this we’re going to be in problems.’⁵⁵⁵ While the telos of the logic of market is important within organisational practice, the telos of the logic of corporation ultimately takes priority. By way of another example, an interviewee within the policy and programmes department, critiquing a suggestion made in a strategy meeting to cut an aspect of the organisation’s work in order to save money, explained that the person who suggested this – who was a newcomer to the organisation – ‘just looked at it from a straight one perspective, it was obvious. But if you looked at [...] the implications of it, not just in the immediate financial but the long term, there was the realisation that, no, it doesn’t work across the organisation.’⁵⁵⁶ Another interviewee situated within the finance department commented that: ‘in order to do our work well we’ve

⁵⁵³ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵⁴ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵⁵ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵⁶ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

got to adopt a lot of the practices of the well-run organisations to make sure we are sustainable and we're in it for the long term.⁵⁵⁷

The pervasiveness of the logic of corporation in relation to this category is unsurprising. Ultimately, the telos of long-term sustainability has to take precedence in organisational practice, because otherwise there is a risk that the organisation might cease to exist. It is interesting, however, to note the dynamics between the logic of corporation and other logics, such as the logic of religion, with the corporate telos contributing to the religious telos and mission of the organisation: God is worshipped through the work of the organisation, because the organisation is doing God's work. Therefore, these logics are compatible and co-exist for the most part. The same could be said of the logic of community: the common good can be pursued through the organisation's continued existence. The telos of the logic of religion appeared to be implicit within the organisation and was not specifically mentioned, but one interviewee did refer to this in relation to *quality of work*. Wrestling with what it means to be a Christian organisation, they commented that it is partly about quality of work: 'as a Christian organisation we should be aiming for the highest possible standards of professionalism, we should be aiming to do everything really well to honour God and do his work as well as possible.'⁵⁵⁸ No one explicitly mentioned worshipping God through the work itself, but one interviewee did make reference to the fact that volunteers' work is an act of service to God.

Therefore, there is no tension in evidence at a general or overarching level. Rather, the tensions between these logics relate to the specifics – to the ways in which this corporate telos comes into conflict with elements or aspects of other logics. As shown above, for example, the GOR represents a source of tension between the corporate and religious logics when it comes to recruitment priorities. It is a source of tension because if the organisation is to maintain its existence in a competitive environment, it needs employees that can get their work done and done well. If the telos at the organisational level is to sustain the organisation in the long term, it contradicts this logic not to employ the most experienced candidate for a particular role, or to restrict someone that has shown great aptitude and loyalty towards the organisation who wants to progress but does not meet the GOR. In other words, the corporate telos is in tension with the prioritisation of the logic of religion in relation to recruitment priorities. Another example is the decision to turn down the large grant, already noted above. The interviewee explained: 'people don't necessarily understand it because: "we're called to work with these poor people, why wouldn't we help them?"'⁵⁵⁹ Thus, this example represents a tension between the telos of the organisation as needing to sustain the organisation in the long term and the mission of the organisation.

Also related to the telos of sustaining the organisation in the long term, representative of the influence of the corporate logic within the organisation, there is an assumed ideal path for employees within the organisation that entails progression towards promotion or at least role development of some nature. This relates to the corporate telos because it is ultimately aimed towards retaining staff, which means that organisational knowledge is retained, less resources are lost through recruitment processes, and so forth. This can be illustrated using comments from those in management positions. For example, one spoke of their own promotion to a leadership position as a 'natural progression and how you go building your

⁵⁵⁷ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵⁸ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁵⁹ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

career.⁵⁶⁰ Another explained how they manage the careers of those in their team: ‘as part of your annual appraisal you’d [normally] have a development discussion with them and try and find out where people want to go, so... yeah, I mean we should be identifying people who we think are able to make a move into a next level job.’ They also noted that ‘it’s harder to manage people’s career progression through the organisation, because they’re always waiting for the person above them to leave or whatever so you have to be a bit more creative about how we develop staff and give them projects and other ways of developing.’⁵⁶¹ A third, in relation to a recent recruitment, told me that part of the reason behind their decision to recruit the successful candidate was that it was ‘a good opportunity to give them a role [...] that would actually move them forward in their longer-term career path.’⁵⁶² In relation to their own role, they referred to their ‘career journey’, which had also entailed an upwards movement through the organisation.

3. Conclusion

On the basis of the insights discussed in this chapter, the table below portrays how logics are expressed and in operation at the organisational level within the case study organisation. It is important to re-emphasise that there are variations across organisational functions; the focus within this table concerns what emerged as dominant through the empirical research. The table depicts both the manifestation of logics at the organisational level according to the empirical research, and whether this research showed co-existence, conflation or conflict between the logics within each category.

Y-Axis Categories	Research findings			
	Dominant logic(s)	Supporting logic(s)	Organisational-level manifestation within the case study organisation	Co-existence, Conflation, or Conflict?
Telos	Corporation	Community Religion	Long-term sustainability of the organisation (this contributes towards pursuit of the common good and honours God since it enables God’s work to continue)	No conflict evidenced <i>within</i> this category – co-existence was evidenced for the most part – but ‘high’ level of conflict between this category and other categories, particularly in relation to the telos of the logic of corporation
Mission	Market and Community combined	Religion	To achieve the greatest possible impact in relation to the cause (this is carrying out God’s purposes)	Conflation of the logics of market and community
Source of legitimacy	Community	Religion	The needs of the community (and God’s call to respond)	The logic of community is dominant, but co-exists with the logic of religion
Source of authority	Corporation influenced by Market	Religion	The global leadership team, the Board of Trustees of the UK office, and the UK directorate (God’s authority is mediated through these groups); however, the organisation is orientated towards the direction of funding	Moderate levels of conflict due to resource constraints

⁵⁶⁰ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁶¹ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁶² [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

Source of identity	Multiple and overlapping	-	Dominance is dependent on context	Co-existence between logics was evidenced
Decision-making process	Corporation influenced by Community	Religion	Top-down through participation and consensus-building (supported by prayer)	High level of conflict, mainly in relation to external relations and new senior leaders carrying a different combination of logics
Definition and determination of success	Market and Community combined	Corporation	Success is defined by return on investment and determined by impact in relation to the cause (supported by KPIs)	Conflation of the logics of market and community
Professional background	Corporation		Function-specific (although for the policy and programmes department this typically means the development and humanitarian sector)	The logic of corporation is dominant
Recruitment priorities	Religion Corporation		Proven track record and active faith	High in relation to the GOR when candidates did not fulfil the requirements according to both logics

Applying Besharov and Smith’s framework to specific categories in the typology of logics, it is clear that the points of tension within organisational practice relate to those places where institutional logics are both incompatible and central.⁵⁶³ For example, in relation to ‘decision-making process’, both efficiency – that is, top-down decision-making – on the one hand, and consensus-building and participation on the other, are ‘central’ to the way in which the organisation operates. However, these are often incompatible in practice, as demonstrated above. While the dominant logic is ‘Corporation influenced by Community’, the tension for the most part arises either in connection with the organisation’s externally-facing relations – that is, with other national offices or the wider global organisation, where decision-making ‘rights’ are not clearly defined or agreed – or in connection with new staff members who are unfamiliar with this adaptation of the logic of corporation, such as those joining the organisation from the corporate sector. There was, however, an indication within one of the interviews that the dominant logic according to this category several years earlier had been ‘Community influenced by Corporation,’ and therefore the challenge is seemingly about striking a good balance between efficient and consultative decision-making.

In a similar vein, in relation to ‘recruitment priorities’, the logics of religion and corporation are again both central to practice, yet can be incompatible. Across organisational practice as a whole, the logic of religion is for the most part compatible with the logic of corporation because it plays a supporting rather than dominant role. The tension emerges in relation to recruitment because religion moves to a position of dominance within this category, and the two dominant logics are sometimes incompatible, as unsuccessful recruitments along the lines of both demonstrate. Recruitments were either unsuccessful because ‘active faith’ was prioritised over ‘proven track record’ and staff were unable to carry out the jobs they were hired for, or because the latter was prioritised and staff were unable to work within an overtly Christian environment.

Finally, it is also worth noting here that according to the above findings, the points at

⁵⁶³ As Besharov and Smith themselves note: ‘future research can also extend our framework by applying it at other levels of analysis. We focused on logic multiplicity at the organizational level, and we therefore treated logic compatibility and centrality as uniform across an entire organization. In practice, however, these dimensions may differ across subunits of an organization, meaning that a single organization could simultaneously be characterized by multiple types of logic multiplicity’ (“Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations,” 377).

which there is the greatest tension within the organisation – that is, ‘decision-making process’ and ‘recruitment priorities’ – relate to the corporate telos of long-term sustainability; on account of its requirement for efficiency in relation to decision-making processes, and on account of the need to prioritise hiring staff that have a proven track record. The insights within these tables will be discussed further in Chapter 6, as will the questions I set out to address through the empirical research.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Chapter summary

I begin this chapter by discussing the findings in relation to the questions guiding the empirical research, looking at which logics are in action within in the organisation and how they are manifested, how individual actors negotiate them in their daily work, and lastly, focusing specifically on the logic of religion. I then discuss the findings according to the overall research question addressing how faith influences the practice of FBOs, highlighting key questions emerging from the empirical research in this regard.

1. What institutional logics are in force and how are they manifested within the organisation?

This research question was addressed in part in the conclusion of Chapter 5, through the table depicting how the field-level logics outlined in the typology are influencing organisational practice within the case study organisation, and the ensuing discussion. In this section, I focus specifically on the translations of the four institutional logics in action at the organisational level. As noted in Chapter 2, translations of logics are variations and adaptations of field-level logics that form at the organisational level due to the influence of these field-level logics within the organisation.

I identified four translations of logics through the data as having a significant influence on organisational practice. The first is a logic of ‘long-term sustainability’, which stems from the influence of the logic of corporation within the organisation. The second is a logic of ‘impact’, which is the result of the conflation of the logic of market with the logic of community. The third is a logic of ‘participation and consensus-building,’ which is a consequence of the influence of the logic of community within the organisation. The fourth is a logic of ‘pastoral care and support’ that is manifested primarily at the individual level. This is an outcome of the restriction of the logic of religion to certain spaces at the organisational level, combined with the strategic imperative for the organisation to ‘live out [its] faith with boldness and humility.’

A) The logic of long-term sustainability

Within the case study organisation, the telos of the logic of corporation is to sustain the organisation in the long term, and this has led to a logic of long-term sustainability that plays a key role across organisational practice. Supporting evidence for this logic has already been discussed in Chapter 5.⁵⁶⁴ What is important to highlight here is the dominance of this logic across organisational practice. This is only to be expected, since if the telos of long-term sustainability does not take precedence in organisational practice there is a risk that the organisation might cease to exist. The examples highlighted in Chapter 5 include the decision to turn down a large grant on the basis that it did not cover the organisation’s administrative costs and therefore would have caused problems in the future. Another example was that of the suggestion in the strategy meeting to save money by stopping one aspect of the organisation’s work, where the person putting forward the suggestion was a newcomer to

⁵⁶⁴ See section 2.A.9 in Chapter 5.

the organisation and was not taking the longer-term perspective into account, as others in the meeting were accustomed to doing.

What is particularly interesting about this logic is that the idea of long-term sustainability could be critiqued from a theological perspective, where death can be a means for transformation, or from the perspective of aid, where if social justice were to become a reality there should no longer be a need for aid. However, it seems to be accepted as given within the organisation rather than interrogated. Possible reasons as to why this might be the case include personal interests such as job security, of course; however, perhaps a more significant reason is the systems and processes of the organisation that are rooted in ‘good’ business principles and therefore geared towards sustainability. This exacerbates negative associations with the death of an organisation – which is seen as failure and therefore to be avoided at all costs – rather than enabling it to be viewed in a positive light.

B) The logic of impact

In practice, the organisation’s mission is ‘to achieve the greatest possible impact in relation to the cause,’ and success is primarily defined by ‘return on investment’ and determined by ‘impact in relation to the cause,’ also spoken of in terms of ‘making a difference.’ The conflation of the logics of community and market within the organisation has led to the emergence of a logic of impact, which is seen in practice across the organisation. Several examples of this have already been noted in Chapter 5, including how the need to demonstrate impact has shaped the interview process in a team in the policy and programmes department. The comments made by an interviewee in the fundraising department who said that the purpose of their role was to be asking the question ‘what are the most effective things we can do?’ also connect to the logic of impact, since as became clear through the interviews, organisational effectiveness is primarily assessed according to impact and therefore the question is in practice also asking ‘what are the most impactful things we can do?’⁵⁶⁵

When looking at the transcripts through the lens of the logic of impact, other examples also emerged. For instance, one manager explained to me that one of the purposes of their role is to lead their team as they ‘improve the quality and impact of programming;’⁵⁶⁶ a director spoke about the importance of ensuring in the recruitment process that: ‘you’ve got the capabilities and the experience and the evidence of impact in the area that you’re seeking for somebody to deliver in;’⁵⁶⁷ another interviewee used the word ‘impact’ several times in speaking of the importance of faith in the sector: ‘actually, for us to have the relevant impact that we have and the long-term value that we bring, our faith position is crucial for navigating through that with capability, competence and suitable impact.’⁵⁶⁸ Thus, ‘impact’ was a key focus for the majority of those I spoke with.

Also interesting was another interviewee’s comment that: ‘one of our strategic areas, strategic imperatives, is our faith and how we integrate that in our work and the difference it makes to our work.’⁵⁶⁹ It is notable that the second strategic imperative – for the organisation to live out its faith with boldness and humility – is being articulated here in terms of ‘how we integrate [faith] in our work and the difference it makes.’ This is suggestive of the fact that

⁵⁶⁵ See section 2.A.8 in Chapter 5.

⁵⁶⁶ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁶⁷ [Priscilla], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁶⁸ [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁶⁹ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

the expression of faith within the organisation is being evaluated according to impact – something that was evidenced in conversations with other faith-based organisations as well. It also resonates with the prevalence within the religions and development literature of the question regarding the distinctiveness of FBOs in relation to practice, that will be discussed further in section 3.

Although the logic of impact manifests differently within each organisational function, it appears to be influential across the organisation. It is also influential at the individual level, where people not only refer explicitly to impact, but also speak of ‘making a difference.’ For example, as one person told me, working at the organisation: ‘gave me that opportunity to move on in my career journey at the time and allowed me to keep on learning and develop, and at the same time engage to have a difference in people’s lives.’⁵⁷⁰ Another referred to difference in relation to the question regarding what they see as the most significant aspect of their work, saying: ‘I think one thing is actually being able to see that we make a difference in transforming [people’s] lives.’⁵⁷¹ A third interviewee, in relation to a question about their own recruitment priorities, spoke of how they tend to look for people that are genuinely passionate about what the organisation does. They commented on the fact that this is something that is ‘quite intangible when you interview people,’ but they highlighted this phrase as one they had often heard from candidates, signalling genuine enthusiasm for the work:

*you can just tell in people’s manner [...] whether they have a genuine desire to join in with some kind of, something that’s a bit different. I mean the phrase you always hear is people say, “I want to make a difference.” And I know I’ve used that phrase many times.*⁵⁷²

C) The logic of participation and consensus-building

The logic of participation and consensus-building is the result of the influence of the logic of community within the organisation. This is evidenced through comments such as the following, which while it demonstrates a dual focus on both the community and the actors working on its behalf, places greater emphasis on the community dynamic: ‘generally, what we try to do is to mirror in the organisation how we work with communities, which is participation, inclusion, moving forward together.’⁵⁷³ Supporting evidence for the existence of the logic of participation and consensus-building includes comments from interviewees that there is a meeting culture within the organisation, as well as the example of the director who spoke about how they had to adjust their leadership style on joining the organisation from a more authoritarian to consultative one. In relation to this example, additional evidence includes both the fact that top-down decision-making without consultation is seen in a negative light, and the examples provided of senior leaders listening to those they managed and adjusting their decisions accordingly.⁵⁷⁴

Nevertheless, there is also evidence to suggest that the logic of participation and consensus-building can be a source of tension within the organisation, because the dominant logic in relation to decision-making processes is currently ‘Corporation influenced by

⁵⁷⁰ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷¹ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷² [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷³ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷⁴ See section 2.A.4 in Chapter 5.

Community' and therefore the top-down aspect generally takes precedence over the participatory aspect. An example of this that emerged in the interviews was in relation to the scope of one interviewee's role. In this instance, a new staff member had certain expectations regarding their work that 'were put in place at appointment,' but with a change of immediate line manager came a 'root and branch review' and consequently, a 'strategic shift'. This meant that these initial expectations were not met, and the interviewee stated: 'my hope is that that might evolve over the next eight months, but at this stage it's not my call.'⁵⁷⁵ Worth noting here, however, is that the line manager concerned was very new to the organisation, and therefore unfamiliar with the adaptation of the logic of corporation in action within the organisation.

D) The logic of pastoral care and support

One of the findings related to the logic of religion is that while on the one hand it is restricted at the organisational level, on the other, key elements – such as the weekly prayer meetings and devotions, for example – have been incorporated into organisational life, which has led to the development of a logic of 'pastoral care and support' that manifests itself most explicitly at the individual level, although it is in action at the organisational level as well. While in operation prior to the new organisational strategy, this translation of the logic of religion has been legitimised and strengthened through it. Evidence for the existence of the logic of pastoral care and support includes one interviewee's comments in response to the question concerning what it means to them that the organisation is a Christian organisation:

it's a very caring organisation, and people can bring what they're going through at home, or what they're going through in life in general, in to work. And it's not just that, you know, they get a compassionate ear, but they get people who will pray for them. [...] When we've had situations at home I can put an email out and we actually have a team of people who, part of their role is to pray for people. People can send an email to the UK prayer team, and know that somebody will be praying for them, or several people will be praying for them. So yeah, just the sense that we're part of a family in that sense, in more ways than you would have just, even in the most caring secular organisation⁵⁷⁶

In a similar vein to this interviewee's comments regarding the caring nature of the organisation, other comments made by interviewees included the fact that they 'have a lot of support'⁵⁷⁷ and that 'there's a real culture of solidarity and supportiveness here.'⁵⁷⁸

The first interviewee quoted at length above also explained that:

most departments have a Monday morning stand up meeting for about half an hour where people will share progress on the activities and their plans, and we will pray about them. But people also will share personal things for prayer. They will share about, if it's a bereavement or if it's somebody's got an operation coming up, or... whatever it is, people feel open to bring quite personal things to a department of nearly a hundred

⁵⁷⁵ [Joseph], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷⁶ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷⁷ [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁷⁸ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

*people and have people pray for them. [...] And people will then come up to [them] afterwards and say, well, what happened, how did it go, and things like that*⁵⁷⁹

These comments are particularly important with reference to McPherson and Sauder's paper, summarised in Chapter 2, which points out that although there are studies that explore the 'macro-to-micro effects of institutional logics,' these do not 'explicitly address how local actors reproduce and transform logics.'⁵⁸⁰ McPherson and Sauder also highlight the need for deeper understanding of 'how actors in complex institutional environments and organizations – the people who make everyday decisions in multi-institutional organizational environments – construct responses and manage identities in the face of institutional contradictions.'⁵⁸¹ Thus, the comments in the citation above are a good example of how the logic of religion – articulated at the organisational level by referring to the fact that the organisation has a Christian identity – is being reproduced and transformed by staff members, who not only take agency to stand up in meetings and request prayer for personal matters, but also sustain the logic's existence within the organisation through such actions. The logic of pastoral care and support is a means for employees to manage their multiple identities, and in particular, the restriction of the logic of religion to certain spaces at the organisational level.

The logic of pastoral care and support perhaps exists within the organisation because the logic of religion takes the familiar form of practices associated with church, particularly in relation to the prayer meetings that are organised as well as the format of staff devotions:

*it feels a little bit like a church service, so we'll have prayer, we'll have worship, we'll have someone speaking at the front, often that will be speaking about something theological.*⁵⁸²

In this sense, the form that the logic of religion takes organisationally is a 'taken-for-granted' form, as discussed in Chapter 2. Further, the same behaviour seems to be expected of staff that would be expected within congregations, both in terms of how people treat others and their value systems, amongst other things. These behavioural expectations are unwritten rules, and were mentioned by several interviewees, particularly in relation to employees that had not met these expectations and therefore no longer worked for the organisation, already noted in Chapter 5. Also noteworthy is that in the UK office staff are constantly having to be told that the organisation is not a church: 'we're always saying we are not your church.'⁵⁸³

This translation of the logic of religion is not only evidenced at the individual level, however. It is also in action at the organisational level in several ways, although less explicitly; for example, in the expectation that managers are expected to assume a pastoral role, not only in relation to the teams they are responsible for, but also as role models within the wider organisation. By way of another example, the UK prayer team is not only responsible for prayer communications, but also prays for staff; in this way, pastoral prayer for staff has been incorporated into the organisational structure.

⁵⁷⁹ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁸⁰ McPherson and Sauder, "Logics in Action," 168.

⁵⁸¹ McPherson and Sauder, "Logics in Action," 168.

⁵⁸² [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁸³ [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

2. How do individual actors negotiate these logics on a daily basis?

The typology enabled analysis of the action of logics at the individual level; that is, how employees understand, assume and navigate organisational-level logics. In this aspect of the research, I focused mainly on points of co-existence, conflation and conflict, because what was of primary interest to me was how individuals in hybrid organisations negotiate logics when there are several in action. How, for example, do they cope with the demands from competing logics? At which specific points are the different logics compatible or in tension? Among the questions that I asked individuals, then, included those that touched on which aspects of their role are most significant to them and why, which aspects they least enjoy and which aspects they find challenging.

One of the key findings relates to the importance at the individual level of the logics of religion and community. For several interviewees, these are conflated at points: one referred to the work of the organisation as ‘God’s work’, for example, and another spoke of the organisation’s mission as being ‘God’s mission’.⁵⁸⁴ In both of these cases, interviewees are attributing a religious meaning to development, humanitarian and advocacy work. For some, the logics of religion and community are compatible: for instance, several spoke of how their connection to the cause, community or organisation emerged from their faith.⁵⁸⁵ Yet these logics are not only conflated or compatible, but together they also enable people to negotiate conflict: both in relation to the general work-related frustrations and tensions that individuals experience, as well as the conflicts that arise between logics. As one interviewee explained, for example:

I don’t personally carry the weight of everything on my shoulders because I believe that there’s a God who, you know, he’s much more powerful than me and actually ultimately, it’s his responsibility for the wellbeing of the world and all I’m called to do is my bit, so it actually absolves me from overloading myself with guilt or... all the stuff that I can’t actually control, which makes it more manageable.⁵⁸⁶

In another interview, it became clear that while career path is also important, the interviewee is primarily motivated by the possibility of ‘helping people’. They took on the role because, as they explained, it provided them with the opportunity both to progress in terms of their career, but also to ‘engage to have a difference in people’s lives.’⁵⁸⁷ While a tension between the logic of corporation and the logic of community was evident throughout this interview, and seemingly on a daily basis for the employee, they explained that they ‘stick with the role’ because it provides them with the opportunity ‘to actually get out [...] to go to countries, to see the work, to engage with communities and engage with [...] national senior leadership.’ Thus, the fact that this staff member is personally highly motivated by the logic of community enables them to deal with the tensions they face in the role, tensions that are for the most part related to decision-making and the organisation’s corporate structures.

Another interviewee, speaking in relation to the staff they managed, contrasted KPIs with ‘personal’ measures of success, which were not measured by the organisation. These measures of success included helping staff to deliver good quality work, and also supporting them through personally challenging times. A tension became apparent through our

⁵⁸⁴ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁸⁵ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Priscilla], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁸⁶ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁸⁷ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

conversation between the logic of corporation and those of religion and community as far as 'success' is concerned. The source of this tension is that these personal measures of success are not captured by the manager's KPIs, but either contribute towards someone else's KPIs or are not measured at all. The manager explained, however, that this is where their faith enables them to be humble, and to keep in mind that ultimately, they are carrying out their work for the sake of the communities the organisation serves:

it's slightly vicarious in a way, because I'm sort of being fulfilled as it were through the work of others, which is quite tricky and obviously you have much less control of that, and it sometimes feels like you're not recognised so much for that. But in a way I suppose that's also where the sort of faith side comes in, in terms of being able to be humble about, well, I'm not doing this for myself, and of course, you know, we're not doing any of our work for ourselves anyway here, but [...] I've, previously fallen into the trap of wanting to be as it were recognised or congratulated for doing a particular piece of work or being in the limelight for something, but we do have to keep reminding ourselves it's... the reason why we do our work for the [communities] who we're serving, and not just the organisation.⁵⁸⁸

Success for this interviewee personally is therefore 'defined and determined by ethical precepts,' as became apparent through the course of the interview. It is this that is the driving factor behind the time and effort they put into those aspects of their work not captured by the KPIs, enabling them to both keep the organisation's mission in mind – which they understand as being simultaneously about 'carrying out God's purposes' and 'action in service of the community' – and to accept the importance of KPIs as far as the organisational-level conceptualisation of success is concerned. Thus, for this interviewee, the logics of religion and community provide them with resources to deal with the tensions between logics. This example also touches on the interviewee's identity within the organisation, and the tension between their 'position within the organisation' – status in this case – and their commitment to others. Although the pull within the organisation is towards the corporate logic, the interviewee's faith is the factor that brings their focus back to the needs of the community, reminding them that they are serving a higher purpose than the organisation.

Nevertheless, although the logics of religion and community instil a sense of purpose in staff and provide resources that enable them to deal with tensions at work, they also appear to be a source of tension for some since they increase the expectations staff place on themselves and on the organisation too. While one interviewee spoke positively of the spiritual element of organisational life, which they felt offered 'a much more holistic view of life than working in a big corporate where you're just there to drive the bottom line and do your best,' they spoke of personal stress on account of their own commitment to the cause as well:

because I'm so invested in the organisation and the mission, I tend to personalise quite a lot of stress around the organisation. So if things aren't going well I will tend to take that on myself. And so actually sort of sometimes separating yourself out from the stresses of the work and the, you know, the size of the mission we have and the challenges of the mission can be quite difficult. You can become too... almost too

⁵⁸⁸ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

*invested sometimes, and [...] you have to really look after yourself to be able to give your best every day.*⁵⁸⁹

3. What roles does the logic of religion play and how does it interact with other institutional logics?

The logic of religion is central within organisational practice, and this stems from the relatively recent drive for the organisation to focus on its Christian identity:

*in the last 2/3/4 years we've really started to pick up again our Christian identity and say look this is who we are. We must not hide who we are, you know, we must be much more overt about the fact that we're a Christian organisation and why we do our work. And we must be more prepared to take risks in that area.*⁵⁹⁰

This shift is connected in part to the market logic, as shown above, but is nevertheless having a wider impact on the organisation as well. While this quote references externally-facing dynamics, the interviews also highlighted internally-facing dynamics.

For the most part, the logic of religion can co-exist with other dominant logics because it plays a supporting role.⁵⁹¹ Many of the key practices associated with it, such as sung worship and prayer, are restricted to certain spaces at the organisational level. One example of this is the 45-minute 'devotions' that are held each week, to which all staff are invited. These devotions are well attended, typically attracting around eighty to one hundred staff members, and take a similar form to that of a church service, with the main components of the time together being sung worship, prayer, and a short talk with a theological focus.⁵⁹² There are also daily small group devotions, referred to by some as 'prayers', although it is an unwritten rule that you only attend one of these meetings each week – as one interviewee remarked, questions would be asked if someone were attending prayers every day.⁵⁹³ These meetings are compatible with the corporate logic because they help to build a strong and unified organisational culture; non-faith-based DEC organisations that I spoke with have similar practices.⁵⁹⁴ Therefore, the logics of corporation and religion tend to coexist for the most part. The main place where they come into conflict relates to recruitment priorities and the GOR. As already noted, this emerged as a point of tension within the organisation, since when there is a GOR in place, the logic of religion moves from a supporting role to a dominant role, and can at times clash with the telos of the logic of corporation.

The GOR was attributed to the organisational focus on its Christian identity, on account of which, those either in senior management positions or outward-facing roles need to be able to carry and represent the Christian identity of the organisation.⁵⁹⁵ Some also spoke of the GOR in relation to the Christian ethos and culture that the organisation is seeking to develop. There were examples in the interview transcripts of those who had ended up leaving

⁵⁸⁹ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹⁰ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹¹ Besharov and Smith, "Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations." See, for example, 'mission' and 'source of legitimacy', above.

⁵⁹² [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹³ [Paul], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹⁴ Context-building interview, UK, March 2019.

⁵⁹⁵ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

the organisation when they realised that its culture was not what they had expected, causing discomfort:

there's almost a cultural Christianity if I would use that expression. And I think [...] a point to make about whether a role has a GOR or not, people still need to be comfortable with working in a Christian environment. So I know that there was one role I think in IT where there wasn't a GOR for that role, and we thought the best candidate wasn't actually a Christian, and they came and then they said, yeah I realise it's a Christian environment, and, you know, fine, I'll work in a Christian organisation da da da... they left after... within a week they just said no this is not the thing for me. So people do need to be comfortable with it, because people encounter it all the time.⁵⁹⁶

The GOR is one example where elements associated with the logic of religion have been incorporated into organisational-level practice. Connected to this, another example is the expectation for managers to have some degree of pastoral influence within the organisation, not only in relation to the teams they are responsible for, but also within the wider organisation, and the requirement for managers to act as role models for others as well.⁵⁹⁷ A third example is prayer, a practice associated with the logic of religion. While the meeting spaces allocated solely to religious practices are restricted, prayer has been incorporated into the everyday life of the organisation:

You know, we pray together, as a leadership team and in my team. And not everybody within the organisation is Christian, but there's an openness to that, obviously people are sympathetic to that if they've joined. So the fact that we can pray about, and bring God into our thinking and into our meetings, and our decision-making, and our relationship building is really important.⁵⁹⁸

Several interviewees noted that one of the positive aspects of working for the organisation is that it enables them to bring their 'whole self', or all of who they are, to work. By this, they were referring to the fact that they can bring their faith into their workplace. Others expressed a similar sentiment in relation to faith, and spoke of also being able to bring what they are going through at home to the office.⁵⁹⁹ One of the findings related to the logic of religion is that the incorporation of prayer into organisational life plays a key role in this regard, since it serves to blur the boundaries between interviewees' work life and personal life. Prayer is understood and practiced in differing ways within Christian communities – something that emerged as a source of tension within the organisation – yet regardless of the precise form that prayer takes, it is difficult, if not impossible, to remove the personal dimension of prayer. Prayer is not only a means of communication between an individual or group and God, but it is also an expression of the relationship that exists between God and the community.⁶⁰⁰ Thus, the incorporation of prayer into meetings and decision-making

⁵⁹⁶ [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹⁷ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹⁸ [Priscilla], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁵⁹⁹ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Mary], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017; [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁶⁰⁰ In relation to prayer, theologian Andrew Prevot states that is: 'provides unparalleled training in the ways of hospitality and responsibility. By requiring one to receive the wholly other God, prayer constitutes a paradigm for the radical form of welcoming that must be extended toward every other other' (Andrew Prevot, *Thinking*

necessarily brings a personal dimension into these work spaces also. Another positive aspect to prayer is that it provides staff with the opportunity to create distance from work at work, which can be valuable at times. While Christianity is a different form of religious expression to Islam, this resonates with Gümüşay, Smets and Morris's findings.⁶⁰¹

In relation to the interviewee's comments cited in section 2 above about people sharing personal prayer requests during the departmental Monday morning meetings, when I asked whether this is something that has always happened within the organisation, they noted that with the new strategy and specific objective to 'live out' the Christian faith 'with boldness and humility,' people are feeling more confident in this regard. They commented that:

*in some ways, the level of, that kind of level of support has gone up, sort of praying for each other. People in our supporter care team pray for supporters, and they pray for supporters sometimes on the telephone with the supporter. So, yeah, there's just that sense that, you know, we are there for each other, we're there for our supporters as well.*⁶⁰²

Thus, practices such as this occurred previously, but have increased, and this seems to be in part attributed to the new organisational strategy, which legitimises such practices by encouraging boldness in relation to the expression of faith. This is a fourth example where the logic of religion has influenced organisational-level practices. While this strategic objective seems to be connected to the logic of market as well, here it is important to highlight the influence it is having at the organisational level. Arguably, this also serves as an example of what Gümüşay et al. term 'elastic hybridity', since the organisation is 'making space' through its intentional use of vague language within the strategy that can be interpreted in differing ways – 'to live out our faith with boldness and humility' – and individuals are 'taking space' where they can through their use of all available opportunities for prayer.

Reflecting more specifically on how the logic of religion interacts with other institutional logics, of particular interest here are the points of tension, which I found relate to the telos of the logic of corporation for the most part. The source of tension is because while the telos of the logic of religion (worship God) *transcends* the organisation, that of the logic of corporation *is* the organisation itself. While the telos of the logic of religion is of critical importance since it is one of the main purposes of the organisation's existence, there is tension within the organisation when the telos of the logic of corporation is dominant yet incompatible with the logic of religion.

4. Addressing the primary research question

How, then, do the findings from the empirical research relate to the primary research question this thesis is seeking to address, concerning how faith influences the practice of FBOs? In this final section of the chapter, I will first discuss questions that were found to be prevalent within the FBO during the empirical research that relate to the primary research question, before discussing the research question itself.

Prayer: Theology and Spirituality amid the Crises of Modernity, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 26).

⁶⁰¹ Gümüşay et al., *God at Work*.

⁶⁰² [Philip], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

A) What questions is the FBO asking in this regard?

1) *Is our organisational practice distinct in relation to other organisations?*

As discussed in the Introduction, the literature within the field of religions and development has tended to approach FBOs by seeking to either critique or demonstrate their distinctiveness in relation to other organisations, placing emphasis on certain aspects of their practice, such as that which is externally-facing, rather than their practice as a whole. As Freeman notes, the question that has featured most prominently within the literature, is ‘whether faith influences the way FBOs actually carry out relief and development.’⁶⁰³ FBOs themselves have sought to demonstrate their distinctiveness and the specific value that their faith brings to their work, often in relation to impact, and the case study FBO is no exception to this. As highlighted in Chapter 3, an underlying reason for this focus relates to the increased funding that has been channelled through such organisations since the latter part of the twentieth century. This has led to greater scrutiny of FBOs, and consequently, to a desire on their part to articulate their added value. The general pressure on organisations to secure funds has also increased in recent years, which has led to heightened competition between organisations within the sector, and the growing influence of the logic of market. Within the context-building interviews, for example, representatives of one FBO referred several times to the organisation’s ‘niche’ – a marketing term used to refer to what positively distinguishes an organisation from other organisations.⁶⁰⁴ Interestingly, one representative noted the difficulty the organisation has had in identifying this: ‘we always have this discussion about [the organisation’s] niche and nobody, we have discussions but nobody ever says yes this is our niche.’⁶⁰⁵ As noted above, the expression of faith within the case study FBO seems to be evaluated according to impact – in terms of the ‘difference’ that faith makes to the organisation’s work.

Organisational responses to questions concerning how faith influences the practice of Christian organisations are often comparative, with such organisations noting how their practice is distinct from organisations that are not faith-based – which again is likely due to the influence of the market logic. This was evidenced both within the organisation and the literature. In response to the question ‘what does it mean to you that this is a Christian organisation,’ for example, one interviewee noted that it influences:

*on the whole our values and the way we treat people and the way we engage with people both here, with staff, but also, most importantly with the [people] we work with and their communities. I think we do tend to work more on a sort of, honest, long-term relationship with our partners rather than just being very transactional and exploitative. You know, even in the NGO sector, I’ve seen NGOs that are quite happy to exploit beneficiaries or situations in order just to get more publicity, or more funding, or whatever it might be.*⁶⁰⁶

Another interviewee responded to this question by first speaking about the fact that the values of the organisation resonated with their own, and then referring to the behaviours that

⁶⁰³ Freeman, *Tearfund and the Quest*, 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Context-building interview, UK, October 2017.

⁶⁰⁵ Context-building interview, UK, October 2017.

⁶⁰⁶ [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

the organisation is seeking to promote. However, they went on to compare the FBO to organisations that do not have a faith basis, explaining that the organisation's values are 'not necessarily unique,' and said: 'this is where it gets tricky, so as a Christian do you monopolise positive values? No, because there are plenty of other people out there that espouse those values and live them out.'⁶⁰⁷ In a similar vein, the reflections of others in response to this question also mostly singled out aspects of practice that they then noted could be applicable to non-FBOs too. It became apparent that part of the difficulty in addressing the question concerned the fact that specific practices could not be designated as solely 'Christian' practices, and therefore interviewees were either hesitant to attribute them to the faith identity of the organisation, or felt they had to distinguish the manifestation of the practice within the FBO from that within other organisations – as being more visible, more extreme, and so forth. In the case of this second interviewee, for example, while they acknowledged that others have similar positive values and live them out, they followed that with, 'But I think overall, it is more explicit, or it's more a natural part of how we do things.'⁶⁰⁸

2) *What does our Christian identity actually mean in practice?*

As shown already, a key area of focus within the FBO is its Christian identity, and using the framework of institutional logics, the source of the organisation's identity according to the logic of religion was found to be the 'active expression of its faith.' One of the key questions being asked within the organisation is how this Christian identity is expressed across the breadth of organisational practice, and thus what it means in practice that the organisation is a Christian organisation. What is in question here is not *whether* faith influences organisational practice, but rather, *how* it does so. More specifically, the focus is on how it is *visibly* expressed.

With regards to this question, the following exchange is worth citing at length, since it is representative of a tension that emerged not only within the FBO, but with others that I spoke with during the research process as well:

Peter: The thing that I'm really interested in, is that we come together as a group of individual Christians, and then we call the organisation a Christian organisation. And it clearly is something that means something, and we throw the phrase round a lot and I've really sort of wrestled, and having been here [many] years I still haven't got to the answer of what does it actually mean for the organisation to be Christian? ... we have founding principles that are Christian, we try and weave our faith in with our work, so it's not just an add-on. But I haven't really got to the bottom of what that really means.

NK: Would you be able to articulate what the source of the wrestling is?

Peter: Yeah, I think the wrestling is that, if we're saying the organisation's Christian there should be something different about the organisation. We should be doing something that sets us apart from average organisations. And so, you can have fantastic organisations like John Lewis, Waitrose, that look after their staff and they do lots of good things because they make business sense. And I have this sort of theory that as a Christian organisation we should be aiming for the highest possible standards of

⁶⁰⁷ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁶⁰⁸ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

professionalism, we should be aiming to do everything really well to honour God and do his work as well as possible, but I feel somehow there should be something extra that, allowing us to bring our faith to work enables us to do as an organisation. And the closest articulation we've had is really when we've been talking about the organisation having a prophetic voice, and being able to speak out about certain things and perhaps speak God's words into a particular area of government or something like that. And I just feel that there's something that as an organisation we should be carrying, something as an organisation that sets us apart from your normal, well-run corporate.

Here, the interviewee seems to be focusing on concrete practices; for example, using phrases such as: '[w]e should be *doing* something that sets us apart from average organisations' and 'I feel somehow there should be something extra that, allowing us to bring our faith to work enables us to *do* as an organisation.' Their approach therefore appears at first to mirror approaches that focus solely on practices that can be observed by those outside of the organisation. Yet our exchange continued as follows:

NK: So then it's not at the level of practice in a sense—

Peter: Well it might affect our practice that's the thing. I mean as I said I look at companies like, GE, John Lewis, they're incredibly well-run organisations and they put a very high premium on developing staff, and John Lewis gives people profit shares, and they try and... you know, all these good organisations try and make a difference in the world in some way. But they're not faith-based organisations. We're a faith-based organisation and in order to do our work well we've got to adopt a lot of the practices of the well-run organisations to make sure we are sustainable and we're in it for the long-term. But there, I feel there has to be something different about us being a Christian organisation, and what does that mean.⁶⁰⁹

It is notable that they also speak here of the way in which the FBO has to 'adopt' the practices of 'well-run organisations' such as John Lewis. The language of 'adoption' indicates that they see a distinction between the FBO and these organisations, even though many of their practices might be the same. They also note that well-run organisations 'do lots of good things because they make business sense,' which suggests that the distinction between these organisations relates to their underlying motivation; for example, whether 'business sense' or 'faith' is behind the 'good things' that they do.

The tension or wrestling that the interviewee experiences concerns how to identify and articulate the concrete difference that the faith element makes to the organisation's work. Interestingly, the basis of comparison for them is corporate companies such as John Lewis or GE, rather than other NGOs, and they ultimately articulate the difference not in terms of practice, but rather, the prophetic. In response to this, one interviewee noted in a follow-up conversation that:

Traditionally, prophetic tended to be messages others didn't want to hear – i.e. at tension with the logic of the market. In reality, the latter (market) tends to prevail under

⁶⁰⁹ [Peter], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

*the guise of longer-term sustainability (i.e. we can do God's work for longer if we don't upset potential funders).*⁶¹⁰

Thus, according to this interviewee, organisational practice is still ultimately subject to the logic of long-term sustainability. This same interviewee noted in their initial interview that the faith element of the organisation's work is different only in as much as there is an 'added' or 'spiritual' dimension to the work, which they described as 'intangible'.⁶¹¹ This resonates with sentiments that emerged within other interviews, such as the one with an interviewee who said that while they could do the work they do in a 'secular' organisation, the fact that the organisation is Christian: 'does add an extra depth and value to the work.'⁶¹² During the context-building interviews, another interviewee commented:

*why would I want to move to another NGO? ... Because really, we do the same work. But [this organisation] has that added niche, added value, that we have this, you know, we work, we have the church and its networks and we have this wonderful bunch of ... supporters and a wonderful bunch of partners we work with.*⁶¹³

Thus, while the work of the FBO is 'the same' as other organisations, this interviewee perceived it to have an 'added niche' or 'added value', articulated here in terms of its connection to the church and its networks, as well as its supporters and partners, which are largely faith-based.

B) How does faith influence organisational practice?

At this point it is worth returning to Tanner's argument in *Theories of Culture*, since this provides a helpful framing for the insights emerging through the empirical research. The language of 'adoption' used by the interviewee in the excerpt cited above resonates with Tanner's argument; a Christian way of life has to take materials – or practices – from other ways of life. This, because it is oriented by that which is transcendent. Christians are seeking to be true to God, rather than something inherent within practices themselves.⁶¹⁴ Tanner expresses this in another way, describing a Christian way of life as 'essentially parasitic': 'it has to establish relations with other ways of life, it has to take from them, in order to be one itself.'⁶¹⁵

Tanner also highlights the distinction between cultural *products* and cultural *processes*, and this too has important resonances with the institutional logics perspective and research findings; when the 'activity of production' is not considered, culture 'appears as a product apart from the historical processes in and through which it emerges,' and further, as a '[fact] of nature.'⁶¹⁶ Yet this is not true to reality. To express this in a different way, cultural practices emerge within and through specific contexts and as such, are continually

⁶¹⁰ [James], Written comment to author, UK, February 2023.

⁶¹¹ [James], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁶¹² [John], Interview with author, UK, December 2017.

⁶¹³ Context-building interview, UK, October 2017.

⁶¹⁴ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 152-153. This resonates with Stanley's comments, quoted in Chapter 3, that evangelical Christians 'have generally been quite pragmatic in their use of structure' (Stanley, "Where Have Our Mission Structures," 41.)

⁶¹⁵ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 113.

⁶¹⁶ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 41.

conditioned by these. While there is a tendency to separate product and process from one another, as Tanner explains, this obscures 'the fact that [cultural] products can be altered as cultural processes continue.'⁶¹⁷ She writes:

By deflecting attention from the cultural process of which they are a part, one gives the impression that the hardening or immobility of cultural productions is just a natural fact over which human beings have no control. Nothing, however, keeps such cultural productions in place, with the shape they have, except the continuing commitment to them of the participants in the culture.⁶¹⁸

The institutional logics perspective is helpful in this regard, since as Thornton highlights, it 'assumes that what is considered legitimate changes depending upon the cultural context' and can therefore shed light not only on how culture 'motivates' action, but also on how it 'justifies' action.⁶¹⁹ Returning to Friedland's comments on the institutional substance, noted in Chapter 2, practices can adapt and change 'without necessarily transforming the substance which is their ground;' in other words, without losing their rootedness in specific institutional orders.⁶²⁰

Bringing Tanner's thinking to bear on the institutional sphere and the conversation regarding how faith influences organisational practice, one could argue that in relation to the practice of FBOs, the cultural product or practice that might appear to be 'secular', and is often assessed as such, must be viewed alongside the historical and cultural processes of which it is a part. The practices of FBOs, like the practices of other organisations, are neither static nor fixed, but can continue to adapt and be shaped by alternative logics:

[O]nce set, the rules governing a cultural practice do not become independent of the future decisions and behaviors of the players; decisions can be made in the course of the practice that change the rules. The rules themselves do not establish in advance what players can do; they merely sum up how the practice has been performed so far.⁶²¹

The marker of an organisation's Christian identity, or any other identity for that matter, then, relates to the nature and process of organising, on account of which organisational practices should not be taken for granted, but can shift and adapt. Indeed, this emphasis on both the symbolic and the material is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the institutional logics perspective. An example of this can be found in the language of 'adoption' used by the interviewee cited above.

Paulo Quattrone, examining the emergence of accounting practices in the Jesuit Order in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, spotlights the 'historical dynamism' of social orders.⁶²² What is especially insightful from Quattrone's research is the finding that the Jesuits' rationality was 'unfolding': 'the Jesuits' rationality inextricably linked *how* social action took place (the means) to debating *why* this action took place (the ends, the *intentio*)

⁶¹⁷ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 168.

⁶¹⁸ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 168-169.

⁶¹⁹ Thornton, "Culture and Institutional Logics," 554.

⁶²⁰ Friedland, "The Endless Fields," 23.

⁶²¹ Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 168-169.

⁶²² Paulo Quattrone, "Governing Social Orders, Unfolding Rationality, and Jesuit Accounting Practices: A Procedural Approach to Institutional Logics," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2015): 411.

... the Jesuit Order was thus, and operated as, a continuous Jesuit *ordering*.⁶²³ ‘Unfolding rationality’ therefore refers to the relationship between means and ends, where the means are continually steered by the ends. Relating this to the concept of the ‘telos’, one could accordingly argue that rationality evolves in practice according to the telos of each institutional logic. Friedland and Alford’s insight that rationality is institution-specific is worth restating here, and on this basis, one could argue that the practices that emerge within each institutional order are *teleologically* rational. This is perhaps why the points of tension between logics that emerged through the empirical research, highlighted above, all relate to the telos. Although this insight is applicable to all logics to varying degrees, it is particularly helpful in relation to the logic of religion, where the telos relates to that which is transcendent, and is therefore intangible and difficult to measure and define in a concrete way. Bringing these insights together, the influence of faith at the organisational level predominantly relates to the *process of organising*. Examples here include the use of prayer across a range of organisational spaces – decision-making, meetings, interviews; the importance placed on the faith of senior leaders since they are responsible for the most significant organisational decisions; and so forth. It is perhaps more helpful, then, to speak of ‘Christian organising’ rather than ‘Christian organisations’.

5. Conclusion

I began this chapter by discussing the empirical research questions. Four organisational-level translations of the field-level logics in action within the organisation were first outlined: the logic of long-term sustainability, which is an adaptation of the logic of corporation; the logic of impact, which is a consequence of the conflation of the logic of market with that of community; the logic of participation and consensus-building, which is a result of the logic of community’s influence within the organisation; and the logic of pastoral care and support, which is a result of the logic of religion’s restriction at the organisational level. I then addressed how logics are negotiated at the individual level on a daily basis, arguing that the logics of community and religion are particularly important for individuals; while they can be a source of tension, they also provide resources for them to deal with the tensions they face at work.

Following on from this, I discussed the logic of religion specifically, arguing that it is predominantly in action at the individual level since it is restricted to certain spaces at the organisational level. In spite of its restriction, however, this logic is also impacting practice in several ways at this level, and I outlined examples that emerged through the research process in this regard. I argued in this section that the points of tension in relation to the logic of religion primarily relate to the telos of the logic of corporation, and this is because the practices that emerge within each institutional order are teleologically rational. This insight is applicable to all institutional logics, but is particularly helpful with regards to the logic of religion, whose telos is difficult to measure and define in relation to specific practices. According to the logic of religion, then, FBOs will ultimately be seeking to ‘worship God,’ rather than to adhere to something inherent within organisational practices themselves. Thus, they not only adopt practices from other sources, but also adapt these to serve this end. Connected to this, in relation to the overarching research question of the thesis, I argued that the influence of faith at the organisational level predominantly relates to the *process of organising*.

⁶²³ Quattrone, “Governing Social Orders,” 435.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

1. Summary of argument

Through this thesis, I set out to explore how faith influences the practice of faith-based development, humanitarian and advocacy NGOs, focusing in particular on one UK-based FBO rooted in the Christian faith, and using the institutional logics perspective as my theoretical framework. The argument I advance through the thesis is that the influence of faith at the organisational level predominantly relates to the *process of organising*. Arguably, this line of reasoning has been implicit within the thesis from the outset given my analytical use of institutional logics, which as noted in the introductory chapters can be said to guide 'organising principles'. Tanner's thought on 'ways of life' and Deneulin and Bano's engagement with MacIntyre's 'traditions of thought' were also highlighted, both of which draw attention to the dynamic processes that feed into social practices. The historical research included in Chapter 3 further promoted this line of argument, highlighting elements within the sector's history that have fed into its cultural practices, as did the research in Chapter 4, which placed emphasis on field-level elements.

Yet while the approach taken in the thesis could be said to pre-empt its eventual argument, it could equally be claimed that what the thesis does is to propose an alternative narrative to that which is prevalent within the study and practice of FBOs, and then demonstrate its outworking through a case study. Indeed, the empirical research highlighted that this perspective on the role of faith is not one that is acknowledged within the organisation, whose focus is still predominantly on what is tangible, asking questions such as: is our organisational practice distinct in relation to other organisations? What does our Christian identity actually mean in practice? While the questions the organisation is asking in relation to its Christian identity currently appear to be rooted in that which is concrete, in practice, as I have argued above, its Christian identity appears to be rooted in the act of organising, which although discernible to a certain degree, is far less tangible. Further, this line of thought is not dominant within the study of FBOs within religions and development either, where the focus has tended to be on their distinctiveness and effectiveness as well, as discussed in the Introduction. This narrative not only helps to make sense of the organisation's own internal wrestling, then, but also opens up the potential for the study of FBOs in religions and development to engage with alternative research questions. The importance of the thesis therefore not only lies in the novel perspective that it brings to the study of FBOs, but also in its empirical research, which demonstrates the practical value of this perspective. In the following sections, I outline the contribution of the thesis more specifically in relation to the existing literature.

2. Contribution of thesis

A) Contribution to the study of FBOs in religions and development

The primary contribution of this thesis is to the study of FBOs within the field of religions and development. In this regard, the thesis makes several contributions to the literature, the first of which concerns the theoretical perspective employed to analyse the practice of one FBO. While various typologies have been constructed to study FBOs in this field, I have brought a new perspective to this area of work – that of institutional logics – and developed an analytical tool that can be adapted for use in future studies. The institutional logics perspective can be

used to complement existing approaches by shedding light on dynamics not currently captured by them, thus bringing valuable insights to this area of study. By highlighting dynamics and processes that inform and impact on organisational practice, the perspective has helped to situate the case study organisation within a wider context. The two chapters that laid the ground for this were Chapter 3, which set the organisation within a historical context, and Chapter 4, which set the organisation within the context of a specific field. Both of these chapters fed into the data analysis via the analytical tool. Use of the perspective has also enabled multilevel analysis of organisational practice itself, shedding light on processes and interactions at the individual level, and showing how these impact on, and are impacted by, processes and interactions at the organisational and field levels. Multilevel analysis such as this, especially that which captures dynamics at the individual level, is missing from most current studies of FBOs, but generates valuable insights concerning practice, as this research has demonstrated.

As highlighted in the Introduction, the dominant approaches within much of the literature on FBOs in religions and development also tend to assume a secular lens, not only placing emphasis on what is observable in relation to practice, but using non-FBOs as a supposedly 'neutral' benchmark as well. The tendency within the literature to refer to organisations without a faith basis as 'secular' tends to obscure more than it illuminates. It is used most often to refer to organisations' programmatic work. While it makes sense on one level to focus on organisations' activities on the ground – that is, how they carry out their development, humanitarian and advocacy work – this is only one part of the larger scope of what constitutes organisational practice. The distinction between 'products' and 'processes' is also important here. Although certain cultural products or practices might appear to be 'secular', and are often assessed as such, they must be viewed alongside the historical and cultural processes in which they are embedded, as discussed in chapter 3, where religion might either have played a historical role in forming the practice, or might be playing a current role by providing an underlying motivation for the practice. Further, history demonstrates that the practices of FBOs and non-FBOs alike are neither static nor fixed, but can continue to adapt and be shaped by their contexts. Practices do not tell us the whole story. To draw on the example noted in Chapter 3, although in terms of their operation, the practices of aid organisations in certain respects are indistinguishable from commercial organisations, they are still 'aid' organisations.

The empirical research further demonstrates that organisational practice is complex in reality, with multiple interconnected parts. The emphasis the research places on the need for a broader understanding of 'organisational work' and 'organisational practice' was also a feature of the research from the beginning, echoing Berger's comments that the religious character of activities can be missed if analyses focus only on certain aspects of an organisation's work. The point here is that aspects of work, such as programmatic work, are just one part of a bigger picture. Since I focused on 'organisation' rather than 'programmes' in this research, my approach could be critiqued on the basis that it ignores this latter important aspect of work and thus is also guilty of a narrow conceptualisation of organisational practice, albeit along different lines. However, it is important to highlight that there is room within the institutional logics perspective to incorporate programmatic aspects as well, by adding externally-focused categories to the typology of logics. I will note some specific possibilities in this regard in section 3.

Use of the institutional logics perspective has also brought to light other dynamics of interest that are as yet under-explored within this field of study. For example, in relation to

the logics that were found to be influential within organisational practice; that is, the four translations of logics in action at the organisational level – those of long-term sustainability, impact, participation and consensus-building, and pastoral care and support. These translations are significant for differing reasons and could be examined in greater depth through further research. For example, the logic of impact is important not only because of the way in which the emphasis on impact is shaping organisational practice within the sector – such as internally-facing organisational systems and processes, some examples of which were evidenced through the research – but also because of its influence within the wider sector, including the way it has shaped the questions being posed and addressed within the study of FBOs. Further research could helpfully explore how this drive towards impact differentially affects actors within the field. The logic of long-term sustainability is also significant, and one of the reasons for this, to give just one example, concerns the way in which it conflicts with the current drive towards decolonising aid within the sector, where power and resources should ideally be shifting from Western organisations, and ultimately, aid should cease to exist.

This final point also relates in important ways to the logic of community and the drive towards increased participation and consensus-building that stems from it, something also evidenced within the wider sector, where the value of community and pursuit of the common good are often upheld. Given the prominence of the logic of community both within the history of aid and contemporary practice, it will arguably be present in many NGOs and is worthy of further exploration. There are numerous potential further avenues for research stemming from the thesis and I will return to a number of these in section 3 below.

B) Contribution to the institutional logics perspective

While the thesis has been situated within the field of religions and development, and more specifically, the study of FBOs within this field, it also makes several contributions to the institutional logics perspective that are worth highlighting. The first relates to its focus on the logics of religion and community, which have been noticeably absent from much of the existing research to date. The logics of religion and community were found to be compatible since for many, their connection to the ‘cause’, community or organisation emerged from their faith. One of the main findings in relation to the logic of religion is that it primarily plays a supporting role at the organisational level, but a more prominent role at the individual level. The role of the logic of religion within organisational practice was shown through the research to be of significance not only because it enables the organisation to retain its Christian identity, but also because faith provides resources for staff. Similarly, the logic of community enables staff to deal with some of the tensions they experience at work, since it helps instil a sense of purpose through its focus on the needs of others, and thus provides resources that enable staff to deal with such tensions. There are of course also similarities between the two logics. As Binder’s research demonstrates, by having more than one logic explicitly in action, alternatives to the standard scripts and identities are provided. Within this research, examples of where these alternatives come into play include the managers who, on account of their faith, walk alongside staff members going through personally challenging times, or the ways staff members pray together and support one another. Further, it is important to restate here that what happens at the individual level has the potential to influence that which happens at the organisational level, as seen through this research.

The second contribution of the thesis to the institutional logics perspective is the emphasis placed on the ‘telos’ of each institutional logic. This is implicit within the

perspective, but has not been a major area of focus to date. In practice, the dominant telos was found to be the long-term sustainability of the organisation; which is that of the logic of corporation. Within the case study organisation, the points of tension concerning the action of faith across organisational practice were found to connect to this telos. Yet at a symbolic level, the telos of faith-based aid, whether it is defined predominantly in terms of the logic of religion or community, is primarily located *outside* of the organisation. Thus, the practices adopted to achieve this purpose come from other sources, and as such, are adapted to serve this end. The ‘test’ is perhaps in how flexible organisational structures are in responding when there is a perceived need for practices to be adapted.

3. What next?

This research faced several limitations, some of which could be addressed through further studies. While its focus was intentionally on the UK-based sector and one specific Christian organisation within this sector, one of its limitations was the lack of interviews within Islamic Relief, which resulted in the typology being more representative of Christianity than Islam. As acknowledged within this field of study, there is clearly a need to move beyond researching Christian FBOs. The perspective introduced and employed in this thesis could therefore be adapted for use within organisations in differing contexts, since the notion of examining organising principles in their multiplicity is helpful, as is the emphasis on interconnectedness within the broader field and sector. The typology could also be adapted for use in FBOs structured differently to the large NGOs examined here, for example, such as local faith communities or congregations. In this regard, the institutional logics perspective itself could also be tested in these contexts – is it a useful, or even relevant, perspective? It might also have proved fruitful to conduct a comparative study by carrying out the research within a non-faith-based organisation as well as the faith-based organisation selected; however, the process of gaining access to the case study organisation took so long that this was not felt to be plausible for this piece of research.

In relation to the institutional logics perspective specifically, there are several possible avenues for further research that could be explored more intentionally. At a general level, the perspective could be used to address the question: what does it mean to be a ‘secular’ organisation? Or in line with the argument advanced in this thesis, what does ‘secular’ organising look like in practice? A similar typology could be developed, and the logic of religion substituted with that of secularism. The connection between the logics of religion and community could also be examined further, from both a historical and contemporary perspective.

Turning now to the specifics of the typology developed through this thesis, there is plenty of scope to adapt or expand this to address questions pertinent within the field. For example, as suggested above, it could be expanded to include elements external to the organisation, such as aspects related to its programmatic work, for example, or capturing aspects related to external actors – such as donors, governments, local communities – and how these have a bearing on organisational practice. Further research could also test whether the telos of long-term sustainability is more widely applicable, as well as bring greater nuance to it, exploring further what it means in practice, or interrogating it from a theological or aid perspective, and so forth. And finally, given the current debate and emphasis on decolonisation within the sector, it could be beneficial to explore how the four organisational-level translations of logics either help or hinder decolonisation efforts in practice.

In closing, I hope that I have been able to illustrate through this thesis the value of the perspective that I bring to the study of FBOs, and the potential that it holds to engage in the most pressing questions in the field of religions and development today. Beyond the academic value of the thesis, I believe it also has a significant contribution to make to the practice of FBOs, not only by drawing attention to the dynamics underlying organisational practice, but also by shedding light on potential causative factors.

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