

**WHAT'S FAITH GOT TO DO WITH IT? DEVELOPING A THEORETICAL
MODEL FOR THE EMERGING FAITH-BASED NONPROFIT
ORGANIZATION: A CASE ANALYSIS**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated first and foremost to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, for giving me the strength and perseverance throughout not only the writing of this dissertation, but throughout my journey here on this earth; and secondly, to my husband, Jeff and my children Luke, Nicholas, Noah, Aaron, and Krista. A big thank you to all of you for your continual love and support throughout these many years of educational pursuits. I am blessed beyond measure.

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ABSTRACT

In spite of the growth of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in the non-profit sector, our understanding with regard to its organizational development process still lags behind. In particular, given the connection between faith, identity, and social capital, the study argues that an investigation of organizational identity and social capital of FBOs would provide a deeper understanding of issues related to FBO development and management. With a focus on the communication processes of multiple stakeholders, the study is an in-depth qualitative case analysis of an emerging FBO in a Midwestern Metropolitan area in the U.S. A second phase of the study applied findings to other FBOs in the same geographical area.

The purpose of this study was to develop a theoretical model for the faith-based organization. The data obtained from the in-depth field interviews, organizational documents, and field notes were analyzed through a grounded theory research method. This research resulted in new findings that demonstrate connections between several bodies of literature adding to our understanding of the developmental processes of the faith-based organization. Concluding remarks suggest parallels between the faith-based nonprofit and society at large, proposing that similar practices for managing differing values and principles in our society could bring greater understanding between diverse people groups.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Community structures are generally organized around three realms: the government, business, and nonprofit sectors. Like a three-legged stool, all three sectors must be present, sturdy, and working together to achieve balance and stability. However, in today's rapidly changing environment, there is considerable concern that the third sector—community-based nonprofit entities—may lack the capacity and technical expertise to keep up with change and thereby contribute to an enriched and healthy quality of life (De Vita, Fleming, & Twombly, 2001, p.5).

The 2010 census discovered that over 80% of the United States population lives in urban areas and of those, over 58% are in urbanized areas with a population over 200,000 (United States Census Bureau, 2010). With such a large percentage of the population living in urban spaces, it is important to consider the various challenges those areas encounter. Some of the challenges are due to rapid population growth and some are due to a rapid decline; however, both situations need to address the problem of population change. These changes are often accompanied by problems of funding in schools, changing neighborhoods, loss of jobs, inadequate infrastructure (either too much or too little), severing of family and social ties, and other controversial issues related to processes of social integration (Peters, 2010).

Urban areas are often more condensed than suburban or rural areas, resulting in greater population density. Unfortunately, even though urban life brings individuals in closer proximity to one another spatially, it often results in individuals being less connected socially. Putnam (2000) argued that social connectedness has declined in all parts of American society but urbanization could be partly responsible for the “decline in social connectedness over the last third of the twentieth century” (p. 207) and other research attributes increased crime and distrust to a decrease in meaningful relationships (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Social Exclusion Unit, 2000). How does the individual respond to the declining connectedness so prevalent in the urban areas? One way that has shown promise, is the nonprofit organization (DeVita, Fleming, & Twombly, 2001).

A nonprofit organization refers to what the tax code classifies as a "charitable" or 501(c) (3) organization whose purpose is to benefit the broad public interest. It is often referred to as the third sector due to its unique position between the private and public sectors (we will discuss this further in the next chapter). Nonprofits have been an important part of the urban fabric in America since before the 1800s (Bellah, Madsen, Swidler, Sullivan, & Tipton, 1985; Morone, 1990) and are not only important to our society economically—adding \$779 billion to the nation’s gross domestic product in 2010, providing 10 percent of the nation’s jobs in 2009 (Urban Institute, 2010), and employing more civilians than both the federal government and all of the state governments combined (O’Neill, 2002)— but “are central to the current debate on the future of American urban policy and politics” (Smith, 2001, p. 7). Perhaps this is because they are capable of bringing people together and helping to build trust and community in urban neighborhoods—a process that many citizens see as a critical

component to establishing values of democracy, responsive approaches to poverty, and other urban difficulties (Smith, 2001).

Rationale

For more than ten years, the nonprofit sector has been growing steadily. Between 2001 and 2011, the number of nonprofits increased 25 percent; surpassing the rate of both the business and government sectors (Urban Institute, 2012). During that same period of time, government became more involved in supporting faith-based nonprofit organizations—those organizations with some sort of religious connection. It is argued that increased government involvement could be responsible for a renewed interest in faith-based organizations in the academic arena (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013). For example, prior to 1994, publications in academic journals that focused on faith-based organizations (FBOs) averaged one per year. They began to steadily increase after 1994 and then decreased after 2003—peaking in 2003 with 95 publications (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013). The main topics of these articles were as follows: 425 articles dealt with the services provided by FBOs, 282 articles examined the relationship between government and FBOs, 118 articles examined the extent to which religion was a defining characteristic of FBOs, and 64 articles discussed the different methods used to research FBOs (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013, p. 445).

There are some studies that advance theory specific to the FBO (Driskill & Camp, 2006; Goodier & Eisenberg, 2006; McNamee, 2011; Ridings, 2015; Rogers, 2009), however the majority of studies come from a public administration perspective examining the relationship between government funding and private donations (Bolton & Katok, 1998; Brooks, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2007; Eckel, Grossman, & Johnston, 2005;

Horne, Johnson, & Van Slyke; 2005) and addressing other issues that arise from government funding of charitable choice such as the separation of church and state, the possible misuse of government funds for religious activities, and comparing the results of services provided by FBOs and like secular organizations (Bartowski & Regis, 1999; Carlson-Thies, 2001, 2004; Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001; Cnaan, 1999; Cnaan & Boddie, 2002; DiIulio, 2001; Donaldson & Carlson-Thies, 2003; Ebaugh, Chafetz, & Pipes, 2005; Garrow, Nakashima, & McGuire, 2011; Gibelman & Gelman, 2002; Gossett & Pynes, 2003; Hula, Jackson-Elmoore, & Reese, L Kennedy, 2001; Kearns, Park, & Yankoski, 2005; Kennedy & Bielfeld, 2002; Salamon, 1995; Small, 2002; Twombly, 2002; Wilson, 2003). Therefore, although there has been increased academic interest in faith-based organizations (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013), the majority of these studies fail to advance theory and knowledge specific to understanding growth and development in the context of the faith-based organization.

Purpose

One of the goals of academic inquiry should be in helping to create a better understanding of our diverse society. Unfortunately, although research pertaining to organizations in general abounds, there is a lack of academic research aimed at understanding the faith-based nonprofit. In response to that gap, the goal of this research is to utilize a case study method aimed at understanding the developmental processes of an emerging faith-based organization. Thus, the purpose of the dissertation is to both provide an empirical account of a developing faith-based organization and, more broadly, to apply theoretical insights to other populations and contexts. Perhaps a renewed understanding will affect policy, procedures, and promote a more peaceful society.

The debate about faith-based organizations is continual and ongoing. Some fear that faith-based programs will force participants to take part in religious practices, others feel that faith-based programs have the ability to transform lives (Dionne & Chen, 2001). However, the purpose of this research is not to debate governmental support of faith-based organizations nor is it to evaluate the effectiveness of the faith-based organization. To be clear, this researcher acknowledges that increased governmental support of faith-based organizations has impacted the sector as a whole and, consequently, it cannot be ignored. However, it is not the focus of this particular study because, as noted earlier, many studies have already examined this aspect of the faith-based organization. What is lacking in research concerning faith-based organizations, is an attempt to understand the developing FBO.

The contribution of this study to organizational theories in the context of the FBO is threefold. First, the study integrates several streams of organizational research, giving us a more complete picture of organizational processes within the context of the FBO. Second, the study enhances our understanding of the FBO and the role faith plays in establishing and maintaining identity and social capital. Third, through ethnographic details, the study offers valuable insights to the developing FBO.

This research was completed in two phases. The first phase was an in-depth examination of a particular, developing FBO: a single case study design. Singleton, Straits, and Straits (1993) recommend case studies when the item under study is a single social phenomena on a single unit of analysis, such as an organization, and Yin (1989) states that the “distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena” (p. 4) or “if you want to know ‘how’ or ‘why’ a program

worked” (Yin, 1989, p. 10). Moreover a case study approach is recommended when the goal is “to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)” (Yin, 1989, p. 15). The second phase examines similar organizations, attempting to improve validity and adding rigor and relevance to the study.

Milofsky (2008) states that organizations can only be understood “in relation to the communities in which they are embedded” (p. 203). Therefore, an in-depth examination of an emerging nonprofit organization offers unique insight into processes that enable a particular developing nonprofit to survive and thrive. These insights, in turn, expand and develop organizational theories. In order to examine the communication factors and processes that contribute to the development and sustainability of this specific emerging nonprofit organization, this research took a qualitative approach, striving to gain understanding of the particular phenomenon. Methods consisted of in-depth interviews, direct observation, in-person intercepts, and participant observation. A grounded theory approach data analysis was used to develop a theoretical model.

Scope of the Study

This study seeks to understand the developmental processes of an emerging faith-based organization utilizing a particular case. Respondents were founders, board members, staff, and volunteers of the chosen FBO and data was gathered over a two year period. The research confined itself to the study of faith-based nonprofit organizations in the Judeo-Christian faith, so findings may not be relevant to nonprofit organizations of other faiths. The findings may also be subject to other interpretations. Moreover,

although the literature review follows the trajectory of faith-based initiatives and it can be argued that faith-based initiatives have had an impact on the development of faith-based organizations, it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze the government impact of faith-based initiatives.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions are provided to ensure uniformity and understanding of these terms throughout the study.

Nonprofit Organization: a nonprofit organization refers to what the tax code classifies as a "charitable" or 501(c) (3) organization whose purpose is to benefit the broad public interest (Salamon & Anheier, 1997)

Faith-based Nonprofit Organization (FBO): A nonprofit organization founded by a religious congregation or religiously-motivated individuals and board members that clearly states in its name, incorporation, and/or mission statement that it is a religiously motivated institution (Fritz, n.d.). Although there are varied definitions of what constitutes a faith-based organization, they are defined in the present study as organizations whose stated fundamental purpose is to provide goods and services which highlight religious and/or spiritual principles, concerns, and/or needs.

Urban: A location characterized by high human population density and large human-built features such as buildings, roads, sanitation, transportation, etc. in comparison to the areas surrounding it.

Ministry: In Christianity, ministry is a service activity carried out by Christians to express or spread their faith. It can signify specific activities and can be directed towards members and/or non-members.

Urban Ministry: In the Judeo-Christian, American ministry culture, “Urban” has become a code word for ministry to people of color, people impacted by poverty, and/or or resource-deprived inner city neighborhoods. It generally refers to the practice of meeting basic human needs (social, spiritual, physical) of individuals impacted by poverty and is one way in which Christians practice and express their faith (Griffin, 2012).

Church planting: a process that results in a new (local) Christian church being established. For a local church to be planted, it must eventually have a separate life of its own and be able to function without its parent body, even if it continues to stay in relationship denominationally or through being part of a network.

Mentoring: a personal developmental relationship in which a more experienced or more knowledgeable person in a certain context helps to guide a less experienced or less knowledgeable person in that context.

Discipleship: modeling and teaching Christians the precepts of the Bible-mainly prayer, doctrine, Christian living, and worship.

The Church: the whole body of Christian believers; Christendom.

Church: a body of Christians worshipping in a particular building or constituting one congregation.

The next section of the paper provides an empirical and historical account of the particular case, noting key events and shifts in development and identity. The subsequent literature review summarizes relevant literature pertaining to both the context and the content of the study. In order to understand the context of the study, literature on faith-based organizations, the nonprofit sector, and volunteers will be reviewed. Then literature

pertaining to concepts believed to important to the organizational development will be reviewed in the areas of organization development, organizational identity, social capital, and external factors. Following the literature review, I give a detailed description of my methodology, data collection, and analysis followed by the findings of the particular case. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion and the theoretical implications of the findings.

Background

¹CityHope* is a nonprofit organization that seeks to strengthen urban ministry. The organization came out of a small 158-year old Lutheran congregation (Ascension*) located near the downtown area of Cleveland, Ohio. In the early 1990s, this congregation began experiencing renewal and exponential growth. Other congregations within the city, however, were in decline.

CityHope began with a vision of building an urban center on the church property. At the time, a retired pastor who was also a past district president of this particular church body was a member of Ascension. He was well respected in the Lutheran community and became the face of a capital building campaign. However, many members of the larger Lutheran community did not show much interest in helping to build a better building for another congregation other than their own. The focus, therefore, shifted from buildings to programs.

For several years, CityHope and Ascension were intertwined and, from 1999 to 2003, CityHope operated as an outreach arm of the congregation with no paid staff of its own. Although CityHope eventually became a separate 501c3 in 2003, they still share office space with Ascension which keeps the two organizations somewhat entwined.

In the early years of becoming a separate 501c3, CityHope seized a unique financial opportunity. A nearby congregation had decided it was time to close their doors and needed to decide what to do with their building. They were familiar with Ascension and the work it was doing in the neighborhood so they approached the pastor and offered the congregation their building and a bank account of \$65,000. The only stipulation was that the building continued to be used for ministry in the neighborhood. The pastor brought the matter to the church council and they decided they did not want the property due to liability issues. The pastor then brought the matter to CityHope's board and they took possession of the building. Shortly thereafter, a pastor of a small Pentecostal church was looking for a building and approached the pastor of Ascension. Ascension's pastor told him about the newly acquired property. The Pentecostal church purchased the property from CityHope which, when combined with the \$65,000 account, brought the organization a total of \$80,000 that was used to fund ministry.

During this same period, the previous executive director of CityHope, also the senior pastor at Ascension, proposed several creative ways for hiring staff. Although Ascension had experienced phenomenal growth, it was primarily reaching the urban poor and, therefore, the growth was not experienced in the budget. However, staff needed to be hired if the organization was going to develop. The first full-time hire (who was the previous associate director and current executive director of CityHope) was originally hired to start a church to reach young professionals in their twenties and early thirties. Ascension presented a seven year plan to the local district of their particular church body, with the district paying 100% of his salary the first year and then gradually backing down in funding each year as Ascension stepped up its financial commitment. Ascension kept

to the timeline and by 2007 they were no longer receiving district funding. As donations to CityHope increased, Ascension was able to step down their financial support.

Although the church plant failed, the larger vision of hiring staff was accomplished.

One of the first programs developed by CityHope was a tutoring program for inner-city children. As Ascension continued to attract families from the neighborhood it became evident that the children were lagging behind in basic reading, writing, and math skills. CityHope responded by creating a one-on-one tutoring program in 1999 composed entirely of volunteers. Other tutoring programs were started in area churches. Some failed and some succeeded, but tutoring is one of CityHope's primary tools for outreach into urban areas. CityHope continued to develop various outreach programs which required additional staff as needs became evident in the community. The following paragraphs give detailed accounts of programs and staff that have been added as they continue to grow and develop. All of the staff began as part-time employees, but several have become full-time employees as funds became available. The focus of this next section is to describe CityHope's development in both staff and programming as they responded to emerging needs in the community in which they were embedded.

Middle Eastern stores and restaurants began to emerge on the west side of the city in the early 2000s and CityHope hired an Arabic missionary in 2006 to make connections with the store owners and eventually start an Arabic church. It became evident shortly thereafter that the women of this culture had many needs also, but it was not appropriate for a male to tend to those needs. Therefore, the missionary's wife was hired in 2007 to work with Arabic women, particularly helping them with health concerns and English.

In 2007, several African refugees knocked on the church office door. They were new to the area but were Lutherans in Burundi and wanted to become members of Ascension. They were welcomed with open arms, but it was extremely difficult to communicate. An interpreter was needed. A well-educated Rwandan refugee was hired by CityHope in 2008 as a community worker to interpret and help plant an African congregation. It was soon realized however, that there were so many issues that came along with being a refugee in this city—basic life skills such as riding the bus or cooking on a stove were foreign to them. CityHope responded by creating a refugee mentoring program which paired volunteers with refugee families to help them navigate this new culture. Eventually, CityHope hired a staff person to manage the program. CityHope began to hire several more employees during this period of growth in order to facilitate budding ministries. They hired a part-time bookkeeper and an administrative assistant in 2008 and they received a grant to hire a part-time director for refugee ministries in 2009.

A turning point in CityHope's development was when they began to focus not only on their need for volunteers to serve the various ministries but as teachers responsible for helping those volunteers grow in their faith. CityHope began offering seminars to help volunteers grow in their understanding of urban issues. In the beginning, an individual volunteered to coordinate this ministry but she eventually stepped down. CityHope hired a part-time volunteer coordinator in 2010 who was responsible for coordinating and caring for volunteers. Presently, CityHope consists of five full-time workers and five part-time workers.

In 2010, the organization was given funds to bring in an outside consultant. The consultation helped to create structures, rules, and bureaucracy that were needed if the

organization was to continue to grow and expand. A strategic plan was also developed during this stage that defined the direction of CityHope and what decisions needed to be made that would allocate necessary resources to achieve their key goals in the following areas: Church Planting and Leadership Development, Refugee and Immigrant Ministries, Urban Family Learning Centers, Open Table, Urban Ministry Training and Engagement. The following paragraphs will explain each of these in more detail.

Church planting and leadership development collaborates across congregations, supports the start-up of new urban congregations and ministries, and provides training and mentoring for future pastors and ministry by hosting an annual Church Leadership Summit (a citywide learning event that brings pioneering ministry initiatives and strategists to Northeast Ohio).

Refugee and Immigrant Ministries provide for early resettlement needs, helping future Americans adjust to their new lives through various programs such as Immigration Assistance, English as a second language classes (ESL), citizenship preparation, Arabic community outreach, economic development which assists refugees in securing employment, purchasing homes, and startup of small businesses, and mentoring ministries which pairs refugees with groups of local citizens to increase cultural understanding.

Urban Family Learning Centers are partnerships between CityHope and local congregations aimed at providing ministries and services at the local neighborhood level. It consists of youth and adult tutoring—including GED preparation support for adults, summer programs for children focused on improving reading levels and comprehension, recovery support – Christ-centered 12-step groups, focused on helping

people experience restoration from habits and hang-ups, financial literacy courses that teach the basics of home and financial management based on principals of Christian stewardship, and Christmas Store—a ministry that supports parents and those raising children with the ability to purchase new holiday items and gifts at bargain prices.

Open Table is a relational model of ministry aimed at supporting people as they strive to address the effects and causes of poverty in their own lives. It is a civic engagement model that trains members of faith communities to invest their occupational and life experience, social capital and community networks to help disadvantaged individuals and families develop their own life goals to support their exodus from poverty. The Open Table model successfully builds collaborations of religious, governmental, business, educational, and community organizations to support the efforts of citizens entering into relationship with the poor in our community. Open Table is a ministry owned by local congregations, which license the model with ample training and technical support from Open Table.

Urban ministry training and engagement focuses on training local citizens, Christians and congregations in urban ministry, realizing that the primary catalyst in discipleship, as well as all community, personal and spiritual growth, is relationships. Thus, most of its ministries invite volunteers and partners to engage personally in the lives and well-being of other people, who are often very different from themselves. CityHope works in partnership with churches, organizations and groups to create tailored service learning experiences for groups. They offer the following training workshops: Understanding Poverty, [CityHope] 101, Refugee 101, Refugee Mentor Training, Ongoing Refugee Mentor Sessions, and Tutor Training.

Presently, CityHope has five part-time and five full-time employees and several hundred volunteers. The following statement is taken from the CityHope website:

Their mission is to restore the city to God by developing and linking people, communities and churches. They do this by working in the following main areas: urban community development and church planting, welcoming new refugees and immigrants, equipping congregations to serve their communities effectively, and training volunteers to serve in the city.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review begins by first defining faith and how the term is conceptualized in this study, it then continues by presenting literature that focuses on faith-based organizations—paying particular attention to the trajectory of faith-based initiatives and the various ways in which faith-based organizations have been categorized and defined. I then review some major trajectories in the organizational development literature and literature in the areas of the nonprofit sector, volunteers, identity, social capital, and external factors –concepts that could be relevant to the overall developmental processes of the faith-based organization.

Faith

This study is focused on understanding the developmental processes of the faith-based organization. Therefore, before delving into the various bodies of organizational and nonprofit literature, it is pertinent that we arrive at a common understanding of what is meant by the word faith in this particular study. The respondents and faith-based organizations interviewed in this study are of various denominations of the larger Christian church—grounded in the Judeo-Christian faith. This Judeo-Christian faith

believes in an all-knowing, omnipotent, omnipresent, powerful, just, creator God who, because of His great love, “interacts with humankind and continuously gets involved in history” (Fortin, 2013, p. 338). Because of this basic understanding of the nature of God, faith is grounded in the belief that because God is all-knowing and cares about His creation—humankind—He will guide and direct them in all things.

The Christian understanding of religion, spirituality, and faith are only one of many, however, as stated in the previous paragraph, all of the respondents and organizations were connected to various mainline denominations of the Christian faith. Therefore, any religious and/or spiritual terms are viewed through the lens of Christianity. Faith in the bible is defined as, “The evidence of things hoped for, the belief of things not seen” (Hebrews 11:1). Thus because faith is at its core ‘not seen’ it is difficult to define and measure, and is therefore often confused with similar terms. For example, faith, religion, and spirituality are often used interchangeably, but, I would argue that although they are related, they are not synonymous.

Religion has been described as the deeds and actions practiced by members of a particular social organization (Miller & Thoresen, 2003), a system of beliefs in a divine being which result in rituals directed toward that power (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975), and/or the teachings and histories of a particular faith community focused on that which is holy (Dollahite, 1998). In essence, religion is understood to be a manmade, socially constructed, ritualistic, formal structure grounded in the outward expressions of belief in the divine. Religious styles are characterized by ritual, symbolism and narrative that originate in relation to life history (Streib, 2001). Therefore, the term religion often is

accompanied with images of war and persecution—the negative histories and narratives experienced when different religious systems and styles collide.

Spirituality, although admittedly difficult to define (English & Gillen, 2000) and an “elusive term” (Tisdell, 2000, p. 333), is often framed more positively in the literature (Hill et.al. 2000; Zinnbauer & Pargament, 2005). It is focused on the subjective feelings and experiences that help bring enlightenment and/or understanding to our human condition and the deeper meaning of life (Ellens, 2008). It usually connotes the idea of being invisible, immaterial, abstract—supernatural (Vine, 1966) and has been defined as “an awareness of something greater than ourselves, a sense that we are connected to all human beings and to all creation” (English & Gillen, 2000, p. 1). Spirituality is seen by some as focused on the individual and their desire to experience peace and tranquility (Milacci, 2006). I would argue, along with Milacci (2006) that in an effort to make the concept more palatable (by focusing on what seems to be a universal desire) the word has been stripped of any meaning.

The definition of faith that will be utilized in this research combines a bit of both religion and spirituality in that it is concerned with both content—those explicit activities and principles that give it definable shape and structure, and process—the emotional responses to those principles as well as everyday life experiences (Fowler, 2001). Thus faith is the combination of principles and practices. Clore and Fitzgerald (2002) defined it as “the search for an integrating center of value and meaning that is cognitional in nature, developmental in process, and transcendental in its dimensions” (p.98). Unfortunately, this definition of faith “is a human universal, recognizably the same phenomenon in Christians, Marxists, Hindus, and Dinkas, and is a disposition involving both emotions

and a kind of knowing or cognition.” (Avery, 1992, p. 124). However, to clearly mark the boundaries of this particular study and differentiate between other religions and the Christian faith, the cognitive nature of faith as defined in this research is anchored in the belief that the Holy Bible is the foundation and source of divine truth. This study also views expression of faith as the spiritual acts such as prayer, service, and bible reading that help to develop and/or strengthen the belief in the transcendent—that which is beyond comprehension. Thus, the “Christian religion is understood as both a body of doctrine and a way of life” (Fortin, 2013, p. 338).

Faith-based Organizations

Faith-based organizations (FBOs) and religious groups have a long history of providing for the social welfare of the poor and it wasn’t until the Social Security Act of 1935 that the responsibility for social services began to shift to the government. Before that time, FBOs were essentially the only provider of social services in the United States (Cnaan, 1999) and certain academics, activists, and politicians believe that FBOs are still in a better position than the government to reduce urban poverty, respond to crises, and increase social justice (Lachlan & Spence, 2011; Pacione, 1990). This is evident in amendments that have been put into place by the United States government.

In 1996, under the Clinton administration, charitable choice was created which allowed government to purchase services from religious providers. This laid the groundwork for the implementation of George W. Bush’s faith-based initiatives (see Black, Koopman, and Ryden, 2004 for a unique examination of the political implications of faith-based initiatives). In essence, the White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives created in 2001 under the Bush administration brought to the public eye the possibility of

Faith-Based Organizations addressing the emerging social needs in American society.

The first section of Executive Order 13198 (a faith-based initiative) reads:

Section 1. Policy. Faith-based and other community organizations are indispensable in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods. Government cannot be replaced by such organizations, but it can and should welcome them as partners. The paramount goal is compassionate results, and private and charitable community groups, including religious ones, should have the fullest opportunity permitted by law to compete on a level playing field, so long as they achieve valid public purposes, such as curbing crime, conquering addiction, strengthening families and neighborhoods, and overcoming poverty. This delivery of social services must be results oriented and should value the bedrock principles of pluralism, nondiscrimination, evenhandedness, and neutrality.

Critics of charitable choice argue that government funding is often tied to restrictions, rules, and ongoing assessments and monitoring which increases secular influence (DiIulio, 2001) and compromises religious rights (Saperstein, 2001). Perhaps this explains why FBOs who openly use religion in their programs rarely seek out government funds (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013b). Notwithstanding, a Pew research project (Pew Research, 2009) found that the majority of Americans are supportive of the initiatives. This project interviewed 4,013 adults from a nationwide sample about their thoughts and opinions on government involvement in faith-based programs. The results were as follows:

Currently, 69% of Americans say they are in favor of government funding faith-based organizations to provide various social services and 25% are opposed. Concerns include the views that government may become too involved in religious organizations (69%), that those receiving help may be forced to participate in religious practices (60%), the separation of church and state may be compromised (52%), that standards may be less than government programs (48%), and that religious divisions may increase (47%). However, 68% of those surveyed believe that services provided by faith communities would be more compassionate and caring (Pew Research, 2009).

Studies of Faith-Based Organizations

Wherever one falls on their support or lack thereof for faith-based initiatives, the initiatives have led to an increase in academic studies of faith-based organizations (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013). Smith and Teasley (2009) provided a summary of 13 empirical studies conducted by social workers that assessed FBOs, debating the effectiveness of charitable choice initiatives by comparing faith-based programs with other like programs. One such study by Twombly (2002) compared secular and faith-based organizations and found them to be very similar in the services delivered with the primary difference being in how they were funded, and other research studies have found that faith-based initiatives have not been successful in increasing the capacity or effectiveness of faith-based service providers (Campbell, 2011; La Vigne, Brazzell, & Small, 2007; Sager, 2010; Waller, 2001; Wineburg, 2007).

Unfortunately, there are many problems and challenges when studying the effectiveness of FBOs by comparing them with secular nonprofits. For example, the organizational structure often differs between secular and faith-based

organizations as well as their personnel, policies, buildings, etc. These can all be intervening variables that make comparisons difficult to study empirically (Cnann & Boddie, 2006). Therefore, since many studies focus on comparing and evaluating FBOs, they need to begin with the scope and scale of the FBO (Scott, 2003) — that is determining what constitutes a nonprofit in general and an FBO specifically. This presents some problems conceptually in categorizing and defining the faith-based organization.

Categorizing the Faith-Based Organization

The Nonprofit Almanac (Roeger, Blackwood, & Pettijohn, 2012), has two classification systems for nonprofit activities. The first, the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities, utilizes 26 categories to classify groups by similarity of mission, type, main function, and activity. The second, the North American Industry Classification System, groups organizations together based on similarity of service or goods that are offered. However, neither of these two systems distinguish between faith-based and secular organizations.

Another classification system which is more common, is to utilize the Internal Revenue Code. The 501c3 category is the largest, accounting for three-quarters of the nonprofit sector, with 1,105,486 entities registered with the IRS (Roeger, Blackwood, & Pettijohn, 2012). Although not all organizations in this category are faith-based, this categorization includes religious, charitable, and similar organizations and forms the core of what is generally regarded as the charitable nonprofit sector. This classification includes anything from hospitals to soup kitchens that are not primarily established to earn a profit. Those with a 501c3 classification can also receive charitable gifts from

private donors who, in turn, can claim a deduction on their own income taxes (Salamon, 1997).

Again, the IRS classification system does not differentiate between faith-based and secular. In addition, even though in 2012, “nearly 1.6 million nonprofit organizations were registered with the Internal Revenue Service... [that] figure does not include congregations or their auxiliary groups, or smaller organizations that earn less than \$5,000 in revenue annually” (Roeger, Blackwood, & Pettijohn, 2012, p. 2). There is some disagreement about this exclusion. For example, there are those who argue that congregations cannot be categorized as faith-based or social service organizations because service is “the central purpose of virtually all congregations” as an expression of their faith or religion, which is taught, nurtured and celebrated in worship (Jeavons, 2003, p. 27).

However, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development does include congregations in its typology, dividing faith-based organizations into three types:

- (1) congregations;
- (2) national networks, which include national denominations, their social service arms (for example, Catholic Charities, Lutheran Social Services), and networks of related organizations (such as YMCA and YWCA); and
- (3) freestanding religious organizations, which are incorporated separately from congregations and national networks (Vidal, 2001, p.1).

Including congregations makes it more difficult get an accurate count of faith-based organizations due to the number of smaller congregations that not only fail to register with the IRS, but may operate out of a home or rent from larger congregations with no

phone or address of their own (Vidal, 2001). However, this may be a more accurate classification for faith-based organizations as it recognizes the impact of the local congregation in the support, birth, and development of the FBO. This impact is threefold.

First, local congregations are often equipped with an existing infrastructure of buildings, human resources, and community connections, which consequently, places them in a better position to address the variety of problems existing in our society today (DeVita, Fleming, & Twombly, 2001). Second, there are 344, 994 known congregations in the United States (U.S. Religion Census, 2010) that “generate an estimated \$81 billion annually in revenues, much of which is used to support programs that address social needs” (Office of Justice Programs, 2011, pg. 1). Third, the National Congregations Study found that 57 percent of congregations participate in some form of community service outside of their own congregation (Chaves, 1999) even though it is often somewhat marginal and temporal (Chaves, 2001; Cnaan, Boddie, Handy, Yancey, & Schneider, 2002; Wuthnow, 2004). Meaning, the majority of congregations may provide human services in some form, but not many participate in community development activities—asset building activities focused on preparing citizens to lead more productive lives (Urban Institute, 2010).

Why do congregations fall short in community development? First, they depend primarily on volunteers who often lack the capacity—skills, knowledge, and time—to successfully address the consistent and continual involvement required to address the complex procedures and tasks required for community development. Secondly, even though government grants are available, the majority of congregations and smaller organizations do not apply for assistance—so many lack funding (Vidal, 2001).

However, congregations that do possess resources are in a unique position to significantly impact their communities. These resources generally are garnered from the religious communities with which they are affiliated (Schneider, 2013a, 2013b).

Defining the Role of Religion in the Faith-Based Organization

A conceptual problem in researching FBOs is that “the catch-all term *faith-based organizations* confuses and divides because people hold conflicting conceptions of what it means to be faith-based” (Sider, 2005, p. 104; italics added). For example, the term “faith-based” is more widely accepted than “religious” (Safire, 1999) and is more inclusive than other like terms such as “church-based” which leaves out synagogues and mosques. The more important issue however, is not the particular terminology that is used, but what that terminology means conceptually.

Wilson (1973) emphasized that the mission and activities of faith-based organizations are rooted in a particular religious ideology and the board, staff, and volunteers often come from a specific religious group. Chaves (1994) defines faith-based organizations as having a foundational association to a religion and Netting (1984) asserts that faith-based organizations “publicly acknowledge a relationship to a religious group” (p. 404). These religious origins contribute to the “uniqueness of religious-based service” (Cnann, 1999a, p. 26).

Although there are many ways to assess the role of religion in faith-based organizations, many researchers seek to recognize and clarify ways in which religion can be an intricate component of the service or services provided by the FBO (Ebaugh, Pipes, Chafetz, & Daniels, 2003). Bielfeld and Cleveland (2013) found that various typologies of FBOs utilize three common main assessment categories: organizational control,

program implementation, and expression of religion. Organizational control refers to “funding resources, power exercised within the organization, and decision making processes” (p. 446). Program implementation refers to the “selection of services provided, the integration of religious elements in service delivery, and the voluntary or mandatory participation in specific religious activities” (p. 447). Finally, expression of religion refers to the “self-identity of the organization, religiosity of participants, and definition of outcome measures” (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013, p. 447). Sinha (2012) examined how faith-based policies have unintentionally strengthened religious identity and organizational distinctiveness by examining the religious composition of the board and staff, funding sources, and the use of religious elements in training, service, and meetings.

When surveying only organizations that are overtly religious, typologies categorize a spectrum of religiousness. However, the extent to which a specific religion is practiced and to what degree varies greatly depending on the particular organization. For example, Cnaan (1999) described faith-based organizations by placing them in categories comprising local congregations, interfaith and ecumenical coalitions, city and regional agencies, national projects and organizations under religious umbrellas, para-denominational advocacy and relief organizations, and religiously affiliated international organizations. Chambre (2001) proposes that when collaborating with diverse organizations, religiously affiliated nonprofits will often downplay the meaning of faith, although Sinha (2012) noted FBOs that uphold their original mission and purpose are better able to maintain a sense of ownership and vision within the partnership.

Smith and Sossin (2001) used resource dependency theory as a lens to examine how the level of faith relationships depends on the level of resources received from specific religious and/or denominational entities, how the religious affiliation of those in authority affects the behavior of the organization, and how coupling denotes the degree to which the organization is linked to faith. Sider and Unruh (2004) described six patterns for the faith-based organization which focused on the degree to which faith permeates the various services an organization. The following patterns are ordered by level of religiosity: faith-permeated, faith-centered, faith-affiliated, faith-background, faith-secular partnership, and secular. Their typology is a step toward exploring not just the comparative effectiveness of the faith-based organization, but “what *kinds* of faith-based programs are most effective” (Sider & Unruh, 2004, p. 131). They concluded that developing conceptual categories for the religious characteristics of organizations could be beneficial for purposes of strategic planning and fundraising. For example, a faith-permeated organization may be very effective in gathering donors and volunteers of their particular denomination however, because they describe themselves using explicitly religious references, they may become limited in reaching across denominational lines.

Thus, academic research on faith-based organizations have explored the effectiveness of faith-based service providers (Campbell, 2011; Chaves & Wineburg, 2010; La Vigne, Brazzell, & Small, 2007; Sager, 2010; Twombly, 2002; Waller, 2001; Wineburg, 2007), developing a classification system for FBOs (Jeavons, 2003; Roeger, Blackwood, & Pettijohn, 2012; Scott, 2003; Vidal, 2001), and examining the degree of religiousness in the FBO (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013; Chaves, 1994; Cnann, 1999a; Cnann & Boddie, 2002; Eisenberg, 1984; Fairhurst, Jordan, & Neuwirth, 1997; Netting,

1984; Sider & Unruh, 2004; Sider, 2005; Sinha, 2012; Smith & Sossin, 2001; Wilson, 1973). However, for the most part, research has failed to examine specific processes within the FBO that influence to what degree religiousness guides and directs the FBO in providing services and developing an identity.

Nonprofit Sector

Not only is it difficult to define the faith-based organization specifically, it is difficult to study the nonprofit sector in general. For example, on the one hand, nonprofits act as vehicles that deliver a broad spectrum of services and employ millions of people. On the other hand, a nonprofit can serve a small segment of the population and employ only one or two people. Although this is also true of the for-profit sector—nonprofits are often grouped together as one entity, despite their differences. These differences range in size (such as state universities to small recovery programs), organizational structure (bureaucratic hospitals to community churches), and funding (private donations to federal grants).

Three commonalities of nonprofits are: 1) they do not coerce participation; 2) they operate without distributing profits to stakeholders; 3) They exist without simple and clear cut lines of ownership and accountability (Frumkin, 2002, p. 3). Although there is some debate as to these three features (see Frumkin, 2002), they do put the nonprofit in a unique position between government and for profit organizations. Like the market, the nonprofit cannot coerce participation; however, like the government they cannot distribute profits. The third feature that makes the nonprofit unique is that they have no clear cut lines of ownership (Frumkin, 2002). If a nonprofit cannot distribute profits,

coerce participation, and has no clear lines of ownership—what is the motivating factor for the nonprofit organization?

Frumkin's (2002) 2x2 matrix illustrates different motivating factors present in the nonprofit organization (see Table I below). On the horizontal axis are the demand and supply side orientations and on the vertical axis are the instrumental and expressive rationales. In the top left quadrant is *service delivery*, emphasizing the demand side and instrumental rationale which often results in a problem of vendorism. It starts in response to a demand for goods and services but needs to be careful to not become just a tool of government. The top right quadrant is labeled *social entrepreneurship* emphasizing the supply side and an instrumental rationale. This model starts with the drive and creativity of individuals supplying innovative ways to provide goods and services but can often lead to commercialism. Common attributes of social entrepreneurship are a social mission to bring about social change, the ability to seize opportunities to carry out that mission, resourcefulness, significant credibility, an abundance of social capital, and an ability to recruit and motivate others (Dees, 2001; Mair & Marti, 2006; Thompson, Alvy, & Lees, 2000; Werber, Mendel, Derose, 2014).

The bottom left quadrant depicts *civic and political engagement* emphasizing the demand side and an expressive rationale. It starts in response to social and political demands but run the risk of being partisan and polarizing. Finally, in the bottom right quadrant is *values and faith*, emphasizing the supply side and an expressive rationale. The model begins with a need to express values and beliefs but can be exclusionary,

Table I: Problems and issues in the nonprofit and voluntary sector

	Demand-side orientation	Supply-side orientation
Instrumental Rational	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Service delivery</u></p> <p>Core problem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vendorism <p>Manifestations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weakened Autonomy as a result of dependence on government funding • Excessive focus on scale of nonprofit provision • Isomorphism and decreased diversity of services 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Social entrepreneurship</u></p> <p>Core problem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercialism <p>Manifestations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglect of undeserved communities • Drift in organizational mission • Cases of private inurement
	Expressive Rational	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Civic and political engagement</u></p> <p>Core problem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Polarization <p>Manifestations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrow factionalism between organizations • Blurred boundaries around lobbying • Disconnect between grassroots and leadership

Problems and issues in the nonprofit and voluntary sector (Frumkin, 2002, p. 165)

leading to particularism—belief that one’s own denominational beliefs should be strictly adhered to or a “resurgence of religious boundaries” (Warner, 1997, p. 217).

Frumkin’s matrix raises key questions regarding the nonprofit— are they driven by supply or demand? Are they responding to needs unmet (demand) or can it be argued that the sector is driven by the resources and ideas that flow into it (supply)? The distinction between supply and demand will carry with it different ideas about what gives meaning to the work that is carried out and the process and purpose for creating social ties and networks (Frumkin, 2002). Frumkin’s quadrants can also be applied to the the faith-based organization. However, if the nonprofit is faith-based, the core problem resulting from the various factors is that the organization may lose sight of the reason for establishing an FBO in the first place. As stated earlier, this research will focus on the Judeo-Christian faith-based organization, and will therefore utilize doctrine and scripture drawn from the Judeo-Christian faith (i.e., The Holy Bible).

Utilizing Frumkin’s 2x2 matrix, if the FBO has a demand-side orientation and an instrumental rational, it will often lose sight of faith-based roots—focusing only on delivery of service and neglecting to “express faith through love” (Galatians 5:6). If the FBO is supply-side oriented with an instrumental rational it may focus only on social entrepreneurship and improving reputation—neglecting to “seek justice” (Isaiah 1:17). If the FBO is focused on civic and political matters it may become polarized—neglecting the calling to be “all things to all men” (1 Corinthians 9:19-23) and if the focus is on expressing values and faith they may exclude and discriminate against those of other faiths, neglecting to “go into all nations” (Matthew: 28:19).

Both faith-based and secular nonprofits can be instruments delivering a broad range of services—focusing attention on the performance dimension or, conversely, they can be valuable because they allow individuals to express their faith and values through activities, work, and donations—focusing attention on the expressive dimension (Frumkin, 2002). Hence, Frumkin’s model is useful for categorizing the various typologies of both secular and faith-based nonprofits, but it does not examine directly the processes for addressing the tensions that occur within the FBO as they struggle to grow and develop, yet stay true to their faith-based roots.

In order to address the overall research question of this study, “What processes contribute to the development of the faith-based organization?” the following sections will begin with a review of the literature on organizational development and then briefly summarize concepts from literature that are believed to be relevant to the developmental processes of the FBO—organizational tensions, organizational identity, social capital, and external factors.

Organizational Development

A large body of research is dedicated to exploring organizational development and change such as the process of change, the effects of change, and various factors that undergo change (i.e., mission statements and organizational structures). Although organizational development literature spans several decades examining different aspects through a variety of lenses and paradigms, this research begins by referencing Armenakis and Bedeian’s (1999) review of predominant theories and research in organizational change and development literature throughout the 1990s. From that review, four themes emerged that were common throughout the selected literature: content, context, process,

and outcomes. The first theme dealt with issues of content—factors that define an organization's overall mission and direction. Examples of this theme were found in the research of Burke and Litwin (1992), wherein they offered a model that distinguished transformational factors from transactional factors and a 150 item diagnostic questionnaire to help determine factors that require long-term or short-term attention.

The second theme dealt with contextual issues—conditions in an organization's external and internal environment (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999). This theme included research that examined changes in hospitals due to increased competition (Meyer, Brooks, & Goes, 1990), changes in the airline industry following deregulation (Kelly & Amburgey, 1991), legislative and technological change in the California savings and loan industry (Haveman, 1992), and several studies that dealt with organizational responses to potential environmental issues (Gresov, Haveman, & Oliva, 1993; Huff, Huff, & Thomas, 1992; Sastry, 1997).

Process issues was the third theme—actions carried out during times of planned change (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999). A predominant approach used in process theories of change is often conceptualized as stages or phases. Lewin (1947) theorized that organizations progress through these phases by unfreezing, moving, and freezing and several theorists built upon this early research, proposing models for implementing change (Armenakis, Harris, & Field, 1999; Galpin, 1996; Judson, 1991; Kotter, 1995) and understanding the effects of the change process (Isabella, 1990; Jaffe, Scott, & Tobe, 1994)

The fourth and final theme they discussed dealt with criterion variables or outcomes of organizational change (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999). This research focused

on assessing the effect of organizational change on employee loyalty and commitment (Becker, 1992; Becker, Billings, Eveleth, & Gilbert, 1996; Kanter, 1991; Meyer & Allen, 1997), employee cynicism (Dean, Brandes, & Dharwadkar, 1998; Reichers, Wanous, & Austin, 1997), and stress (Callan, 1993; Schabracq & Cooper, 1998).

Van de Ven and Poole (1995) also presented a framework attempting to categorize various change and development theories. Their framework categorized these theories into four different types—evolutionary theory, dialectical theory, teleological theories, and life cycle theories. They then categorized these four types of change theories along two dimensions: the unit of change and the mode of change. The unit of change refers to whether change is occurring in a single organization (life cycle, teleological) or if change is occurring due to exchanges between two or more units (evolution, dialectic). The mode of change refers to natural processes of change (life cycle, evolution) or planned change (dialectic, teleology). Weick and Quinn (1999) focus on the tempo of change suggesting that failure to adapt is often the impetus for change and, paradoxically, change is continual and doesn't have a beginning or end. However, Porras and Silvers (1999) distinguish between change that is episodic and change that is continuous (Porras & Silvers, 1991). This research will draw upon various concepts of organizational development, but will primarily utilize the life cycle model of organizational development.

Haire (1959) was one of the first scholars to suggest that organizations may follow a consistent pattern as they grow and develop. Chandler (1962) used a life-cycle model to demonstrate the different stages of an organization's growth. In most models, it is recognized that organizations should adjust both their strategy and their structure as

they move through the different stages of development, although they may label the stages differently. For example, Quinn and Cameron (1983) labeled the stages as: *entrepreneurial, collectivity, formalization and control, and elaboration of structure*. The entrepreneurial stage was innovative and creative, the collectivity stage demonstrated high commitment and cohesion, the formalization stage was characterized by stability and institutionalization, and the final stage was marked by decentralization and expansion (Quinn & Cameron, 1983). When transitioning between two developmental stages, organizations will often display behaviors characteristic of two stages simultaneously (Osland, Kolb, Rubin, & Turner, 2007).

In the 1990s, the lifecycle model began to be applied to the nonprofit sector (Stevens, 2001). Stevens work recognized the complexity of building capacity according to particular stages an organization finds itself in the lifecycle. Connolly (2005) argued that the focus of a nonprofit should be in fulfilling its mission. York and Raynor developed this concept further proposing a lifecycle pyramid wherein the base of the pyramid and the first phase of the lifecycle should be on developing core programs (as cited in Brothers & Sherman, 2012). Johns Brothers (Brothers & Sherman, 2012) suggested a High-Arc/Low-Arc Model that focused on the trajectory of the nonprofit, proposing that fast developing nonprofits (high-arc) declined at relatively the same rate whereas slow developing nonprofits (low-arc) also experienced slower decline.

Whichever stage model and/or framework of organizational development is applied, these traditional models of organizational development give “synoptic accounts of organizational change” (Tshoukas & Chia, 2002, p. 570) which is helpful but doesn’t account for the process of changing (see Jian, 2011). For organizations to continue

developing, they must accept change. For example, most individuals go through predictable physical stages of development. However, as individuals learn, grow, and develop, they redefine who they are. This redefinition differs between individuals and is often a result of various interactions between significant people in their lives, their environment, and other factors. Therefore developmental changes are often accompanied by chaos, tension, and uncertainty because there is no longer a sense of self—their identity.

On an organizational level, when an organization is in the process of developing, organizational members may no longer have a collective understanding of what it is that distinguishes their organization from others—those characteristics they believed to be central and relatively permanent (Albert & Whetten, 1985). This loss of organizational identity, as with individual identity, will often be accompanied by uncertainty and chaos—causing the organization to redefine who they are. As with the individual, this redefinition occurs in the communicative processes of members, the environment, and other factors. Based on these factors the following research question is advanced:

RQ1: What processes enable an FBO to grow and develop?

Organizational Tensions

A growing body of literature focuses on inevitable tensions that emerge in organizational settings (Gibbs, 2009; Jian, 2007, 2008; Poole & Van de Ven, 1989; Tracy, 2004). These tensions are often expressed in the form of contradictions, dilemmas, paradoxes, or situational ironies and several studies focus on understanding and managing these tensions. For example, Jian (2007) created a model for understanding resistance behaviors utilizing a framework of organizational tensions. He

calls attention to the different roles of senior management and employees that often create dialectical tensions (Jian, 2007; Van de Ven & Poole, 1995).

Dialectical tensions such as leadership versus systems, replication versus adaptation, and cooperation versus competition (Racine, 2003) often work against each other and can hinder change and development. Tracy (2004) suggested that framing tensions as complementary rather than contradictory is beneficial for both the employee and the organization. Gibbs (2009) focused on communicative practices as a means for managing tensions. Although there has been some recent work in understanding dialectical tensions that emerge in a nonprofit setting (Driskill, Meyer, & Mirivel, 2012), there is still much to be learned, particularly within the faith-based nonprofit sector.

The nonprofit sector is often referred to as the “third sector” because of their unique position between public and private sectors. Therefore, a common tension found within many nonprofit organizations is the struggle in maintaining an unprofitable social mission within a market economy (Salamon, 2003; Weisbrod, 1998). The nature of the nonprofit sector itself, however, suggests that the tension between mission and market concerns cannot be resolved because both must exist (e.g., Evers, 1995; Frumkin, 2002; Knutsen, 2012). An eight month ethnographic study suggested recognizing the mission/market tension as contradictory and interdependent and utilizing communicative practices that improve cooperation and efficiency (Sanders, 2015). If an organization is faith-based, it is likely that there are other inherent tensions that must also co-exist (Feldner, 2006).

Utilizing Frumkin's (2002) model for example, faith-permeated organizations may run the risk of becoming exclusionary decreasing their pool of available volunteers and

funding. On the other hand, an FBO that is more or less secular, may experience the same result for different reasons. For example, because their faith is not evident in the organization they risk becoming no more than a hawker of goods and services, thereby losing volunteers and donors who are seeking to exercise their faith. This becomes paramount because an intricate piece to the overall strategic plan for many resource-constrained organizations is the generous gifts of donors and the use of volunteers to help the organization further their goals (Brudney & Meijs, 2009; Gamm & Kassab, 1983; Johnson, 1981; Rehnborg, Bailey, Moore, & Sinatra, 2009; Roeger, Blackwood, & Pettijohn, 2012). Based on these findings, the following sub-question is advanced: What are the tensions in a faith-based organization and what role, if any, do they play in the organizational developmental process?

Volunteers

A significant difference between for-profit and non-profit organizations is the volunteer. Volunteers are an invaluable resource to the nonprofit organization, and although in many FBOs there are paid executives, they rely primarily on volunteers to help carry out the organization's goals and reach their full capacity. Unfortunately, volunteers often lack the capacity—skills, knowledge, and time—to successfully address the consistent and continual involvement required to address the complex procedures and tasks required for community development (Vidal, 2001). Therefore, one of the key tasks of the nonprofit is to train and manage volunteers.

Brudney and Meijs (2009) proposed viewing volunteers as a renewable resource and thereby managing volunteers by utilizing and accommodating their assets, talents, and available time slots. This shift puts the emphasis on developing, invigorating, and

renewing volunteers rather than being concerned primarily with the needs of the organization and how best to use the volunteer (Brudney & Meijs, 2009). If organizations fail to develop and invigorate their volunteers, they risk losing two-fifths of them (UPS Foundation, 1998), not because those volunteers have lost their motivation, but because organizations fail to bridge the gap between what volunteer experiences are preferred and what experiences are actually offered (Yanay & Yanay, 2008). It is argued that a connection exists between the desire to volunteer and the underlying motives of the individual (Bailis, Fleming & Segall, 2005). This range of motives is relatively broad but a fundamental distinction among them is that some are relatively intrinsic whereas others are relatively extrinsic—with reasons ranging from humanitarian to self-advancement (Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Miene, & Haugen, 1994).

Volunteering and Religion

A large body of research has found that there is a connection between religiosity and volunteerism (Colby & Damon 1992; Einolf, 2011; Garland, Myers, & Wolfer, 2008; Greeley, 1997; Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1994; Perry, Brudney, Coursey, & Littlepage, 2008; Wilson & Janoski, 1995; Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wuthnow, 1991). Taniguchi and Thomas (2011) examined how religious attitudes, acceptance of other religious faiths, and feelings of exclusiveness and inclusiveness affected volunteerism on the individual level. What they found is that those with a higher level of religious exclusiveness are more likely to focus on religious volunteering, whereas the level of religious inclusiveness is positively and significantly associated with both religious and secular volunteer work.

To exclude means *to keep others from entering* and it was operationalized in Taniguchi and Thomas' survey (2011) with questions such as "How closely do you identify with being a member of your religious group?" and "How important do you think it is for people of your religion to marry other people who are in the same religion?" To be inclusive is *to include everything—to be comprehensive*. Inclusiveness was operationalized with survey questions such as "Because of your religion or spirituality, do you try to be more sensitive to the feelings of others" and "Because of your religion or spirituality do you try to be more tolerant of differences" (see Taniguchi & Thomas, 2011). This study focused on motivations and religious attitudes, but the underlying reason for these differing motivations and attitudes may be an individual's identity—that is, do they identify as a religious person and therefore they volunteer?

Individuals often define themselves, in part, by their group membership. For example, as was mentioned earlier, individuals who have high levels of exclusiveness (i.e., identify strongly with others of their religion) were more likely to engage in religious volunteering. Social Identity Theory could offer an explanation as it is a theory of group membership and behavior and has been defined as, "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972a, p. 31). Moreover, it has been useful in helping to explain how groups influence individual behavior. Social Identity Theory will be explored more in depth later, but for now we will discuss the concept of identity.

Identity

The world is filled with people and yet, no two people are exactly the same. Each person possesses a unique combination of attributes such as cultural background, gender, physical characteristics, personality, values, and beliefs that make them different from one another. It is this uniqueness that most individuals crave. Consequently, throughout the ages and in a variety of contexts, humans have struggled with two basic questions, “who am I?” and “why am I here?” These two questions have prompted researchers in a multitude of social disciplines to examine questions of identity. The general consensus in the field of communication is that “identities are expressed, negotiated, formed, and defined through discourse” (Young, 2007, p. 226). Moreover, identity is constructed, altered, and verified through negotiation (Swann, 1987) suggesting that it is not static but fluid.

This fluidity extends into religious identity even though religion is grounded in a belief system that offers some amount of certainty (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010) suggesting that religion and religious identity are stable and unchanging. Yet even religious and/or spiritual identities are clearly shaped and influenced by activities and group meetings within faith-based organizations and/or places of worship, and these activities are often highly contextualized (Johnson, Rudd, Neuendorf, & Jian, 2010; King, 2011; McNamee, 2011). Identity therefore, religious or otherwise, is influenced by both the cultural and historical context as well as the various social groups a person may or may not belong to. This can be described along a continuum with personal identity on one end and group membership on the other (Abrams & de Moura, 2001).

Certain identities are nested within others (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and they vary on several dimensions, one being exclusive/inclusive (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). The higher order identities include all of the lower order identities (Kramer, 1993). For example, in an organizational context, the organization as a whole is a higher order identity than a particular division within the organization. In applying this concept to religion and volunteerism it is not as clear because it depends on how each particular individual defines those identities—is the identity of “Christian” a higher order identity that encompasses a particular denomination or is the identity of “Lutheran” a higher order identity that encompasses Christianity? In other words is the individual a Lutheran which happens to be a Christian religion, or is the individual a Christian who happens to practice Lutheranism? Is the volunteer involved in the particular FBO because it agrees with their denominational leanings (exclusive) or are they involved with the FBO because it reflects their Christian values (inclusive)? Moreover, is “being a volunteer” a primary identity for the individual, regardless of religious beliefs or do their religious beliefs lead them to volunteer? Furthermore, what factors lead to volunteering for one organization over another?

Organizational Identity

Organizational identity can be likened to individual identity—questions of purpose, enduring characteristics, and a relational dimension—but in the collective. Therefore, organizational identity is prominent whenever members of an organization ask themselves about their collective purpose, “who are we?” and “why are we here?” (Albert & Whetten, 1985). This is often vocalized in the organization’s mission statement. A mission statement tells two things about a company: who it is and what it does— and

seeks to answer the question, “Why are we here?” (Fairhurst, Jordon, & Neuwirth, 1997). Fairhurst and colleagues (1997), also argue that a mission statement should be written in a strategically ambiguous way to enable flexibility in interpretation. This strategic ambiguity helps both the individual and the organization save face when the direction of the organization needs to change to adapt to the external environment (Eisenberg, 1984). The mission statement, however, must be communicated frequently or the mission, values, vision, and organizational identity cannot take hold. Therefore, fundamental to most theoretical and empirical definitions of organizational identity, organizational identity—like individual identity—consists of features and characteristics that are central, enduring, and distinctive (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2004).

Recent research has challenged this somewhat static view of organizational identity (Kreiner, Hollensbee, Sheep, Smith, & Kataria, 2015), continuing the debate of whether organizational identity is a characteristic or a process (Schultz, Maguire, Langley & Tsoukas, 2012). Kreiner and colleagues (2015) argue that it is both. Members, in describing their organization’s identity, will often point to various attributes and characteristics. At the same time, however, they will experience the formation of organizational identity in more complex ways as they grapple with ongoing tensions. Kreiner and colleagues (2015) labeled this process “organizational identity work” resulting in characteristics that expand and contract—a construct they named “identity elasticity” (Kreiner et. al., 2015).

Identity is difficult to clarify because organizations consist of a variety of individuals who often have differing views of their organizational mission (Whitbred, 2005) and consequently, different ideas of which organizational characteristics are

central, enduring, and distinctive—this is particularly salient in volunteer organizations (Kreutzer & Jager, 2011). Secondly, because organizational identity, like individual identity, is built on the awareness that identity is a relational construct—molded and formed through interaction with others (e.g., Albert & Whetten, 1985; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney, 1983; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000)—organizational members and stakeholders co-create an internal identity. Scott and Lane (2000) recognized that vibrant, complex, and shared interactions amongst organizational members are part of the process of identity construction. These interactions indicate a linkage between individual identity and organizational identity—meaning that “who we are?” often is a reflection of “who am I?” A discussion of Social Identity Theory could offer some insight.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory is a theory of group membership and behavior and has been defined as, “the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership” (Tajfel, 1972a, p. 31). For example, as was mentioned earlier, individuals who have high levels of exclusiveness (i.e., identify strongly with others of their religion) were more likely to engage in religious volunteering. Moreover, individuals often define themselves by their group memberships (gender, race, religion, vocation, etc.), and according to SIT, groups view themselves positively or negatively depending on how their group compares with these other groups. Those with high levels of religious exclusiveness have determined that they are part of a particular denominational belief system which, for them, is emotionally significant. Although SIT focuses on intergroup

behavior, particularly conflict, it also “portends to be a unifying theory of organizational behavior because what and how people think as members of social groups influences subsequent behavior and attitudes in social systems” (Korte, 2007, p.166).

In the 1970s, Tajfel developed a foundation of Social Identity Theory by connecting the following three social-psychological processes: social categorization, social comparison and social identification. The first social-psychological process, social categorization, is when people tend to identify themselves and others, not as distinct individuals, but in terms of social categories or groups in which they belong (Ellemers, Haslam, Platow, & Van Knippenberg, 2003) Using religion as an example, perhaps they categorize themselves as a Lutheran or a Baptist.

The second social-psychological process, social comparison, is when people tend to determine the value of groups and individuals by comparing them on various dimensions with other groups (Ellemers, Haslam, Platow, & van Knippenberg, 2003). For instance, if they categorize themselves as a Lutheran they may compare themselves with a Baptist –focusing on those aspects that differentiate them (i.e., baptism, etc.).

Finally, the third social-psychological process, social identification, is when a person’s identity tends to influence their perceptions of, and responses to, a social situation (Ellemers, Haslam, Platow, & van Knippenberg, 2003). For example, they may feel uncomfortable attending a function in a Baptist church if they identify themselves as a Lutheran. Identification is the *process* whereby persons become connected to certain features in the social world (Cheney, 1983) and organizational identification is when the object of connection is the organization (Scott, 1997).

A plethora of research examines the concept of organizational identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Alvesson, Ashcroft, & Thomas, 2008; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000), and recently, there has been an influx of research that explores the intersection of religion and organizational identity (Hopkins, 2011; Kelly, 2014; King, 2011; McNamee, 2011; Sinha, 2013), yet there is still much to learn about distinctive identity challenges that emerge in a nonprofit setting (Lewis, 2005). As was stated earlier, three commonalities of nonprofits are: 1) they do not coerce participation; 2) they operate without distributing profits to stakeholders; 3) They exist without simple and clear cut lines of ownership and accountability (Frumkin, 2002, p. 3). If there are no clear cut lines of ownership, nonprofits are continually acquiring new members in volunteers, donors, and other stakeholders, and organizational members and stakeholders co- create an internal identity (e.g., Albert & Whetten, 1985; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991)—who creates the FBOs organizational identity and how?

The three commonalities mentioned in the previous paragraph (voluntary participation, inability to distribute profits, and no clear lines of ownership) are shared by all nonprofits—faith-based or secular. However, it is faith that is the intervening variable when distinguishing between FBOs and other nonprofits. Religion in faith-based organizations is not an afterthought nor a static identity but often is “central in shaping the actual motivations, rhetoric, practice, and production” through which “religious identity is adapted, contested, and asserted” (King, 2011, p. 21). Based on these findings, the following sub-question to developmental processes is advanced:

How does organizational identity develop and how does it contribute to the overall developmental processes of the faith-based organization?

Identification

Identification is a key component of a person's self-concept and identity (Ashforth, 2001; Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Cotting, 1999; Hogg & Terry, 2000) and has been explained as a process that contributes to feelings of attachment, connectedness (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008) and reassurance (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Organizational identification emphasizes the employees' (those who receive payment for their services) connection to the organization (Scott, 1997)—focusing on the internal members of an organization. Internal members of an organization are those who are already committed to serving as board members, staff, volunteers, and/or donors. External members are those who are impacted by the work of the organization as clients/constituents, community partners, and others. However, in many nonprofit organizations, volunteers (those who do not receive payment for their services) can be both internal and external components of the organization (Pearce, 1993). That is they can be committed to serving the organization and/or impacted by the organization. This presents unique challenges in understanding and applying identification research.

Similar to how organizations have come to realize what happens internally has implications externally (Cheney & Christensen, 2001) so too, the process of identification which is focused on internal members of the organization has implications externally—particularly in nonprofit organizations where the roles among volunteers, staff, and participants are often blurred or morph into a different role altogether (Netting, O'Connor, Thomas, & Yancy, 2005).

When an employee identifies with an organization, the more likely he or she is to look out for the organization's welfare (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994; Mael & Ashforth, 1992) and to speak positively about the organization to both those within the organization as well as to those outside of the organization. Likewise, when volunteers, employees, and stakeholders identify with the FBO, they begin to tell others about the organization influencing the organization's identity, creating trust, and contributing to its good reputation (Fombrun, 1996). Perhaps, when a variety of individuals, who have little or no relationship to each other, unanimously speak positively about an organization, it develops trust in the organization—a key component of organizational social capital—“established, trust based networks among organizations or communities supporting a particular nonprofit, that an organization can use to further its goals” (Schneider, 2009, p. 644).

In recent years, several scholars have analyzed the relationship between nonprofit organizations and the concept of social capital (Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Keefer & Knack, 2005; Knack, 2003; Mayer, 2003; Stolle & Rochon, 1998). Yet, many research questions remain unanswered. For example, few discuss the process for creating and accessing social capital and why it is integral to the faith-based nonprofit organization. Moreover, once it is created and accessed, how is it sustained? Perhaps theories of organizational identity and identification can offer a framework from which the creation, utilization, and sustenance of social capital within the nonprofit organization could be further understood.

Social Capital Theory

Social capital theory has become an extremely popular and often contested concept, arguably transitioning to paradigm status (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008).

Unfortunately, there is much confusion over the conceptualization and definition of social capital (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008; Poder, 2011; Temkin & Rhoe, 1998). For example, it can refer to the denseness of ones' network and/or the level of civic engagement (Burt, 2005; Poder, 2011). Despite the confusion over the definition, there is agreement that social capital is productive and useful for helping individuals to meet their goals (Coleman, 1988)—however this does not specify whether these goals are good, bad, or neutral to the rest of society. For example, groups such as the Klu Klux Klan, local gangs, and the Mafia are all informal networks that are useful in helping individuals meet their goals. In fact, Portes (1998) identified four negative consequences of social capital: “exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward leveling norms” (p. 15). Although there can be negative aspects to social capital, most research focuses on the positive benefits of social capital as will this research (for more examples of effects of negative social capital see Mauro, 1995; Waldinger, 1995; World Bank, 1997).

This lack of clarity concerning social capital has prompted many to examine the usefulness of the theory, resulting in other theories and explanations that attempt to explain similar phenomena. Therefore, I will begin this section reviewing other concepts and theories that share some of the same elements of social capital followed by some of the more well-known conceptualizations of social capital theory.

Social capital theory and sense of community (SOC) are two theories that explore the idea of connectedness: that is establishing ties with both internal and external members of the organization. SOC refers to the bonding occurring in specific communities (Blanchard & Markus, 2004; McMillan, 1996; McMillan & Chavis, 1986;

Petersen, Divitini, & Chabert, 2008; Pretty, Andrewes, & Collett, 1994; Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler, & Williams, 1996; Sarason, 1974) and is defined by McMillan (1996) as “a *spirit* of belonging together, a feeling that there is an authority structure that can be *trusted*, an awareness that *trade* and mutual benefit come from being together, and a spirit that comes from shared experiences” (p. 315). SOC is a well-developed theory that explores connectedness, but it is somewhat passive, focused primarily on the affective feeling that comes from belonging to a group. SOC is mentioned here to acknowledge its contribution to theories that explore connectedness, however, this study is interested in individual relationships and actions that contribute to the development of an FBO, and will therefore focus on social capital.

A study conducted by Wang and Graddy (2008) found that social capital—measured by social trust and social networks—increased charitable giving. Perhaps this is one reason why social capital theory is often focused primarily on the nonprofit sector (King, 2004; Putnam, 1995, 2000; Putnam & Feldstein, 2003; Schneider, 2009; von Schnurbein, 2014). However, when it comes to faith-based nonprofits, some theorists reject the term “capital” because of the utilitarian mindset that often accompanies the word (Montemaggi, 2010, 2011). Others still utilize the term “capital” but within faith-based organizations they prefer the term “religious” or “spiritual” capital rather than “social” capital (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010). Baker and Miles-Watson (2010) differentiated between religious and spiritual capital by arguing that religious capital is the action in which FBOs engage whereas spiritual capital is the reason for engaging in the action. Other research defines religious capital as that which “brings satisfaction to

those who participate and are familiar with a religion's doctrines, rituals, traditions, and members" (Iannaccone, 1990, p. 299).

The inclusion of religious and spiritual capital by scholars such as Iannaccone and Montemaggi was meant to describe and evaluate the unique roles and contribution of faiths to society, whereby offering an alternative paradigm (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010), however, like social capital it is still a much contested concept. I mention religious and spiritual capital here, again, to acknowledge its contribution to the literature, specifically within the context of the faith-based organization. However, this research is examining the process of social capital within the faith-based organization contributing to its growth and development, not necessarily how and why the faith-based organization benefits its members and society. In the following paragraphs, I will attempt to highlight some of the more familiar conceptualizations of social capital as well as how it is being conceptualized in this research.

A useful way to conceptualize the idea of social capital is to compare the term with other like terms such as physical capital (roads, bridges, etc.), economic capital (financial resources), and human capital (intellectual resources). These forms of capital refer to the contributions they make to society that increase productivity. Following that same line of thought, this research is interested in how social capital contributes to the development of the faith-based nonprofit organization. As was stated earlier, nonprofit organizations have the following three features in common: 1) inability to distribute profits 2) cannot coerce participation 3) have no clear lines of ownership. These features also lay the groundwork for discussing the importance of social capital—found not in bank accounts (economic capital) or inside one's head (human capital)—but in the

structure of relationships (Portes, 1998). Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam are three scholars who have contributed significantly to our understanding of social capital. The following paragraphs will highlight their primary contributions to the theory of social capital.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu was one of the first authors to systematically analyze the properties of social capital. His work concentrates primarily on the resources that result from social capital. He defined it as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). He came from the European perspective, associated with a neo-Marxist viewpoint in which he focuses on the inequalities of the French social class which inevitably offered more advantages in the form of social capital. He also put forth the idea that different types of capital can be converted into other forms of capital, arguing that under certain conditions social capital—made up of social obligations— could be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243).

Sociologist James Coleman also believed that certain social structures were more likely than others to produce social capital, but his viewpoint offers an interesting counterpoint to Bourdieu in that he argues social capital can be found in marginalized communities’ social structures (i.e., Catholic schools, families, churches). His work concentrates on social capital as a function of social structure, leading to advantages. For Coleman, smaller and denser networks were endowed with more trust and hence produced greater social capital (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman focused on productivity and the way in which social capital functions, in fact, he argued that social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988, p. 98).

Putnam, who has been especially influential both in theorizing about and studying social capital, refers to it as “features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993, p.35). His work concentrates on the action of social capital. He further explicates social capital by making a distinction between doing good with others versus doing good for others. To use his exact words, “Doing good for other people, however laudable, is not part of the definition of social capital” (Putnam, 2000, p. 117). In other words, social capital has a level playing field; it is more of an encounter than an act of benevolence.

One of Putnam’s primary contributions to the theory is distinguishing between bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive) social capital. Bonding capital tends to be more exclusive and focuses on the ties between family members and friends. Religious exclusivity mentioned earlier connects individuals together through shared beliefs. These shared beliefs can also build bonding social capital, although some researchers argue that faith groups often provide bonding capital at the expense of wider society (Baker & Skinner, 2006; Furbey & Macey, 2005; Smith, 2003). Other research, however, has

found that bonding capital is vital to network survival in the FBO and often it is the bonding of volunteers together that influences the prolonged existence of the volunteer (Downton & Wehr, 1997; McAdam, 1986; Nepstad, 2004). Moreover, “religious organizations provide a more supportive environment for consistent volunteering” (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 428).

Bridging capital is better for linkage to external assets and for diffusing information (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2003; Gittell & Vidal, 1998; Putnam, 2002; Varda, 2011) and is most effective among heterogeneous groups (Grootaert, 1997; Grootaert & Narayan, 2000; Narayan & Pritchett, 1999; Pena & Lindo-Fuentes, 1998). Religious inclusivity mentioned earlier can also help to build bridging social capital, which is not simply an issue of the number of connections, but the nature of those connections. Putnam (2000) claims that bridging capital helps to enhance creativity, diversity, and productivity by bringing together fragmented people groups. The literature often views bridging and bonding capital to be in opposition to one another (Burt, 2005)—but a recent study found that bridging and bonding social capital work together because they serve different functions (Han, Han, & Brass, 2014).

Woolcock (1998) added linking capital to Putnam’s typology. Linking social capital includes vertical connections to and between formal institutions (Mayoux, 2001; Woolcock, 2001). It also includes differing forms of relationships fostered by communities, particularly the way in which individuals are able to make ties with those who are from a higher or lower social strata than themselves (Williams, 2008; Woolcock, 1998). A later study by Woolcock and Sweetser, (2002), further conceptualized linking social capital as connections with influential, powerful individuals. Linking social capital

is similar to bridging social capital but is focused more on the tangible resources attained from diverse relationships.

Therefore, the concept of social capital has many differing schools of thought that focus on diverse aspects of social capital (for a more thorough review see Poder, 2011). These aspects range from civic decline (Putnam, 1995, 2000, 2002) to the structure of social capital networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Farrell & Fudge, 2013; Klenk, Hickey, & MacLellan, 2010; van der Hulst, 2009). Moreover, social capital been defined and conceptualized in a myriad of ways. Most of the debates attempt to distinguish between “social capital as a resource and the outcomes of access or exclusion from that resource” (Edwards, 2004, p. 84). Regrettably, these debates exclude a focus on the process of how social capital operates (Devine & Roberts, 2003).

This research is interested in understanding the growth and developmental processes of the FBO. Therefore, it is focused on how all forms of social capital, residing in the organization, function. That is how the close, bonding relationships between various stakeholders and the organization facilitate action. In addition, how do stakeholders’ various networks enable the organization to develop and grow, whereby creating value *for the organization*? Therefore, a good working definition for this research is “those resources inherent in the network of alliances and relationships within a workforce that contribute to, amongst other things, an organization’s reputation, its members’ esprit de corps, their loyalty and commitment” (Haslam, Eggins, & Reynolds, 2003, p. 83). This study will be using the network approach as a starting point to understanding, not necessarily the structure of social capital in this particular FBO, but

the process of how these relationships facilitate action and create value, helping to build and develop organizational social capital (Arregle, Hitt, Sirmon, & Very, 2007).

To define these concepts further, organizational social capital is “established, trust based networks among organizations or communities supporting a particular nonprofit, that an organization can use to further its goals” (Schneider, 2009, p. 644). Findings from a study on family businesses, suggest that organizational social capital can be borrowed (Arregle, Hitt, Sirmon, & Very, 2007). The network approach distinguishes weak ties from strong ties (Granovetter, 1973). Strong ties are the relationships that exist between close friends and family (bonding capital in Putnam’s typology), but weak ties (bridging capital in Putnam’s typology) are the relationships that make it “possible to diversify and increase the sources of information” (Poder, 2011, p. 345). This “exchange of information” that “flows through social ties” (Rojas, Shah, & Friedland, 2011, p. 692) can function as both bonding and bridging capital.

Nonprofit organizations are a place where both volunteers and recipients benefit in some fashion, helping to generate a sense of belonging and community, and there is evidence that social ties are strengthened through religious involvement (Ammerman, 1997; Cnaan, Boddie, Handy, Yancey & Schneider, 2002; Greeley, 1997). These ties often bridge various socioeconomic strata (Lockhart, 2005; Wuthnow, 2002) even when located in very poor communities (Foley, McCarthy, & Chaves, 2001). However, several of these studies focused on how bridging social capital helps *individuals* build social capital not how these individual bridging relationships enable an *organization* to build social capital. When volunteers, employees, and stakeholders speak well of an organization to friends and others in their personal networks they contribute to its good

reputation (Fombrum, 1996), helping develop trust in the organization— key component of organizational social capital.

The different schools of thought demonstrate that social capital is a multi-faceted construct that is difficult to define, analyze, and study. However, the central idea behind Social Capital Theory is that social networks have value that contributes a broad range of benefits to society (Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 2000; Coleman, 1988; Knack & Keefer, 1997; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998), they require time and effort to build and sustain (Fredricks, 2003; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005), and without network connections, there is no social capital (Harpham, Grant, & Thomas, 2002). Social capital is active, helping individuals meet goals—personal and/or organizational and research indicates that there is a relationship between social capital and the nonprofit organization. Unfortunately, we don't necessarily understand the intricacies of that relationship or how the nonprofit organization creates and sustains social capital. Based on these findings the following sub-question to the developmental processes of the FBO is advanced: Does social capital play a role in the development of the faith-based organization, and if so, how?

Social capital is found in networks and connections—a relational component. It is this relational component that distinguishes the non-profit organization from the for-profit organization. No one has ownership of the FBO, they can't distribute profits, and they cannot force involvement. Therefore they are highly dependent on networking relationships to grow and develop. Bonding capital creates social cohesion and connects people to one another. Bridging capital extends this trust across networks of heterogeneous individual connecting people to one another, to resources, and to a sense of purpose—enhancing productivity, innovation, and growth (Athey, 2008). It is these

bonding, bridging, and linking network connections that this research will focus on—examining how the active connections of volunteers, stakeholders, and members of an FBO help to build organizational social capital, whereby contributing to the innovation and growth of the organization.

External Factors

Theories of organizational tensions, organizational identity, and social capital can help bring understanding to the development of the faith-based organization, but the process of organizing does not happen in a vacuum. This causes one to consider the external factors—both positive and negative—that can have an impact. Several studies have examined the impact of external factors on the nonprofit organization. A study by Walker and McCarthy (2010) concluded that ties to the local community, access to networks outside of the local community, and pragmatic legitimacy (ability to deliver demonstrable rewards) are three external factors that increase the survival of the nonprofit. Baum and Oliver (1991) found that institutional linkages help to sustain organizations especially in poor neighborhoods. DeVita and colleagues acknowledged how “shifting external forces, such as socio-demographic factors, economic conditions, political dynamics, and the values and norms of the community” affect the development of the nonprofit organization (DeVita, Fleming, and Twombly, 2001, p. 13).

Shifting socioeconomic and demographic factors in a community call for addressing different needs and preferences. For example, there may at one point in time, be a need in a low-income urban community for an after-school tutoring program, whereas in a wealthy suburban community there may be a greater need for daycare. If an urban community becomes gentrified, it is likely the after-school tutoring program becomes obsolete and the nonprofit organization will need to adjust. If economic

conditions in an area shift—(e.g., a major employer leaves)—the stability of the neighborhood is at risk and again, it is likely the nonprofit organization will need to address a different set of problems.

On the positive side, these shifting needs give nonprofits more opportunities to respond (Walker & McCarthy, 2010). On the negative side, it is often difficult to keep up with the ever-changing environment. In the faith-based nonprofit, shifting demographics often are accompanied by shifting religious affiliations and values (McGinnis, 2011). The effective FBO will need to be aware of these shifting demographics in order to continue to serve the community effectively. This does not mean that they alter their beliefs or doctrine, but an understanding of the differing religious affiliations can help the FBO become more effective.

Shifting political dynamics also affect the development of the nonprofit organizations. For example, although tax exempt status for organizations registered as 501c3 organizations have been in effect since 1954, the number of nonprofits has increased exponentially in the last 15 years (see Appendix A). It is probable that this increase is a result of the changing political climate due to recent amendments such as charitable choice and faith-based initiatives. Perhaps more FBOs are claiming 501c3 statuses in order to take advantage of the initiatives (e.g., tax deductions and funding sources) or perhaps faith-based initiatives have encouraged more organizations to tackle the various social problems existing in their communities. Whichever the case, as the nonprofit sector continues to grow, there is increased competition for both funds and volunteers (Kimberly, 1976; Rowan, 1982; Gronbjerg, 1993) which were cited as two

major barriers encountered by leaders of faith-based organizations in the Denver area (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2003).

Faith initiatives are, in theory, part of a larger undertaking that “supports the removal of barriers that discourage faith-based organizations from partnering with federal, state, and local governments in the provision of human services” (Garrow, Nakashima, & McGuire, 2011). As additional barriers become evident, the initiatives undergo revisions and amendments. For example, in order to coordinate efforts and eliminate various obstacle, on January 29th, 2001, executive order 13199 established executive department centers for faith-based and community initiatives (see Appendix B). On December 12th, 2002, executive order 13279 was signed (see Appendix C). In this executive order, Section 1 defined a variety of terms used in government contracts and Section 2 addressed issues of discrimination, separation of church and state, and free speech. It was a controversial move because it made it easier for churches and other faith-based organizations to receive federal money.

On February 5th, 2009, Barack Obama released an executive order that renamed Bush’s *White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives* the *Office of Faith-based and Neighborhood Partnerships*. In this executive order he also amended George W. Bush's executive order 13199 by establishing an advisory council to the president. This council gathered selected leaders from the field of faith-based and neighborhood organizations to help evaluate and recommend policies, programs, and practices that could increase the effectiveness of various social services. Members of the council served a minimum one year term.

On November 17, 2010, Obama signed another amendment to Executive Order 13199 that incorporated several more changes. First it clarified that direct aid could not be used to pay for religious activities of any sort but that religious organizations were encouraged to compete for government funding to help provide for social services. Second, it stated that beneficiaries have the right to obtain services from an alternate provider if they objected to the provider's religious leanings. Finally, it encouraged greater transparency and equality by requiring all documents to be posted on the government website along with the names of nonprofits that received government funding. It could be argued that these amendments to faith-initiatives have been in response to the controversy and concerns surrounding the partnering of religious organizations and the government (e.g., separation of church and state, proselytizing).

It is highly unlikely that our nation will ever solve the problem of poverty and all the social issues that accompany it with or without faith-based initiatives. However, it is argued that faith-based initiatives do remove some of the barriers that exist between church and state and offer an opportunity to address these problems from a different perspective (Black, Koopman, & Ryden, 2004). Many believe that by partnering with community organizations, the government can extend their reach into at-risk neighborhoods and have a greater effect on individual families and communities. Moreover, the variety of services offered through community organizations is wide, varied, and evolves somewhat organically—meaning that they often respond to the needs of the people they encounter on an individual basis—sparking creative ideas for programs to meet the varied needs.

Technological change is another external factor that can also affect the development of the nonprofit organization. Connor-Smith (2008), explored how communication technology and social networking sites such as Facebook and MySpace are benefitting nonprofit organizations. For example, according to Techcrunch.com, there are 12 million registered users supporting more than 80,000 nonprofits worldwide. These applications have not only raised over 2.5 million dollars, they also raise awareness of various issues and causes (as cited in Connor-Smith, 2008). Netsquared (<http://www.netsquared.org>) is another example of how nonprofits are using technology and social media in innovative ways to advance their causes and help build bridging social capital. However, many nonprofit organizations lack the technical expertise to take advantage of these new opportunities—which may result in larger, more equipped FBOs developing at a more rapid pace than smaller, less equipped FBOs. These external factors— socioeconomic and demographic change, economic conditions, political dynamics, changing values and norms of the community, technological change—impact the developing FBO. Based on these factors the question is advanced: How do external factors affect the development of the organization?

The goal of this dissertation is to examine the organizational processes that enable a faith-based organization to grow and develop. Developmental change begins with chaos—loss of normality and uncertainty, and Greiner (1972) postulated that crisis is the conduit that moves organizations into the next stage of development. Each phase or stage of development includes a period of relative calm and growth which ends in some sort of management crisis. Both the calm and the crisis are needed if the organization is going to successfully enter into the next stage (Greiner, 1972). Is it possible that the crisis Greiner

(1972) speaks of are due to various organizational tensions emerging? If yes, what are those tensions? Do these tensions affect the identity of the organization? Does the identity of the organization affect who becomes involved? What external factors affect the development of the organization?

This research seeks to answer questions about the development of organizational identity and the function of social capital in the faith-based nonprofit (FBO), integrating several streams of organizational research. As mentioned earlier, identity and organizational identity are often understood to be stable, unchanging, cognitive concepts (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Alvesson, Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008), yet a discursive approach to identity understands it to be dynamic and changing (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) labeled this process “identity work” and described it as “people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness” (p. 1165). Organizational identity, therefore, is dynamic yet the focus is still among those members and stakeholders within the organization—“who are we?” and “why are we here?” Therefore, it is the discursive process of employees and owners who engage in the “identity work” which is a mechanism in the development of organizational identity.

Nonprofit organizations as noted earlier, have no clear lines of ownership (Frumkin, 2002) and often volunteers are both internal and external components of the organization (Pearce, 1993). Therefore, identity work is not only an internal discursive process but is also external. When volunteers identify with the organization, they speak well about it to both those inside and outside the organization (Dutton, Dukerich, &

Harquail, 1994; Mael & Ashforth, 1992)—attracting both those in need of services from the organization as well as individuals who desire to express their values through their volunteer work (Frumkin, 2002). The nonprofit then, is not only responding to needs unmet but is driven by the resources and ideas that flow into it (Frumkin, 2002).

Perhaps it is in the external discursive process—networking with those who are presently outside the organization---that stimulates development. The question then becomes, “who are you?” and “why are you here?” Specifically, “What passions, gifts, and/or resources do you possess that can be exercised within this organization?” and/or conversely “What are your needs that could be met through this organization?” For example, if a developing FBO is experiencing chaos due to communication problems, those already connected to the organization may have a friend who is wonderful with creating technological communication systems. They will then encourage their friend to volunteer which enables the FBO to resolve the chaos and continue developing and increasing their capacity. Conversely, a volunteer connected to the organization may be aware of substandard test scores in their neighborhood school and they suggest that the organization launch a tutoring program to help with this need—utilizing their networks to facilitate the development of the organization and its identity (i.e., who are we? And why are we here?).

Putnam refers to social capital as “features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993, p. 35). Networking with those outside of the organization, particularly in a faith-based nonprofit, are members and stakeholders attempting to “coordinate and cooperate for mutual benefit”. Perhaps it is in *accessing*

these network connections that empower the FBO to develop. Based on these findings the following questions will be advanced:

RQ1: What processes enable an FBO to grow and develop?

What are the tensions in a faith-based organization and what role, if any, do they play in the organizational developmental process?

How does organizational identity develop and how does it contribute to the overall developmental processes of the faith-based organization?

Does social capital play a role in the development of the faith-based organization, and if so, how?

How do external factors affect the development of the faith-based organization?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted from an interpretive paradigm that claims immersion and intimate familiarity practiced by researchers in actual social settings is how true knowledge is acquired (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Therefore, I relied on participant observation and in-depth interviewing as my primary methods of data collection. The overall question I asked is, “What is going on here?” I was interested in how this organization formed, is sustained, and is being transformed through the communicative actions and interactions of the members. I wanted to know the strategies, communication processes, and organizational challenges this faith-based organization has encountered. Therefore, analysis was a simultaneous process of deduction and induction and began “by identifying some important issues that guide[d] the collection of data” (Ezzy, 2002, p. 12). My goal was to understand these processes from the participants’ experiences and then develop a theoretical model for the emerging faith-based nonprofit organization.

This was accomplished in two phases. In the first phase, an in-depth qualitative study of a relatively new, developing faith-based nonprofit organization was conducted enabling the researcher to develop a theoretical model. After the model was developed, a second phase attempted to increase validity and add rigor and relevance by applying

themes and theoretical insights garnered in phase one to like organizations in the same geographical area.

Phase One

The first phase was a single-case design intended to explore how this particular nonprofit developed. Case studies are thorough investigations of specific individuals, groups, or organizations and “the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena” (Yin, 2009, p. 4). In a case study, the focus is on a particular case (i.e., CityHope) and not the whole population of cases (i.e., all faith-based nonprofits). A case study is beneficial in that it allows for accurate observation within a particular context. In a large portion of academic studies, the goal is to find what is common or generalizable to a larger population, however, in the case study, the focus is on understanding the specifics of that case in its complexity. The theoretical constructs of organizational identity, social capital, and organizational development have been found to be important in successful organizations therefore, they were examined within the context of the specific case.

Chenitz and Swanson (1986) state that in theoretical sampling the sample is “not selected from the population based on certain variables prior to the study, rather the initial sample is determined to examine the phenomena where it is found to exist” (p. 9). Yin (1989) gives the following five rationales for choosing a single case design: “it represents the *critical case* in testing a well-formulated theory...it represents an *extreme* or *unique* case...it is *representative* or *typical* case...it is a *revelatory* case...it is a *longitudinal* case” (p. 47-49). My argument for this case selection is that it is representative of faith-based programs in the selected geographical area.

A survey of houses of worship and faith-based programs in the selected geographical area was conducted for a funding foundation during the period April 30-July 6, 2012.

In total, 939 organizations were included in the first mailing on April 30 (of these 70 were returned as undeliverable). A second mailing was conducted May 25- 29 to 860 organizations who had not responded as yet. A third mailing was done on June 9-11 to 820 non-respondent organizations. The web-based survey was kept open for approximately 9 weeks and in total 169 organizational responses were received, an effective response rate of nearly 20% (Fischer, 2012).

Following are the most common characteristics of the organizations that responded to the survey: 80% incorporated as a charitable organization, 30.9% have one full-time employee, 25.4% have more than 6 part-time employees, 76.3% have a functioning volunteer board, and 42.3% have an annual operating budget of \$100,000 to \$499,999. The case that is being chosen for this study is *representative* of the nonprofits that responded to this survey in that, at the time this research began, the chosen case shared all of the above characteristics (i.e., many part-time staff have become full-time staff since the initial stages of this dissertation). Moreover, this particular FBO is relatively new enough that original members are still involved, allowing for a first-hand, thorough examination of the complex processes contributing to its development.

Entry into the Field

Allan Kimmel's (1988) book on ethics and values offers insight into honestly evaluating my role as researcher. First, researchers should describe significant aspects of self, including their personal bias and assumptions, expectations, and experiences. Kimmel (1988) advises paying special to the nature of the relationship between the investigator and the individuals who provide the research data:

The relationship between the researcher and participants in the organization is depicted as an intersection of their individual role systems...new roles and role relations are created through the mutual communication of role expectations...it is the researcher's responsibility to clarify his or her own role in the situation—to study the organization unobtrusively, to test experimentally an intervention, to assist the organization in meeting various goals (Kimmel, 1988, p. 107).

My role as researcher is significant in this study in several ways. First of all, my husband was the co-founder and past executive director of the faith-based nonprofit being studied. However, because this position was not his primary occupation and he only focused part-time (10 hours a week) on CityHope, his role was somewhat removed from the day-to-day operations of the organization. Nevertheless, because of my husband's role in the organization, I need to be aware of my power position. Kelman (1972) claimed that because of the researcher's specialized knowledge of the research, there is a certain power discrepancy inherent in the social role of the qualitative researcher in general, yet my position as wife of the previous executive director could carry an even greater power

differential. Kimmel (1988) gives some insight into how these power discrepancies can be managed:

The legitimate use of power in the research setting can occur when researchers maintain more of a partnership with their research participants, sharing common norms and values with them that define the limits and conditions of the usage of power. In addition, those individuals over whom power is exercised in research should have recourse to certain mechanisms—such as courts and ethic committees—through which they can question or complain about the way in which the power is used (Kimmel, 1988, p. 38).

I attempted to combat my power role in several ways. First, it should be mentioned here that as a former volunteer in this organization, I have developed trust with the staff, volunteers, and board members. My volunteer work included tutoring once a week during the school year from 2003 to 2010. I was also was a regular financial donor and have attended many of the training seminars and fundraising events. Second, I have conducted previous, smaller scale studies of the organization that have added to my credibility as a researcher. Third, I attempted to combat my power role by upholding the voluntary nature of participation and providing participants with the contact information of those who are in a supervisory position for this research. Fourth, I maintained a partnership with participants—viewing them as co-researchers. If they so desire, they will be notified of any possible publications. In addition, I will not share any specific information with the management or other members of the organization and I used pseudonyms to protect the identity of my co-researchers.

Secondly, my role as researcher is significant in that this was a qualitative study and I, the researcher, am the primary instrument for data collection. Therefore, data were filtered through my perceptions. Since personal beliefs may play a major role in all scientific inquiries, I protected the integrity of this investigation by carefully collecting and analyzing the data. I then attempted to be unbiased and accurate in the report of my research findings (Kimmel, 1988). This was accomplished by leaving an audit trail; following research procedures such as obtaining informed consent and insuring anonymity and confidentiality; accurately transcribing interviews; and seeking explanations for negative case analysis—new data that disconfirms previous analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Thirdly, as is the case with many qualitative studies (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), I have a personal interest in this organization and, as stated earlier, I have been a volunteer in this particular organization in the past. A problem that could result from being closely connected with the organization is that researchers are occasionally put in a position of having to balance organizational loyalty and professional objectivity (Adams, 1985)—emphasizing only the positive aspects of the organization and ignoring the negative. However, this is a problem that occurs more readily when the research is evaluative in nature or when an organization hires the researcher. My research is not an official report for the organization nor was I hired to evaluate the organization, therefore there is little danger of this occurring. Nonetheless, I mention it here to indicate an awareness of the potential problem. In addition, when the researcher is closely connected to the organization, interviewees may feel they cannot be completely honest for fear of damage to the relationship or their position within the organization. To overcome these particular

weaknesses, interviewees were given pseudonyms and I frequently checked my understanding with interviewees.

It is evident that there are many weaknesses to my role as an insider-researcher in this organization. However, strengths are also apparent. The biggest strength is that I have been involved with the organization since its inception which gives me a historical view that would be difficult to replicate. This involvement carries with it the following three significant advantages: greater understanding of the culture being studied, not changing the flow of typical social interactions, and having a reputable familiarity which encourages both the telling and the judging of truth (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002).

As an insider, I also know the politics of the institution—not only the recognized hierarchy but how it really works, therefore I know how to best approach people. Also, rapport has already been established to allow for a genuine expression of viewpoints and there was little difficulty in gaining access. In addition, Duffy (1985) argues that first-hand experience provides valuable meaningful data and Bryman (1988) argues that data are more likely to be honest and valid as researcher and subject spend more time together. In general, insiders have a great deal of knowledge, which takes an outsider a long time to acquire (Smyth & Holian, 2008).

Admitting my personal relationship with the organization is the beginning of an attempt to conduct research “as if someone were always looking over [my] shoulder” (Yin, 1993, p. 45). Thoroughly documenting the research process and the details of the data analysis also helped maintain a high level of rigor in the study and demonstrate reliability.

Data Collection. The techniques and strategies relied on for gathering information during the investigation consisted of the following: 1) participant observation, 2) in-depth semi-structured interviews, 3) field notes, and 4) in-person intercepts. Board minutes, the organizational website, newsletters, and e-blasts also became part of my data. After receiving IRB approval and obtaining permission from the board chair for the research (see Appendix D), I began data collection with the paid staff of the organization, whom I saw as the most knowledgeable about the organization. I sent out emails in January of 2014 to staff members to ask for their participation (see Appendix E). I began by “talking to the most knowledgeable people to get a line on relevancies and leads to track down...a rich supply of data” (Glaser, 1978, p. 45).

An interview guide with a list of questions was utilized (see Appendix F) in order to ensure that specific topics were covered but the goal of the interviews was to obtain rich data, stories, and narratives. Thus, the interviewee had leeway in how to reply. Questions were not followed exactly in the way outlined in the guide, and questions were asked that were not included as I picked up on interesting concepts during the interview process. However, most, if not all, of the questions were asked and similar wording was used from interviewee to interviewee. The question guide was created in order to offer some structure, but open, conversational dialogue between the researcher and the participant was encouraged. The interviews attempted to understand both organizational and individual (members, staff, volunteers, etc.) communication processes that contributed to organizational identity, organizational identification, organizational development, and various forms of social capital. Interviews were a minimum of 60 minutes and began with an explanation of the research after which the participants signed

two copies of a consent form (see Appendix G). The interviews were recorded and transcribed into Word documents. In the first phase of data collection, I conducted twenty-five in-depth interviews and transcribed them in Microsoft office. This resulted in 249 pages of single-spaced data, utilizing Times New Roman, 12 point font.

I also observed and recorded several CityHope staff and board meetings which allowed me to examine the processes occurring at the administrative level and engaged in direct observation by attending seminars presented by the organization and the various programs offered (e.g., ESL classes, tutoring, jobs partnerships, poverty training). I utilized in-person intercepts during CityServe, Advent Tea, and the Christmas Store. CityServe is a one day event, where hundreds of volunteers do service projects (e.g., yard work, clean up, community meals) around the city, the Advent Tea is an evening that focuses on explaining the meaning of Christmas in the Christian culture to women of different cultures and religions (e.g., Muslims, Hindus), and the Christmas store allows tutorees to purchase Christmas gifts with points they had earned throughout the school year for participation in tutoring. At these events, I would ask participants direct questions regarding their participation. Documents such as the organizational website, pamphlets, a feasibility study, and board minutes also became part of my data. In addition to the 249 pages of interview data, my data included board minutes for all of 2013, the annual report for 2012 and 2013, marketing materials (e.g., Christmas store, CityServe), organizational calendars, newsletters for all of 2013, and other organizational materials (e.g., dashboard, timelines, website). After I had completed initial coding I attempted to saturate and develop categories utilizing constant comparison throughout the data collection process. I began theoretically sampling other members of the organization

(i.e., deciding who to interview based on a developing theory). These were primarily board members and high level volunteers recommended by staff members (see Table II below for a list of interviewees). They were also sent an email asking for their participation (see Appendix H).

Data Preparation. Cheney and Tompkins (1987) stated that “the process of identification is conducted primarily with language and the product of identification is expressed primarily with language” (p. 11). Therefore, I transcribed interviews and took notes during staff meetings, events, seminars and other observations. Oliver and colleagues (2005) placed the range of transcriptions along a continuum with naturalism at one end and denaturalism on the other. Naturalism includes as “much detail as possible” and denaturalism is when “idiosyncratic elements of speech (e.g., stutters, pauses, nonverbal, involuntary vocalizations) are removed” (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005, pp. 1273-1274). Oliver (2005) suggests that denaturalized transcripts are suited for grounded theory. Although the theories being explored in this research are already well grounded, this research is attempting to link these theories and, therefore, transcribed interviews focused on the verbal content of the message.

Table II. Interviewees

Interviewee Table								
*Name	Role	Position 1	Years	Paid Hours/ week	Position 2	Years	Paid Hours/ week	# of interviews
John	Co-founder	Executive Director	2002-13	10				3
Brad	Co-founder	Associate Director	2002-13	40+	Executive Director	2014-	40+	3
Amber	Staff	Director of Volunteers	2010-12 2012-13	15 32	Ministry Engagement	2014-	40+	2
Ana	Staff	Community Literacy and Tutoring Ministries	2013-	20				1
Donna	Staff	Fundraising and Communications	2013-	40+				1
Dale	Volunteer	Board Member	2006-08					1
Ellen	Volunteer Staff	ESL	2004-09		Refugee Resettlement Ministries	2011-	40+	1
Jen	Staff	Administrative Assistant		10	Volunteer	2011-		2
Dean	Volunteer	Board Chair	2006-13					1
Lucy	Staff	Special Projects		10				1
Pat	Volunteer	Administrative Assistant						1
Mara	Volunteer	Tutoring Coordinator						1
Nancy	Staff	Community Worker/Arabic ministries		10				1
Colin	Volunteer	Backpack	2003-present					1
Hope	Volunteer	Learning Centers	1999-					1
Lela	Volunteer	Board Chair	2002-08					1
Margaret	Volunteer	Board Member	2002-2010					1
Mimi	Volunteer	Tutoring	2002-2009		Open Table	2014-		1
Sam	Volunteer	Kid's church	2002-2005		Board Member			1

Data Analysis. I used analytical methods offered by grounded theory methodology in data analysis. The transcribed and written documents were assigned into the qualitative data analysis program, ATLAS. ti. I read and reread the various interview transcripts, then began with open-coding, an unrestricted coding of the data (Strauss, 1987). This type of coding enabled me to become more familiar with the data and allowed me to break up the data into parts and explicate actions and meanings. These inductive codes were data driven. (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, and McCulloch, 2011), meaning they emerged from the data. However, because they remained very close to the data, they were still very descriptive.

After open coding, several themes began to emerge and I began to see how the various codes were interrelated or differentiated from one another. I began organizing, bracketing, and labeling various codes. During this process, the following themes/main categories emerged: *bridging relationships, faith, vision and mission, innovation, passionate leadership, management, and communication*. I then integrated the various categories using axial coding. Axial coding examines each category for causal conditions, context, strategies by which it is handled, and consequences of those strategies. It is often used to bring categories together “under an overarching theory or principle of integration” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 252). For example, the process codes of *perceiving, assessing, and responding* occurred throughout the data, throughout the themes and categories. I began to see that this was a continual and cyclical sensemaking process that happened throughout the development of the organization. I began to develop sub-codes and definitions that encompassed the various constructs that I was trying to capture.

As I looked back through my data, I found that faith and prayer were the primary way in which organizational members perceived, assessed, and responded and they were interwoven throughout the various stages of the organizational developmental process, allowing the members to make sense of equivocality. However, faith was too vague and all-encompassing. I began to see that there were two basic categories—the belief that God was in control and the acts of faith performed by the participants. I developed sub-codes such as God gathering, God guiding, and God giving under the larger category of God as orchestrator; and prayer, scripture, spiritual growth, and calling were sub-codes under the larger category of Spiritual Acts. I continued to revise the categories and definitions as I came across data that didn't quite fit (see Table III below).

As stated in the beginning of this dissertation, my primary method was to utilize a grounded theory approach. In grounded theory, codes emerge from the data helping to generate new theories. Grounded theory focuses on the process of generating theory rather than a particular theoretical content and emphasizes steps and procedures for connecting induction and deduction through constant comparison. Therefore, in order to answer the research questions put forth in the earlier section of this work, in the second stage of coding I utilized more of a top down system—codes that attempted to answer the research questions versus the themes that emerged from the data in the first stage of coding thus moving from discovery mode to verification mode. I used more of an inductive approach in the beginning analysis allowing patterns and themes to emerge and then I would use more of a deductive approach attempting to synthesize theory with emergent themes (Guba, 1978).

Table III: Data-driven themes-Phase One

CORE CATEGORY	CODES	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES FROM TEXT
God as Orchestrator	God gathering God guiding God giving	Respondent makes sense of how something has occurred by crediting God or refers to God guiding, gathering, giving	every day God is reordering how those get played out God brought us to that ministry [refugee work] and told us to get involved when he delivered them to our front door one day
Spiritual Acts	Prayer Use of Scripture Feeling called Spiritual growth	Respondent credits prayer, quotes scripture, talks of being called, being faith-based, or growing and helping others grow spiritually.	I think part of it is we are all praying that God keeps us focused. I probably have prayed more about this over the last year It has grown people's faith God is bringing the world here for us evangelize Maybe it wasn't God's plan either. I don't know. It's almost like the Lord is saying you're not going forward on this. It's all part of go ye. Go ye and teach all nations
Bridging Relationships	With people Into networks Between organizations	Respondent talks about building relationships, accessing networks, collaborating w/ others	You don't go in and beat them over the head with a Bible, you've got to have relationships I think the long-term is to keep networking to get outside the circles.
Innovative	Variety /new things Accepting failure Remaining flexible	Respondent makes direct/indirect reference to having multiple programs, failing, being flexible, and seeing the big picture	I think early on, there were a lot of programs that were more like throw the spaghetti against the wall and see what sticks And thankfully, it's been an organization that doesn't get hung up on "that didn't work." Oh so it didn't work. we don't get so like dug in and "no we can't change
Mission/Vision	Contextual Consistent Communicated Big picture	Respondent states or alludes to the importance of continually communicating a	Kind of to get that bigger picture. I think it helps them to remember that there is a bigger reason It seems that the vision remains consistent

		consistent strong mission that adjusts to the context	Helping those congregations to really meet the needs of their community.
Communication	Different Channels Frequency Coordinating	Respondent refers to communicating frequently, coordinating communication, and utilizing different channels. It can be both internal and external	<p>And that can happen through phone calls, emails, meetings, conference calls, face time whatever it is</p> <p>We are always trying to find the balance between not wanting to drive people nuts when they see an email from building hope and “Oh, are you kidding?” but you want them to know what is going on.</p> <p>we’re trying to get better about that kind of communication, about keeping everything in one central place</p>
Management	Staff Volunteers Programs/Events Finances	Respondent makes direct/indirect reference to management tasks (facilitating, evaluating, managing, educating, training, mobilizing) regarding people, congregations, programs, finances, or events	<p>he needed someone helping him manage the staff</p> <p>Overseeing that. Bringing in volunteers and then getting them into the areas where they saw themselves fitting</p> <p>I started helping more with some of the organizational stuff. I like fixing things. I like looking at something and saying this could be better if we did this.</p> <p>And we’ve got to make hard decisions about what are we doing with our budget.</p>
Passionate Leadership	Altruistic Visionary Proficient	Respondent credits the leadership for the organizational growth either because of their self-sacrifice (altruistic), their particular strengths (proficiency) or their ability to cast a vision.	<p>And the two of them had a very strong passion for what they wanted to do... People believed in them, in what their vision was</p> <p>You have to have good leadership. You have to have personable leadership. I mean like Jeff and Brian while they are very different personalities, it's good for different things.</p> <p>Nonprofits when they are small and they are founded on one individual's blood, sweat and tears or very small group of individuals</p>

After applying data-driven codes (i.e., codes that emerged from the data), I revisited my research questions and went back through the data applying codes that were structurally driven in order to harmonize with the conceptual framework of my study (Saldaña, 2009). Whereas data driven codes are derived from the raw data, structural driven codes are derived in an attempt to answer the research questions. Structural coding “applies a conceptual phrase” that relates to “a specific research question” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 66). For example, my first research question had to do with tensions. I utilized comparative methods (Charmaz, 2006), going through all of the interviews to compare how each respondent answered the various questions. For example, “*How do you stay focused on the why?*” was an interview question trying to get at the research question “What are the tensions in a faith-based organization and what role, if any, do they play in the organizational developmental process?” Coding each respondent’s answer to this question with the prefix RQ2 allowed me to compare across the data. This gave me some leads as to the processes that helped keep them focused on the why, but I had to dig a bit deeper to begin to identify and name the tensions. I used the code TENSIONS followed by a colon which attempted to name the specific tension (see Table IV below)

Another example of applying structural driven codes involves the third research question which examined the processes of developing an organizational identity. As I went through my interview data, several respondents spoke about how the identity seemed to be changing. I began coding these statements with a shortened form for organizational identity change (OI change), representing the concept of changing/evolving organizational identity. This yielded 77 codes. I then went through all of those codes, organized them somewhat sequentially, and was able to see a pattern

Table IV: Structural driven codes

CATEGORY	CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES FROM TEXT
Organizational Identity (OI)	Changing	Respondent alludes to a process by mentioning a point in time, a shift, a change.	You have wheedled down the things that we're not good at and have identified the things that we are good at, but tomorrow God could bring somebody that's good at something that we weren't good at, and as an organization in the collective that now has to be incorporated into our identity. We have those huge growth years where everybody was excited about everything
Organizational Identity (OI)	Failing	Respondent talks about past failures.	The capital campaign ultimately tanked. Didn't accomplish what it was meant to accomplish And we've had staff failures
Organizational Identity (OI)	Weakness	Respondent talks about the organization's weaknesses	What don't we do well? We're not very good, we are trying to get better at, metrics.
Organizational Identity (OI)	Strengths	Respondent talks about the organization's strengths	What do we do well? I think we develop people well
Organizational Identity (OI)	Connected/separated	Respondent talks about the interconnectedness of Trinity and Building Hope or importance of separation	And then there's a fine line between Building hope and Trinity too
Organizational Identity (OI)	Right people/right time	Respondent makes reference to having the people involved that needed to be.	Think you should hook up with Jeff because I think you could help with this in putting this together.
Organizational Identity (OI)	Funding		They wouldn't have gotten the monies outside that they've gotten now from the foundations and the grants without opening it up and separating.
TENSION	Inclusive/exclusive	An exclusive religious viewpoint is highly intolerant of any doctrinal dissimilarities, and an inclusive viewpoint that makes no distinctions whatsoever between religious beliefs.	Because the opportunities and the problems we were facing with what was going on in the church in the city required that we get beyond one denomination.
TENSION	Integration/separation	Having no control and the struggle at the organizational level to manage programs given to churches to reach	there was a disconnect to the vision or there was a misunderstanding between who owns this or who's responsible for this

		communities yet recognize that the church needs to make those programs their own. The struggle at the individual level to have better defined roles within the organization.	
TENSION	Expressive/instrumental	The pull between the overall mission of this particular FBO to express the Christian faith (expressive) and the desire to meet needs by providing quality programs (instrumental).	There are some people that are involved in our, a lot of people involved in our programs, that don't care really about the mission of building hope in the city, they care to set an example of tutoring children.
TENSION	Supply/Demand	Demand refers to the various needs of both those who serve and those who are being served and supply refers to the resources (economic, human, structural) that are available.	When the whole refugee thing came up there was an obvious need and obvious opportunity for ministry...there are so much funding opportunities for the refugee work, that could become the whole focus We were forcing something that truly was not- Because we had building space okay? We wanted to have something there.
TENSION	Administration/Ministry	the administrative processes that the organization has to tackle in order to gain legitimacy—that is the activities that relate to managing the way the organization functions versus ministry—the acts of service the organization performs to accomplish their mission and overall goal.	There is always kind of this tension between doing ministry and there is a little bit of business side
TENSION MANAGEMENT	Negotiate Eliminate Pray	Respondent talks about the ways in which they manage tension/conflict	So do we drop them This is what it needs to look like if you want us to continue helping you.”
EXTERNAL FACTORS	Neighborhood	Talk of changing neighborhoods	
EXTERNAL FACTORS	Funding/Government	Respondent talks about the difficulty in funding and mentions specifics of government funding stipulations	The only reason that government funds are important is because then that drives the agenda.

EXTERNAL FACTORS	Cultural/political/media		There are cultural or political times when we have to manage that.
SOCIAL CAPITAL	Trust		You are not going to have really any relationship on the back end unless you are honest with people.
SOCIAL CAPITAL	Reputation	Respondent mentions the ongoing presence of the organization or its reputation for success, or selfless giving	So I think building hope had been building up a reputation
SOCIAL CAPITAL	Resources	Respondent mentions their available resources-meaning connections of people and organizations	all the connections that building hope has and they have them built up over the years
SOCIAL CAPITAL	Bonding	Respondent mentions passion, shared beliefs, buy-in, close relationships, caring	Those relationships are being built that it's not just let me give you a bag of groceries, we're going to invest in your life.
SOCIAL CAPITAL	Organizational		It's a lot of working through and with other people to get done what the organization needs to get done.
SENSMAKING		Respondent talks about figuring things out, making sense	Feedback from the programs that we had in place at the time to see what was going on? What's happening? What things are working?

develop throughout the life of the organization. I used similar tactics for each research question. Again, all codes and categories were emerging from systematic, constant comparison informed by grounded theory.

Dimensionalization was one of my final steps in the coding process. I examined each construct and tried to discover key dimensions. These data were coded, looking for themes and similar concepts. I occasionally checked with the interviewees to be certain that I understood what they were trying to convey and asked for confirmation in the themes that emerged during the analysis.

Validity and Reliability. Although statistical tests or measures are inappropriate for qualitative research, validity and reliability are important to address in all academic studies. However, it is more common to use the terms quality, rigor, or trustworthiness when addressing issues of validity and dependability when addressing issues of reliability. Thorough documentation of my methodology, appendices, and an audit trail (see Appendix I) were meant to address issues of dependability, showing readers the procedures that led to my conclusions and allowing readers to “imaginatively replicate” this study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 271). Other ways I attempted to address issues of dependability, trustworthiness, and rigor was, first, to triangulate my data by utilizing different sources of information to form themes and/or categories (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126) and utilize direct quotes from multiple voices. Secondly, I sent an email to respondents (see Appendix J), with this dissertation attached, asking for feedback on the findings (i.e., did it or did it not resonate with their experiences?) and to check for inaccuracies in the data. This resulted in some minor changes to correct grammar in

interviewee data. Thirdly, I added a second phase to the study wherein I applied my findings to other like organizations.

Phase Two

For the second phase of the project, I attempted to apply my findings beyond the case study to other like organizations, whereby increasing validity, transferability, and/or empirical generalization (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003)—adding rigor and relevance to the study. This next section begins with presenting a brief background of three faith-based organizations.

Entry into the Field

I put several parameters in place for this phase. Firstly, it was important that these organizations were faith-based, 501c3 organizations. Secondly, the FBOs had to be located within a three mile radius of the location in which the case study was located. Thirdly, I attempted to sample a variety of organizations in terms of longevity. The executive directors of these organizations were contacted via email (see Appendix K) and asked if they would be willing to participate in an in-depth interview that would last from 1 to 2 hours. If they agreed to participate, a meeting was scheduled. The participant requested the time and place for the meeting. I did not receive any refusals for interviews

Organization #1. Eastside Mission* was established in 1910 to address the increasing needs of a growing industrial city. “Those who started and sustained this ministry were committed Christians who responded with compassion to hurting people by meeting their immediate material need and introducing them to the life-changing gospel of Jesus Christ” (Poh, 2010, p. 4). Presently their annual budget is \$6 million, they have 57 full time and 6 part time employees, and 120 active churches engaging with the

Mission (multiple denominations). For fiscal year 2013/2014, they served 1620 men, women, and children (156,256 meals, 93,730 bed nights), had 1,230 volunteers who served for 17,501 hours at a value of \$373,820. They focus on four main areas of ministry: Crossroads Men's Crisis Center, Laura's Home Women's Crisis Center, Pathways Family Outreach Services, and Inmate Outreach Services

Their "ministry focus is built into the very DNA" (Reggie/Executive Director) of the organization and reflected in the following Mission & Vision Statement drawn from their organizational website: 1) Mission Statement: "Providing help and hope to all people through the transforming power of God's love." 2) Vision Statement: "The [Eastside Mission], known for faithfully proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ, will be a catalyst for positive change in [Midwestern City] resulting in the radical transformation of individuals and communities for generations to come"

Organization #2. Southside Community Development Corporation*, an outreach arm of a local church, was established in 2001 to address the needs of a diverse neighborhood. Their emphasis is on encouraging regeneration of their community through the life-changing message of Jesus Christ. This is accomplished by representing, equipping, and investing in the youth and families on the south side of a Midwestern metropolitan area. Their programs include youth job partnership, after-school enrichment, community health fair and family carnival, and a legal clinic.

Presently their annual budget is \$587,772, they have 5 full time and 5 part time employees. They have about 300 to 325 volunteers annually and serve about 1500 people through four core programs: educational enrichment program, a fairly comprehensive job training program, a legal clinic, and an annual health fair that also

translates into year-round medical services for people in the community. Their vision drawn from their organizational website is simply “To revitalize our community, one life at a time.”

Organization #3. Northside Catholic* was established in 1977 by seventeen Catholic parishes located in the neighborhood. Those parishes were receiving a number of requests for help daily due to the significant amount of poverty in the area. “They just couldn’t handle all the people knocking on their doors asking for help. So they said we need to get this all into one place” (Chris/Executive Director). They started out serving soup and sandwiches and distributing clothing and shoes. Those are still their main services and they presently serve meals 6 days per week to over 150 people a day and distribute clothing, toiletries and household goods to over 2,000 people annually. They also provide a drop-in center that provides day shelter for the poor and homeless and offers services such as showers, telephones, mailboxes and emergency services to those living on the streets.

Their Outreach and Advocacy helps clients who seek housing, entitlements, substance abuse and mental health services, healthcare, education, employment advocacy, legal assistance, identification recovery and specialized programming to overcome the effects of trauma. Their Expressive Arts programming is designed specifically to address consequences of trauma in the individual and facilitate healing offering art classes, community gardening opportunities, yoga, and creative writing.

Presently they have a 2.8 million dollar budget and 35 full and part-time employees. Between 220 and 250 volunteers show up regularly and about 4,000 individuals volunteer throughout the year. Their mission statement taken from their

website is “Grounded in faith, hope, love, and respect for those we serve, [Northside Catholic] assists all who come in need of food, clothing, shelter, advocacy, and a path to self-sufficiency.”

Data Collection. My data consisted of in-depth interviews with the three executive directors from the above mentioned faith-based organizations. The same interview guide from phase one was used as a model to ensure that specific topics were covered, however since this was the second phase of the research, the interview guide changed somewhat in order to examine specific themes that arose during the first phase of the project. The goal of the interviews was to obtain rich data, stories, and narratives, therefore, the interviewees had leeway in how to reply. As in the first phase, questions did not follow exactly in the way outlined in the guide, and questions were asked that were not included as the researcher picked up on interesting concepts during the interview process. However, most, if not all, of the questions were asked on the interview guide and similar wording was used from interviewee to interviewee. The question guide was created in order to offer some structure, but open, conversational dialogue between the researcher and the participant was encouraged. These three interviews yielded 45 pages of data—single spaced, 12 pt. font. The interviews attempted to validate the model that was constructed during the first phase of the project.

Data Analysis. I followed the similar strategies for data analysis as was followed in phase one. The following table illustrates the coding scheme and themes that emerged in the second phase.

Table V: Data-driven themes-Phase Two

CORE CATEGORY	CODES	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES FROM TEXT
Faith	<p>God as Orchestrator: gathering, guiding, giving</p> <p>Spiritual Acts: Prayer, use of Scripture, feeling called, spiritual growth</p>	<p>Respondent makes sense of how something has occurred by crediting God or refers to God guiding, gathering, giving</p> <p>Respondent credits prayer, quotes scripture, talks of being called, being faith-based, or growing and helping others grow spiritually</p>	<p>You know that God has brought the people and ministries who is here all the good resources that God's given us</p> <p>The Lord God is alive and well and He is doing a good thing here</p> <p>We have a lot of prayer-both individual and corporate that's keeping us focused.</p> <p>And of course faith is very foundational to everything we do, so as we grow in our faith</p> <p>We have a unique opportunity to kind of give a cup of cold water in the Lord's name</p>
Bridging Relationships	<p>Networks Linking Walking life w/them</p>	<p>Respondent talks about building relationships, accessing networks, collaborating w/ others</p>	<p>We don't have to do a lot of recruiting, mostly word-of-mouth.</p> <p>We partner in a lot of ways with a lot of organizations</p> <p>Ultimately we get the privilege to walk alongside them</p>
Innovative	<p>Variety /new things Accepting failure Remaining flexible Context</p>	<p>Respondent makes direct/indirect reference to having multiple programs, failing, being flexible, contextually aware</p>	<p>We are not just doing the same old same old.</p> <p>So we learned from that [failure] We refine that and tried to put it in a new context are in a new way. .</p> <p>That pushes us to move into other areas of meeting those needs.</p>
Funding	<p>Sources Donor Relationships Communication</p>	<p>Respondent refers to various funding sources, developing relationships, or communications in the context of funding</p>	<p>So any time new grants do come out, we look at them.</p> <p>Probably 12 to 15 years ago we got our first full time professional development director to help with fundraising, because otherwise, that was just kind of everybody's job.</p>

			<p>The future of our financial stability lies in our ability to cultivate major donors.</p> <p>We craft specific pieces of mail that are geared towards non-donors</p>
Communication	Different Channels Frequency Coordinating	Respondent refers to communicating frequently, coordinating communication, and utilizing different channels. It can be both internal and external	<p>A lot of what I do is communications. Whether it is communicating with clients, staff, volunteers, donors, other constituencies</p> <p>we always are proactive in communicating to our staff how we can, through communication, resolve things</p> <p>We do a lot on the radio...We're very active on social media, twitter, Facebook, YouTube...we produce a newsletter, we do online email blast.</p>
Managing and Developing	Staff Volunteers Programs/Events Finances	Respondent makes direct/indirect reference to management tasks (facilitating, evaluating, managing, educating, training, mobilizing) regarding people, congregations, programs, finances, or events	<p>We've had to become a bit more professional and structured where more people could do more things.</p> <p>They [staff] have goals and metrics that are part of their plan and a way back to achieving our overall organizational and programmatic goals and strategic plan.</p> <p>We could do an even better job of training and developing our staff.</p> <p>We had about 12,000 that volunteered through different ways. We have a full-time volunteer coordinator.</p>
Leadership	Altruistic Informed Multiple tasks	Respondent mentions self-sacrifice (altruistic), multiple tasks/roles or keeping informed of trends, policies, research, etc.	<p>They could go somewhere else and make more money, but they are here for a purpose</p> <p>I try to do a lot of reading to keep up on the trends... in fundraising, nonprofits, administration, leadership, and homelessness and poverty.</p> <p>Everything and anything. So there's no such thing as a typical day</p>

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

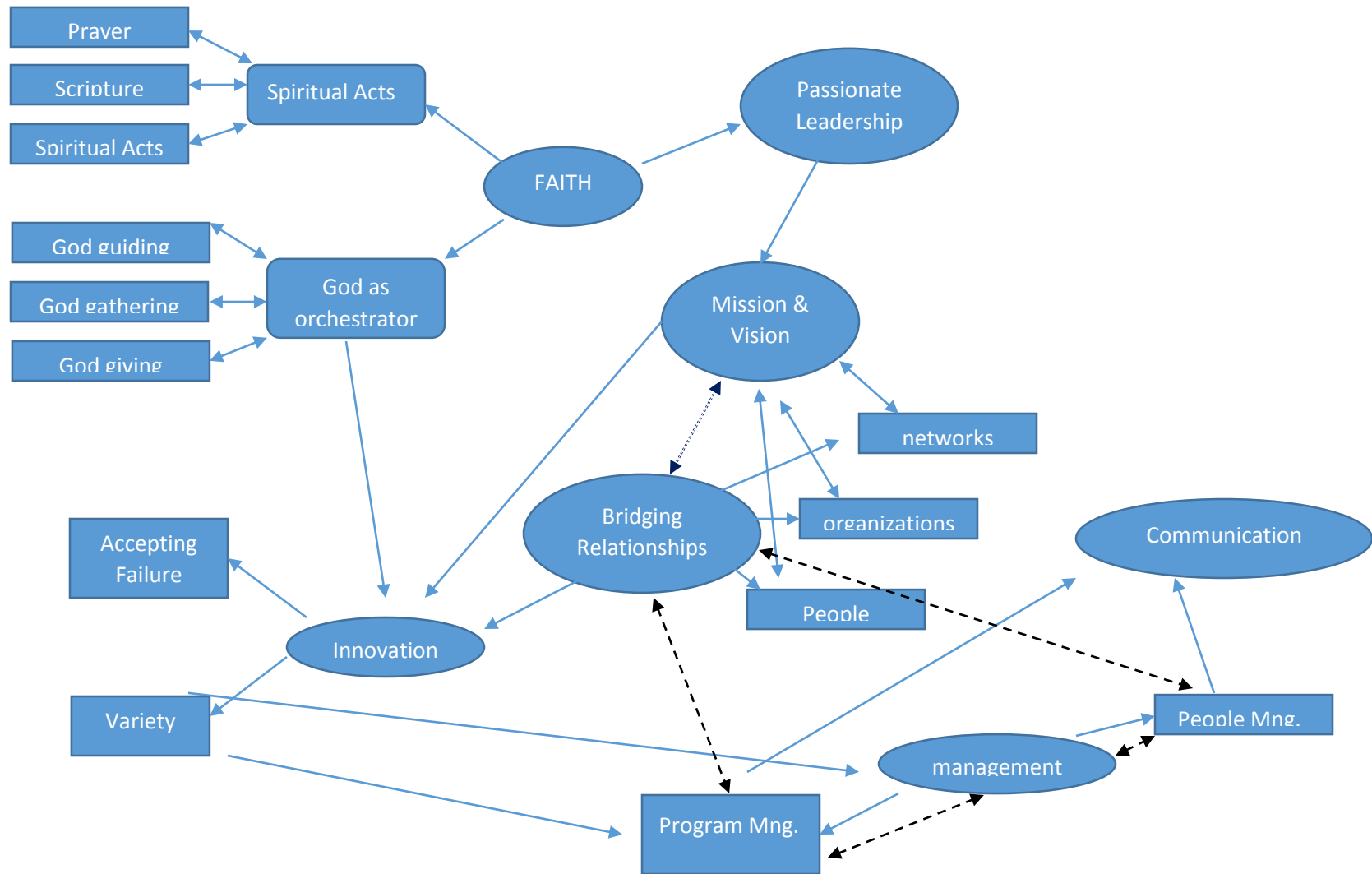
The findings section presents the analysis of the interviews and field notes. It begins with identifying the themes that emerged from the data in both phases of the study—phase one followed by phase two. It then applies those themes to each of the various concepts that were found to be relevant to the overall development. Each concept/research question is explored individually —phase one followed by phase two.

Identifying Themes-Phase One

Interviewees were asked about the history of the organization, its vision, mission and purpose, its strengths, weaknesses, and failures as well as the development of the organization and their particular role within the organization. Their answers articulated common issues which are identified in the following themes: *Faith, Passionate Leadership, Vision and Mission, Bridging Relationships, Innovation, Management, and Communication* (see Figure 1).

While each of these themes is intended to represent a link in the development of the faith-based organization and give insight into the research questions proposed in this research, they are interrelated, overlapping, and cyclical which made it difficult to clearly

Figure 1: Key Themes Network View-Phase One



differentiate where one concept ends and the next begins. That being said, faith was the most salient of all the themes and was interwoven throughout all the other themes. In this section, the themes and research questions will be presented along with narratives that demonstrate this process. These themes will make up the model for the faith-based organization and support answers to the five research questions articulated in the previous sections of this research. Following is a more detailed discussion of the themes.

Theme #1: Faith

Faith was the most salient of all of the themes and pertains to the interviewees' mention of being led by God, dedicated to prayer, and the use of scripture throughout their interviews. It also is a theme derived from field work notes, observations, and in-person intercepts. Every board meeting, staff meeting, volunteer training, celebratory event, and servant event opens and closes in prayer and often includes a short meditation based in scripture from the Holy Bible. In addition, every interviewee mentions God and faith in some fashion and faith expressions are scattered throughout the data such as the "body of Christ", "the great commission" "being led [and/or] called by God."

The faith theme was divided into two basic sub-themes: Spiritual Acts and God as orchestrator. Spiritual acts included the following codes: prayer, use of scripture, feeling called, and spiritual growth. God as orchestrator included the following codes: God guiding, God giving, and God gathering. The first research question asked about how a faith-based organization manages the tensions between the four quadrants of Frumkin's model. To answer this research question I asked interviewees, "How do you stay focused on the why?" The majority of respondents mentioned engaging in various spiritual acts such as prayer or using scripture which keeps them focused both as an organization and

personally. “Just to have a quiet time in the morning before I come to work and my strength and my energy is not coming from myself” (Donna/Full-time staff). “I think part of it is prayer. I think part of it is we are all praying that God keeps us focused” (Ellen/Full-time staff). I asked interviewees what they believed differentiated a faith-based nonprofit from a nonprofit. Dean said, “Prayer! Prayer and an attempt to make sure that we are in line with what God's doing and in a mission to share in some way, the gospel with the people that are being served.”

God as orchestrator also emerged as a major theme, helping the members make sense of opportunities and roadblocks. “God, in my opinion, God brought us to that ministry [refugee work] and told us to get involved when he delivered them to our front door one day” (Brad/Co-founder). “We get our ego associated with, ‘we were going to do this thing’ and then we find that God is doing that thing in some other way” (Dean/Board Chair). “You are here because God has called you to be here, and you want to be part of something that is eternal, that makes it very unique” (Ellen/Full-time staff).

Passion. A passion to be obedient to the Lord Jesus Christ and his command to go into all the world, and teach all nations. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever the Lord Jesus has commanded and that He is with his followers, even to the end of the age. I think, I feel that it is just driven by love for God. And the love to put people into a relationship with him by helping them buy goods and services as a conduit for the love of Christ (Ana/Part-time staff).

This theme of faith was interwoven throughout all the emergent themes discussed in the next sections.

Theme #2: Passionate Leadership

Passionate leadership in an FBO appears to be a result of personal faith and is crucial in the launching of a new FBO. One person or a small group of people see a need (either spiritual, physical, or emotional) and then find a way to meet that need. Strategies for passionate leadership included casting a vision, altruism, and being proficient (i.e., possessing the needed talents for the specific stage of the organization). This theme emerged from both interview data and a feasibility study that was conducted by an outside non-affiliated organization—“[John] is a visionary. [Brad] gets people to do things” (Jinder, 2013, p. 8). The theme is echoed in the following comments: “You have to have good leadership. You have to have personable leadership. I mean like [John] and [Brad] while they are very different personalities, it's good for different things” (Margaret/Board member). “I would just say to really summarize the strength is unbelievable dedication” (Colin/Volunteer). “I really do think the success of [CityHope] is directly attributable to those two [Brad and John] and their passion for [CityHope's] mission and vision. They were able to build passion and excitement in so many people that wanted to support their mission and help to make it a reality” (Sam/Volunteer).

Theme #3: Vision and mission

The leaders were able to “cast a vision” and get people involved in the overall mission. In this particular FBO, the vision and mission is informed by faith, refers to the overall purpose and goal of the organization, and forms the core of the organization’s identity. It involves communicating a consistent vision frequently, “You constantly hold up the vision and the mission of the organization as what is central to us. And you are always reminding people” (Brad/Co-founder); “Enabling others to see the big picture, remind them of the bigger picture of why we are doing what we are doing” (Amber/Full-

time staff). It was also a prominent response to the question, “How do you stay focused on the why?”

Part of the board's responsibility is to be able to help [Brad] and [John] take another step back from the day-to-day to say "Okay guys, you're getting yourself spread so thin. What is this ministry? What is our mission? What is our calling?" To be in prayer with them and sense where the Holy Spirit is leading (Dean/Board Chair).

As the organization begins to feel the pull in different directions, they remember their original purpose and vision: “Don’t forget why we’re here. I don’t care if it’s better for the organization. This is the direction we need to go” (John/Co-founder).

Theme #4: Innovation

Innovation denotes the ability to try new ideas and/or methods in order to fulfill the mission and vision of the organization. It included the sub-themes multi-faceted, accepting failure, and remaining flexible. “We’re good at getting things going. We’re not afraid to tackle something new” (Amber/Full-time staff). Because the FBO is founded on faith and the belief that God is in control, stakeholders are more likely to be flexible and accept failure. “I think the organization is flexible. Willing to see people where they are and change course” (Donna/Full-time staff). These characteristics emerged throughout in-depth interviews when asked about the strengths of the organization and how they have continued to grow and develop.

How has that happened? How has it grown and how has it developed?

Running into a couple of either difficult roadblocks or places where what

we were visioning was not matching up to what was happening, and being able to look at that and say, “Okay, this is how we are doing this. This has to change.” And being willing to change it. And work through the pain of what it meant to change it... And thankfully, it’s been an organization that doesn’t get hung up on ‘that didn’t work.’ Oh, so it didn’t work. So let’s not get all hung up about it. Let’s learn from it and move on (Brad/Co-founder).

In addition, because of the innovative nature of the organization, they have tried and continue to try new ways in which to reach their goal—this can be both a strength and a weakness.

One of the weaknesses of [CityHope] as well as one of the strengths is that they have a variety of things that they do and do very well, and provide opportunities for the greater church to get involved and because they have a variety of options to get involved in, the greater church can kind of look at the organization, and almost always find something that they can say ‘that’s what we were thinking of right there’ (John/Co-founder).

This same idea was communicated often among interviewees when asked about both the strengths and weaknesses of the organization—a double-edged sword. They would exclaim “There are so many ways for people to get involved!” when speaking of the strengths and “We are pulled in so many directions!” when speaking of weaknesses—two sides of the same coin. I began to refer to this phenomenon as being *multi-faceted*.

Theme # 5: Bridging relationships

Building relationships that bring together people, organizations, and networks is a major dimension of social capital and refers to the relationships and connections that both contribute to and result from the innovative and multi-faceted nature of this organization. “They just keep coming and inviting their friends” (Nancy/Part-time staff).

All of the respondents mentioned that one of the strengths of CityHope is that it “connects” “builds relationships” “creates partnerships” “builds bridges” “acts a broker” “networks” “brings people together”, and the list goes on. “I think that is how a lot of volunteers come to us. A friend of a friend. It’s not a wide cast net that’s brought them here. It’s person-to-person” (Ellen/Full-time staff).

The board is always thinking about who are the—who are the skill sets that we don't have or where are the circles of Christians in the church right now that we are not currently connected to around town?...How do we get to them relationally? (Brad/Co-founder).

I think we help the family that comes that we work with, I think they are much better off because of those relationships that they have been able to have. Whether it’s people in the congregation or just volunteers that are stopping in on them (Amber/Full-time staff).

Individual relationships, staff members going to meetings that involve people from other agencies and then they get to know them and then they say, “We’re working on this and why don’t we do something together” (Dean/Board Chair).

This theme was triangulated through examining board minutes and conducting in-person intercepts at the following events: CityServe, Advent Tea, and the Christmas Store. While attending these events, I asked various participants why they were participating and the majority mentioned that they were brought by a family member or friend. Building bridging relationships is often intentional as evident in the following excerpt from a board meeting, “It’s important to bring new people on the Board who don’t know anyone on the Board—expands our network” (Board Minutes, July 13, 2013).

Theme # 6: Management and development

As more people become involved in the organization and more programs develop, the organization becomes more complex necessitating an increased focus on managing and developing finances, people, and programs. When I asked Brad what he thought made for successful nonprofits he said, “Sound fiscal policy. If a nonprofit is not managing its money well, does not know where its money is going, cannot account for its money, it creates pain all over the place” (Brad/Co-founder).

The organization also manages their volunteers, offering training and appreciation. It is something that CityHope does particularly well “We have a really strong volunteer program that recruits quality people, gives them a time of training, and manages them well” (Brad/Co-founder) and is also a primary focus for the organizational staff, “We just had a meeting last Tuesday and we said let’s rethink how are we training our volunteers. What are we teaching and offering?” (Ellen/Full-time staff). The management and development of their volunteers includes showing their appreciation and Colin believes it to be one of the primary reasons why she stays involved with the

organization. “They show their gratitude often, do simple things, volunteer dinners, things like that. I don’t think they take the volunteers for granted” (Colin/Volunteer).

One way in which they manage and develop their programs involves evaluation. “Evaluate the programs” (Dale/Board member). “It’s not about how many [programs] you have. It’s about the ones you do have how good they are” (Lela/Board Chair).

I like looking at something and saying this could be better if we did this.

Or why are we doing this? Is there a reason we’re doing it this way?

Could we look at another way? Looking at the tutoring program and saying it would be a little better if you change this (Amber/Full-time staff).

Theme #7: Communication

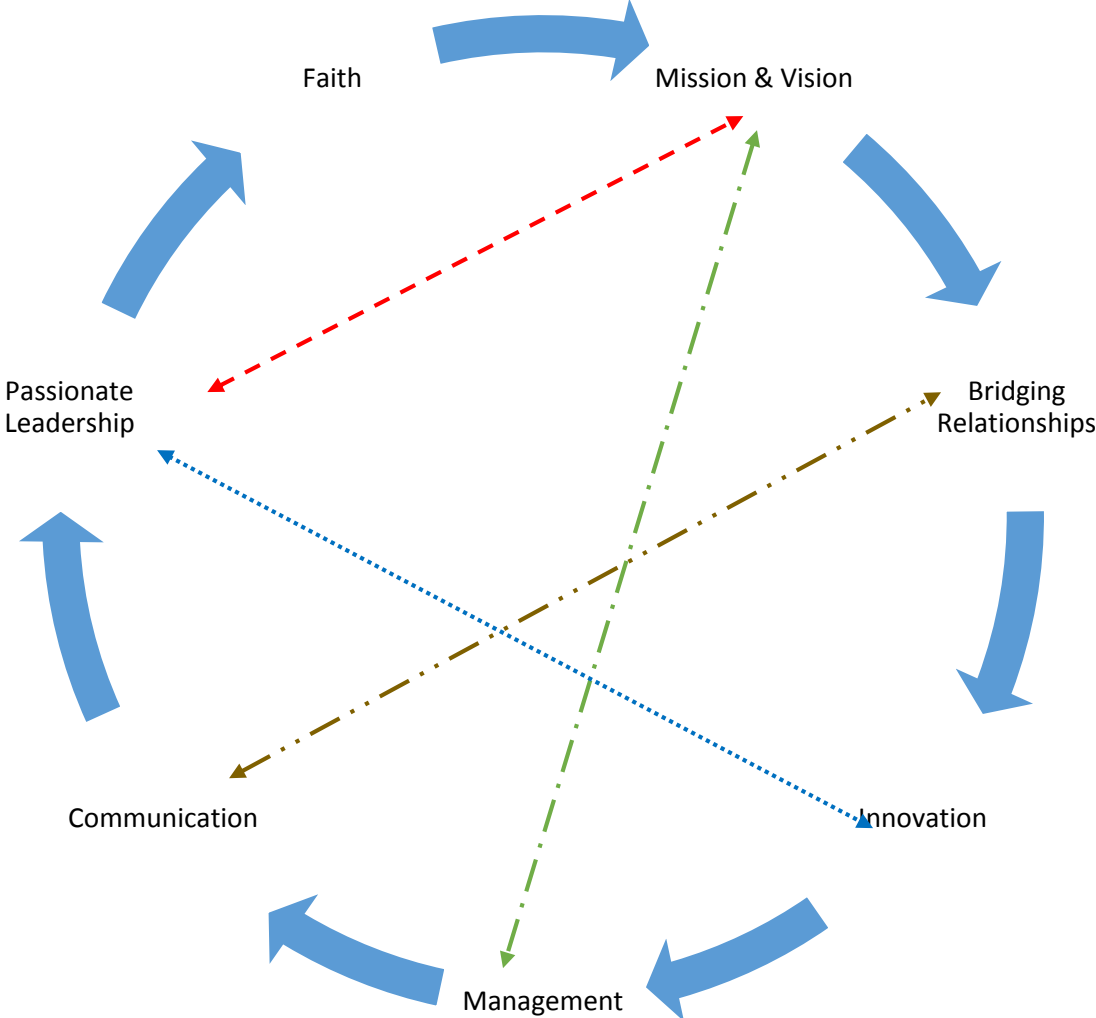
Building and maintaining these relationships and programs involves utilizing various channels of communication and was also mentioned by most of the paid staff as their primary function and role. It is best exemplified by the following quote from the current executive director when asked to describe a typical work day:

We spend a lot of time working with staff or shoring up relationships with other churches and other ministry partners. Maintaining or cultivating relationships with donors, whether that is in meetings or phone conversations or emails or letter writing, or whatever. So there’s a lot of relationship management that goes on in a typical day. And that can happen through phone calls, emails, meetings, conference calls, face time whatever it is (Brad/Co-founder).

These themes are a complex network of linked developmental processes in the faith-based organization. The faith-based organization begins when *passionate leadership* seeks to live out their *faith* through *a vision and mission* which is accomplished through both *innovation* and *building bridges through relationships*—resulting in new programs and events. These relationships, programs, and events must be *managed* through *communication*. This complex network makes up the theoretical model for the faith-based organization and can be visualized as a cycle of development (see Figure 2 below).

If the organization fails to move through the entire cycle they may not develop to their full potential. This can result in tensions that need to be managed in order for the organization to move into the next stage.

Figure 2: Cycle of Development-Phase One



Identifying Themes-Phase Two

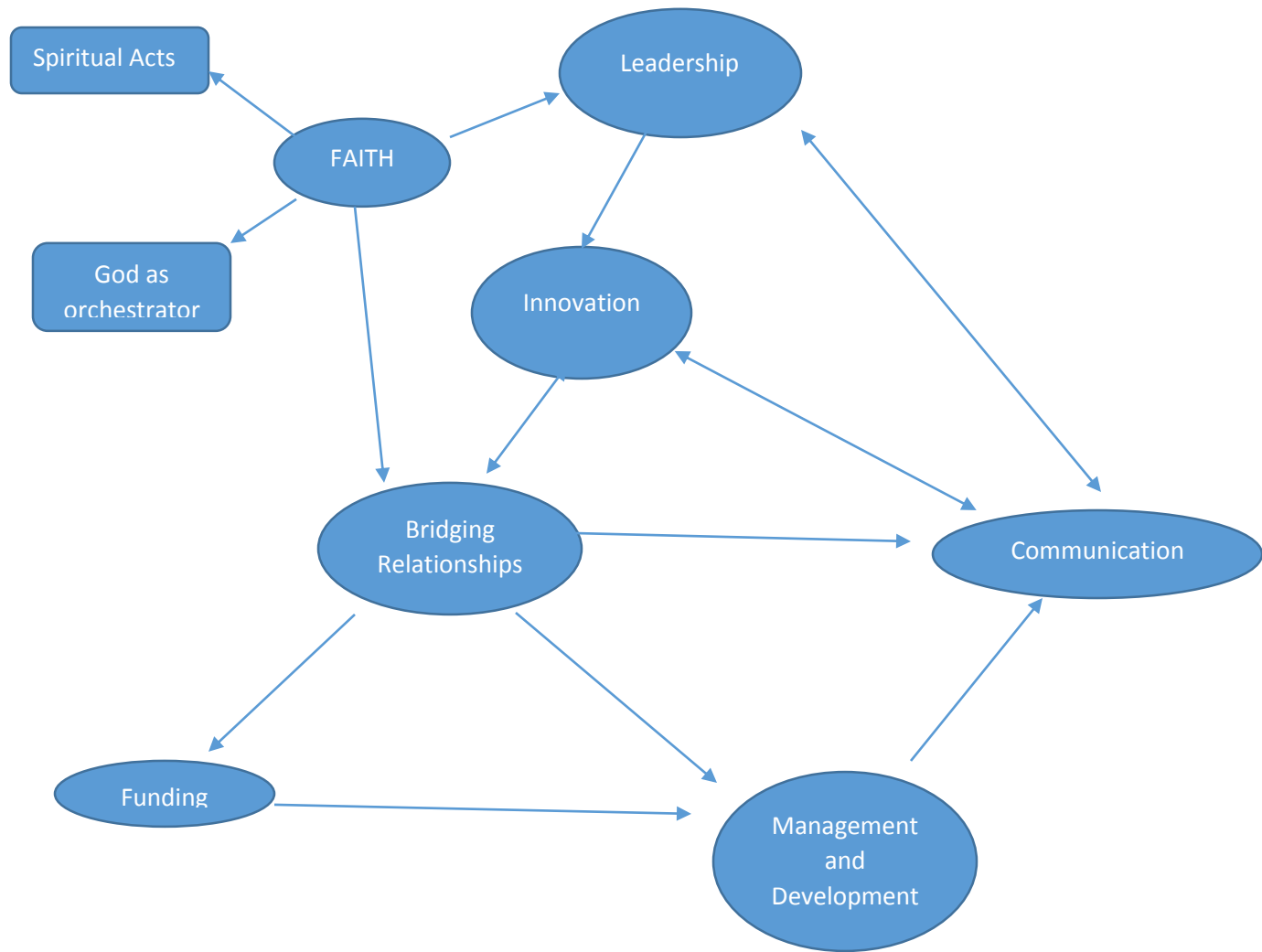
As in the first phase, interviewees were asked about the history of their organization, its vision, mission and purpose, its strengths, weaknesses, and failures as well as the development of the organization and their particular role within the organization. The following themes materialized in phase two: *faith, bridging relationships, innovation, communication, funding, management and development, leadership* (see Figure 3 below). In this section, the themes, which often overlap, will be presented along with narratives that illustrate the theme.

Theme #1: Faith

Faith pertains to the interviewees' mention of being led by God, dedicated to prayer, and the use of scripture. As in the first phase, the faith theme was divided into two basic categories: Spiritual acts and God as orchestrator. Spiritual acts included the following codes: prayer, use of scripture, feeling called, and spiritual growth. God as orchestrator included the following codes: God guiding, God giving, and God gathering. This emerged as a prominent theme in two of the organizations and is exemplified in the following statements, "What is God telling us to do for the benefit of the [East Side Mission]?" "We don't sweat it too much, if you understand what I'm saying. We just walk forward by faith. God has been very faithful through all of the times. We've had lean times, we've had times of plenty and He's been very faithful through all of it" (SCDC). These statements highlight the role faith plays as the organizations attempt to keep in line with where they believe God is leading them as well as making sense out of adversity.

Throughout each of the interviews, the directors spoke about following God's lead. As I probed further, they often interpreted available volunteers and funding as a sign that God was directing them to move forward. Consequently, if they lacked funding

Figure 3: Key Themes-Network view-Phase Two



or volunteers for a particular program, they would accept that as a sign from God that it was not something they should be pursuing at this time. “We try not see them [funding issues] as a failure because, well maybe God doesn’t want us to have that funding, so we will find our next step and a new direction” (SCDC).

In addition the website for each of the organizations mentions faith, love, Jesus, and/or God. For example, the CDC professes their desire to “impact our neighbors with God’s redemptive love” the Catholic Center is “grounded in faith” and the Eastside Mission provides “help and hope to all people through the transforming power of God’s love”

Theme #2: Innovation

Faith causes the leaders of the organization to seek God, through prayer and scripture, for His guidance and direction. Consequently, they remain flexible and as they develop an awareness of community issues, they seek unique ways to address those issues. As stated in phase one, innovation carries with it the idea of accepting failure, multi-faceted, and remaining flexible. “So much of our growth has been organically responding to the needs in the community” (NSC). “Learning from our mistakes, knowing that mistakes are a good teacher” (SCDC). “We are always keeping our ears open. Like, what’s the newest thing and we always try to stay on top of it” (NSC). “We are continually evolving. One of the things that we do very specifically and very carefully is watch what is happening out there. And so as the population that we serve changes, and as their needs change, we adjust and devise our programs” (ESM).

Every one of the organizations were formed as ways to respond to problems that were evident in the communities in which they were embedded. Eastside Mission

responded to the problems resulting from the industrial revolution which left many poor immigrants in the central city without adequate housing, work, and food (Poh, 2010). Northside Catholic saw “a critical need within the community due to extreme poverty” SCDC is embedded in a diverse neighborhood where over 60% of families with children live below the poverty line and 48% of teenagers never graduate from high school. As the context changes, they adjust their programming and/or focus to meet those new challenges.

Theme #3: Bridging Relationships

In order to be innovative in responding to the unique needs of their communities, the organization need to get to know and develop relationships. These relationships bring together people, organizations, and networks—therefore, I labeled this theme *bridging relationships*. It encompasses all forms of social capital and all three executive directors spoke about the importance of relationships in the growth and development of their organizations. There was an emphasis on developing close, bonding relationships with staff, donors, and clients, “Everything with us is driven on relationship, relationships with students and families that we serve, relationships with our program partners, organizations that we collaborate with, relationships within the ministry with staff” (ESM). “Relationships. That’s how you get the people that you are getting to get involved” (NSC). As well as an emphasis on networking with other organizations, “So long story short, there was an administrator at one of our local high schools who knew who we were and what we were doing” (SCDC).

Theme #4: Communication

Building and maintaining these relationships and programs involves utilizing various channels of communication, “People hear things differently. Some people would rather read it. Some people would rather hear it. Some people need it spoon-fed to them face to face” (NSC). “We’re very active on social media, twitter, Facebook, YouTube, so we are engaged in all those different venues. We produce a newsletter, we do online email blast” (ESM) “Communication is key” (SCDC). The theme of communication was interwoven throughout the data and blurred lines occurred between internal and external communication as well as different forms of communication such as social media, newsletters, and interpersonal communication.

Theme #5: Funding

Funding emerged as a key theme with all three of the organizations, and communication—both interpersonally and through marketing is the primary way in which two of three organizations maintain their funding. “We work specifically with major donors...we contact them personally, we try to develop relationships with them, get to know them, bring them in closer” (ESM). “People are always trying to get new donors, but I think sometimes if you just work them a little harder and keep the current donors engaged” (NSC). “We have about 21 different foundations to support us, church partners and corporate sponsors, and then in the past we've had state and federal contracts” (SCDC). Although funding emerged as a key theme in the community development corporation, there was not a lot of elaboration on how their funding was maintained or tapped into.

Theme #6: Managing and Developing

As they continually seek out funding, more people become involved in the organization and more programs develop. Therefore, the organizations become more complex necessitating an increased focus on managing and developing. “I am there to help build our capacity. And the capacity is beyond just funding. Our personnel capacity to grow and develop our staff... not just growing it now, but thinking about a ministry that is going to be sustainable and going to be a legacy” (SCDC). We have provided training for our entire staff regarding trauma and how best to engage individuals that are suffering from trauma” (ESM).

It’s a really difficult transition to make from being that very kind of mission-based, our starting out in the beginning but then if you want to continue to grow and provide the services, you’ve got to kind of make that more from a volunteer focus to a raise more money, have your professional staff and continue to have more professional space (NSC).

Theme #7: Leadership

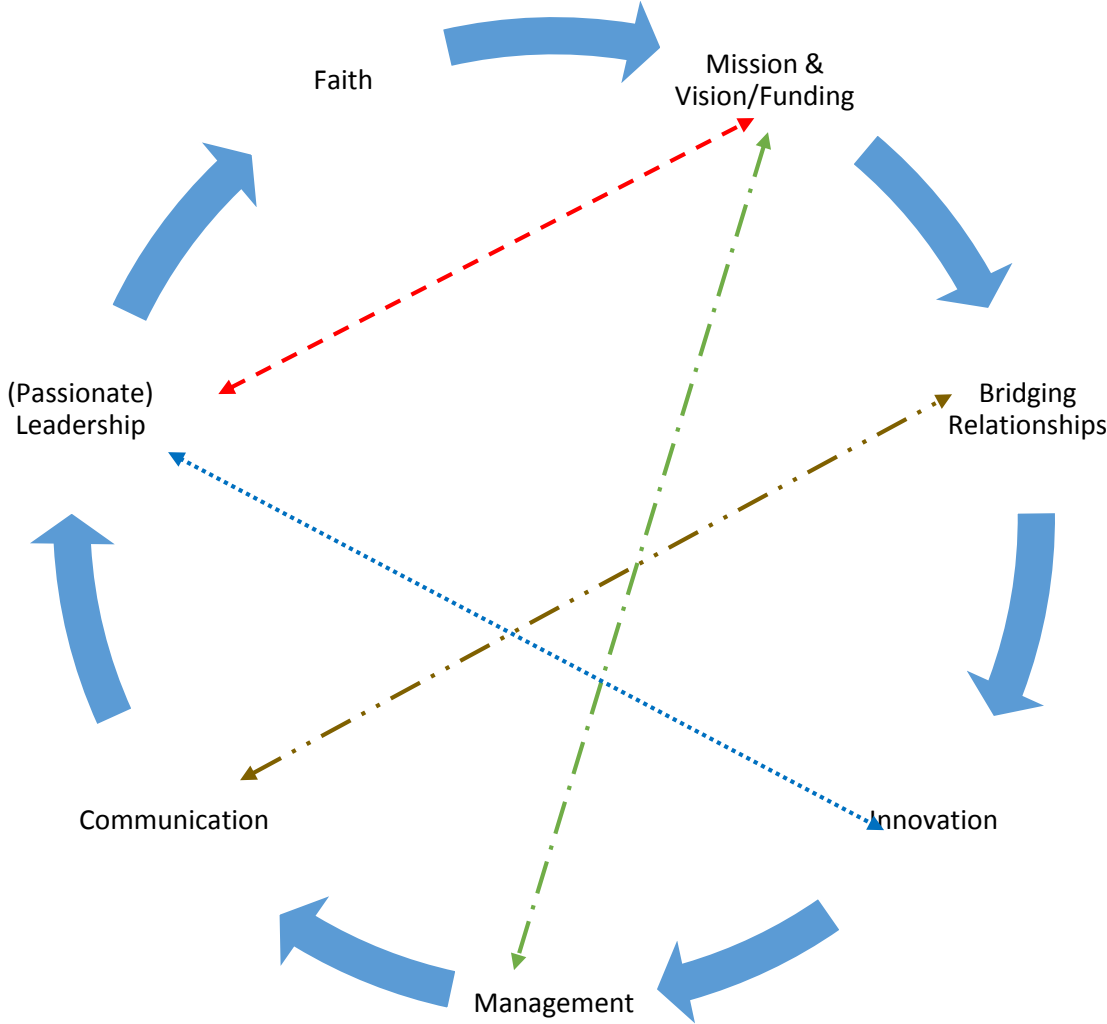
Managing and developing people needs leadership. In phase one, respondents continually pointed to the passionate leadership of the founders who both have served as executive directors. In the second phase only the executive directors were interviewed, and I believe this is why passion did not emerge as a key component of leadership. However, it was evident in the paralanguage displayed in the interviews that they were very passionate about their organizations and all three executive directors praised their committed board and staff, mentioning their self-sacrifice. They also mentioned their particular roles and the need to stay informed of current trends, research, policies, etc. “They [staff] don't necessarily see it as a sacrifice because they are doing something that

they are very passionate about” (SCDC). “I try to read. I follow a lot of, most of my information comes through blogs or social media, twitter is a huge source of information” (ESM). “I try to do a lot of reading to keep up on the trends. Number one in fundraising, nonprofits, administration, leadership, and homelessness and poverty. So there is a lot to stay on top of” (NSC).

Common themes that emerged in both phases of this research were faith, leadership, communication, bridging relationships, management, and innovation. Mission and vision were not salient in the second phase and funding was not salient in the first phase. Perhaps because two of the three organizations in the second phase were much older and because their mission and vision were more established, funding became a larger concern for the executive directors. In addition, development emerged as the primary task that had to be managed, which again, could be attributed to the differences inherent in an older organization versus a younger one. As in phase one, these themes are linked and demonstrate the developmental processes of the faith-based organization (see Figure 4 below)

Faith-based organization begins when *faith* informs a *leader* of unmet needs in their particular sphere of influence. They then seek *innovatively and contextually* meet those needs through *building relationships* that both link them to necessary *funding* and allow them to meet both the spiritual and physical needs of their clients. These relationships and funding need to be *managed* and *developed* through *communication*. The organization continues to move through this cycle throughout their development. However, as was found in phase one, failure to move through the full cycle may limit their impact. This can result in tensions that need to be managed enabling a transition into

Figure 4: Cycle of Development-Phase Two



the next stage. These tensions will be discussed in the following section—first the findings from phase one, followed by the findings from phase two.

Organizational Development

The overall research question for this study is “What processes enable an FBO to grow, develop, and change?” Key findings indicate that various theoretical concepts—organizational identity, social capital, organizational tensions—interact and are answers to different layers and/or dimensions of a complex theory of development. Throughout each developmental stage of the organization, various tensions are present, however one tension will often be more salient at a particular juncture of the organizational development process. The way in which this tension is managed will bring into alignment other key features, propelling the organization to move forward. Unique tensions experienced by the organization and the way they manage those tensions impacts the organizational identity which in turn affects who becomes involved with the organization, ultimately affecting the growth, change and development of the FBO—signifying links between organizational theories. Another key finding of this research is the formation of organizational identity follows a pattern that can be likened to the human lifecycle—developing alongside the overall organizational development.

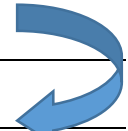
The overall question for this research is concerned with understanding the developmental processes of the FBO. Table VI illustrates how these differing concepts interact, however, before taking the reader through the different stages, it is important to describe the different tensions and how different forms of social capital function.

Therefore, for the purpose of the organization of this manuscript, I will begin with a

Table VI: Process of Development

Stage 1: Conceptual	Key Theme	Key Tensions	Social Capital	Representative Quotes
Organizational identity/ Desideratum	Passionate Leadership	Supply/Demand Inclusive/Exclusive	Organizational	The only thing that slows you down was "Do we have the resources and time and people to do it?" (John/Co-founder)
Supply	↔	Demand	Demand expressed through increased supply of monies designated for ministry purposes	People started giving for ministry purposes instead of capital purposes (Brad/Co-founder)
Stage 2: Birthing	Key Theme	Key Tension	Social Capital	Representative Quotes
Organizational Identity/ Separation	Faith	Inclusive/Exclusive	Organizational Bonding	We found roadblocks in both fundraising and getting people involved as long as it was connected to a single congregation. And so we found it helpful and necessary to start a separate organization for those reasons (John/Co-founder)
Inclusive	↔	Exclusive	Forming a separate 501c3 helped CityHope manage the tension, by focusing on commonalities individuals from other church bodies could bond with the organization.	
Stage 3: Infant	Key Theme	Key Tension	Social Capital	Representative Quotes
Organizational Identity/ Differentiation	Mission/Vision	Integration/Extrication	Organizational Bridging	I had trouble reconciling "What is this? Does this belong to [Ascension?] Does this belong to [CityHope]? Who's owning this?" (Brad/Co-founder).
Integration	↔	Extrication	Identifying areas of expertise and strengths enabled them to better differentiate between the two and free each organization	
Stage 4: Toddler	Key Themes	Key Tension	Social Capital	Representative Quotes
Organizational Identity/ Innovation	Building Bridges Innovation	Instrumental/Expressive	Bridging	A lot of people involved in our programs, don't care really about the mission...they care to set an example of tutoring children... Literacy is what they are concerned about (John/Co-founder)
Instrumental	↔	Expressive	Continuing to revisit the mission and focus on quality programming	

Stage 5: Early Childhood	Key Theme	Key Tension	Social Capital	Representative Quotes
Organizational Identity/ Accommodation	Communication	Integration/Extrication	Organizational Bonding Bridging Linking	[We need to] focus on leader development and not on transforming an entire church culture (Brad/Co-founder)
Integration		Extrication		This tension had to do with the specific ministry of CityHope in revitalizing churches, and adapting the mission to the situation
Stage 6: Middle Childhood	Key Theme	Key Tension	Social Capital	Representative Quotes
Middle Childhood Stage/ Clarification	Management	Administration/ Ministry	Organizational Bonding Bridging Linking	I think maybe it's that the mission has become clarified. Maybe broken up a little bit, may be clarified more as each one gets a name. It gets a specific target population (Colin/Volunteer). I think they have looked to define themselves... Now it seems to me that they have settled into, "Alright, were going to try and develop what our, what we are, what we do, and kind of stick to that... they are rightfully their own entity. (Lela/Board Chair).



description of the tensions that emerged from the data analysis and the findings pertaining to the function of social capital in the developmental processes of the FBO. This will be followed with an explication of how various tensions, social capital, and organizational identity emerge throughout the different stages of the developing FBO. Finally, the external factors will be addressed.

Organizational Tensions-Phase One

What are the tensions in an FBO and what role, if any, do they play in the developmental process? Frumkin's typology categorizes the nonprofit organization into various types but does not address the tensions that occur within the nonprofit as they struggle to avoid various pitfalls, the biggest pitfall being that as FBOs try to manage the tensions inherent in each of these quadrants, they may lose sight of the reason for establishing an FBO in the first place. This proved salient when I asked the previous executive director if he could recall any tensions that he had experienced during his tenure.

I guess I don't know if I would call it tension, but part of my task as the executive director was to keep us pointed in the right direction for the right reasons. The whys were just as important as whats. Any organization, because it is an organization, wants to start focusing on what, and when you do, if you leave behind the whys, it's easy to turn a corner that you can't come back from (John/Co-founder).

John's *passionate leadership* found its roots in his *faith* which informed the organizational *mission and vision*. As the executive director, the primary task was to keep the organization focused on that mission. Frumkin's model organizes the nonprofit sector along two broad conceptual distinctions—a supply and demand dimension and an expressive and instrumental dimension. The tensions between these dimensions is epitomized in the board chair's answer to questions about organizational weaknesses. The interviewee's first response was that "They get off focus." When I asked, "How?" this was the assessment:

Big heart, big needs. To want to say yes to everybody. I mean, it's not just another or sense of obligation, but it's, you know, "I want to be involved in this." And each one of the staff has their own passion and they run into people in the city. They want to start this and they want to start that, and they want to do this and they want to do that. And it's really tough because they may really feel that God is calling them, but at some point, you don't do anything well, and that's why I like using this term healthy tension all the way through this because we are constantly wanting to follow God, but yet not get out in front. And not wanting to deplete the ability to do what God has been calling us to do well. To be able to change and morph and grow and maybe leave some things behind. That's another thing we don't do well, is not leave things behind. We start a lot of new things, but we don't ever stop (Dean/Board Chair).

In this assessment, there is a tension between an instrumental and expressive rationale in that not only do staff members feel the organization should be an instrument for delivering needed services to the community (instrumental) they also have their own passions that drive them (expressive). There is also a tension between the supply and demand orientation in that they run into people and situations in the city that require a response (demand), but they don't have the resources and people to sustain the program (supply).

If they do not manage these tensions, it can result in various problems that manifests in a myriad of ways. For example, if they allow their passions to drive them, they risk serving their own private agendas and if they focus on only delivering services they may seek out and become dependent on government funding, losing their autonomy. If they focus on increasing their supply, they may drift in their organizational mission and if they focus on decreasing demand they may become polarized and focus on only certain groups. As this quote demonstrates, the tension can be found at both the individual and the organizational level. Staff members' passions and desires of carry over into an organizational tension—an inability to sustain the ministries and programs that their passions helped to create.

In the following sections, I will address these and other tensions that emerged from the data. It is important to note that the tensions described in the following sections are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The organization and its members can have both an instrumental and expressive rationale simultaneously, however often there is tension because there is a lack of understanding about the different rationales—individuals who come from a strictly expressive rationale do not necessarily understand why there is such

an emphasis on quantifying results and those who come from an instrumental rationale do not understand how you could not be concerned about quantification. At the same time, one member or the organization as a whole may oscillate between two poles, causing tension. This same reasoning applies to all of the tensions addressed here—they are not mutually exclusive. In the following sections, tensions of supply versus demand and instrumental versus expressive will be addressed as well as the following tensions: administration versus ministry, inclusive versus exclusive, and integration versus extrication.

Supply vs. demand. Supply and demand is arguably one of the most important concepts in a market economy and the underlying force that drives the nonprofit. Demand refers to how much of a product (or service) is desired and supply refers to how much the market can offer. This is most recognized in the basic economic struggles of any organization, for profit or not. For example, in 2013 CityHope spent \$30,000 more than they actually took in (2013 Annual Report)—there was a higher demand for their services than they had resources to supply. This common problem was voiced by the present executive director: “We are short right now on money. Grants aren’t coming through this year. So there has been some tension going on. How are we going to make ends meet when a couple grants don’t come through?” (Brad/Co-founder).

In the context of this research the tension between supply and demand is not as straightforward. Demand refers to the various needs of both those who serve and those who are being served and supply refers to the resources (economic, human, structural) that are available. The demand side perspective views the nonprofit as responding to the

needs of its members and the community in which it is embedded. The following quotes illustrate this force:

I think it's easy to get pulled into things because it is faith-based and because we are dealing with people, it's easier to get drawn into things because, well, we have to help them (Amber/Full-time staff).

I think a lot of things happened quickly that maybe that was part of some of our frustrations because it came from all different sides, and then we got to figure out ways to take advantage of everything coming into the funnel. There's just a lot of need. There really is (Lela/Board Chair).

The tension emerges because the demand is so great that they will often try and meet that demand even though they do not have the resources to do so.

The supply side perspective sees the nonprofit as being driven by ideas and resources—volunteers, money, and building space—that flow into it as evidenced in the following quotes from Ellen, “For example, a group comes and says, ‘Hey, we love [CityHope] and would like to come to the city on this weekend. Is there something we can do?’ We create things for them to do.” Much later, in the same interview she spoke about a similar problem because of extra space available to the organization, “So we were forcing something that truly was not—because we had building space okay? We wanted to have something there. But no matter what we did, it wasn't working out” (Ellen/Full-time staff).

This abundant supply may seem to answer the tension created by such a high demand, but it can create additional tensions. This is due to a couple of factors. Number

one, the staff are so accustomed to the high demand that an abundant supply seems to be an answer to prayers. However, often the supply is short-lived—meaning the volunteers come in for a short-time “we would like to come to the city on this weekend.” Then the organization must invest their limited supply of time and resources to facilitate the activity or, in some cases, sustain a ministry they should never have started in the first place. Secondly, again because of the high demand, and their faith focus, they often see an opportunity such as free building space as coming directly from God. They therefore will try to somehow utilize that space—creating programs that again, are not sustainable.

Supply can also refer to the influx of volunteer activity and funding. For example, there has been an abundant supply of both funding and volunteers for refugee work—a particular arm of ministry within the larger organization that focuses on the needs of refugees in the area (e.g., jobs, cultural training, education, housing).

And that’s been a challenging ministry to manage [refugee work] because it grew very quickly. It’s become very popular. It’s become sexy in a way to work cross culturally for Christians for suburban churches. And it at times has, I don’t think it’s caused us to drift, but it’s caused the organization to get a little out of balance with other things that were even more important, but less sexy. But the big sexy thing kind of took over at times, and we’ve had to right that (Brad/Co-founder).

When the whole refugee thing came up there was an obvious need and obvious opportunity for ministry, but we as a board really went into serious prayer about whether that was where we were being led and then

even if we were being let into it. How do we keep it in balance with ministries that people are already involved? Because there are so much funding opportunities for the refugee work, that could become the whole focus, and so again we go through this healthy tension (Dean/Board Chair).

Members speak about trying to keep the various ministries in balance even though there has been an abundant supply in both funding and volunteers for the refugee work. Again, it may seem as if this abundant supply is matching the growing demand in the community. However, at the organizational level, this can be a point of tension as it may result in the FBO getting out of balance and being pulled off course. In Figure 1 (pg. 93) there is a line of influence from bridging relationships to the mission and vision that demonstrates this tension. They can follow the circular path demonstrated by the dotted black line between bridging relationships and management of people and programs but if the organization does not continually revisit the mission and vision in light of the new relationships that bring both a supply in the way of volunteers and a demand in the way of clients they can lose sight of their purpose and vision.

Practices and strategies. One way the organization manages this tension is to either increase supply or decrease demand. The staff and board members will increase supply by first trying to build bridging relationships in an effort to access resources or get more people involved. This can be accomplished by tapping into stakeholders' networks or collaborating with other organizations. They decrease demand by trying to narrow their focus and hone their mission. They may also manage the tension by trying to utilize their increased supply by starting new programs. However, this can cause

additional tensions, in that the programs may not really fit the overall mission, or as in the case of refugee work, cause them to get a bit out of balance.

When they do get out of balance as a result of trying to right the tension between supply and demand, they evaluate existing programs as well as potential programs in light of their overall mission. If it is believed that those programs do not meet the overall mission they will try to correct that by either eliminating the programs or by compensating.

And I think eventually we get to the point where we are standing back and asking “Does this fit?” or “How does this fit our original purpose?” Or is it something that we got ourselves into and we knew we shouldn’t have—but I think we don’t always evaluate that (Amber/Full-time staff).

We did some of that soul-searching, maybe a year ago... “How are we actually impacting? Why are we doing each one of these things?” And there were things [that came out of that soul-searching] that we got rid of that are not in place any longer. Because the things that we could put in place so that volunteers have something to do, that is probably one of the things we really can tend to go out and then come back (Ellen/Full-time staff).

As mentioned above, another way they correct, particularly in the case of the abundant supply of volunteers and resources for refugee work, is to compensate—exert an opposite force—in order to balance the mission. This compensation happens in several ways.

First, Brad talks about creating an open environment that allows people to engage in discourse “You give people permission within the organization to question and to ask, ‘Why are we doing this?’ You have to create an environment where people are allowed to question and really ask, ‘Are we drifting too far here?’” (Brad/Co-founder). Second, the administrative staff may try to compensate by “catching up” other areas of ministry “Oh wait a minute, we gotta catch this one and bring it up to where we are or it may be time to cut that one off” (Amber/Full-time staff). The administration does this by intentionally marketing and refocusing themselves on other areas of ministry, “by putting added emphasis on the under-developed areas. [A church planting initiative] is the result — a more systematic approach to developing future planters, church leaders, none of which is refugee related” (Brad/Co-founder). And yet a third way to compensate—exert an opposite force—is to seek guidance through prayer. “We as a board really went into serious prayer about whether that was where we were being led and then even if we were being let into it” (Dean/Board Chair).

Instrumental vs. expressive. Individuals and nonprofits with an instrumental rationale see voluntary action and nonprofit activity as important instruments for accomplishing tasks and delivering critical services to the society. Individuals and nonprofits with an expressive rationale see volunteer action and nonprofit activity as opportunities that allow for the expression of values (Frumkin, 2002). This can be difficult to decipher. For example a tutor concerned about literacy can come from an instrumental or expressive rationale—they may be tutoring only to improve the grades and therefore primarily concerned about accomplishing that goal or they may be tutoring because they value literacy and tutoring allows them to express this value.

However, the underlying motivation and mission of this FBO is to revitalize urban churches and connect people to the church utilizing social service programs as the conduit—the desire to express their faith and values in Frumkin’s model. Consequently, in the context of this study, when I speak about the tension between expressive and instrumental rationales, the tension to which I am referring is the pull between the overall mission of this particular FBO to express the Christian faith (expressive) and the desire to meet needs by providing quality programs (instrumental). Tutors who are involved with tutoring because they value literacy the tutoring program allows them to express this value, in the context of this study, they would be categorized as coming from an instrumental rationale—the focus is on the program and the activity, not faith.

One staff member’s description of the organization illustrates this distinction: It’s Christ Jesus centered. And that it’s the love, it’s the love for the city that motivates everything we do. That is just amazing to me. I like [a nonprofit literacy organization], but that’s not there, Jesus is not in their mission statement, they are run by Christians, but in the final analysis, you can’t spread the gospel. We can’t share Jesus with kids, well, we could, but that’s not their mission (Ana/Part-time staff).

Organizational Level. The organization utilizes their different programs as conduits to express their faith and connect people to the church (expressive), and at the same time, they strive to provide effective, high-quality programs (instrumental). When the program itself becomes the focus however, the organization may lose sight of the underlying motivation and mission for that program—which results in tension.

I think they're doing a better job now, having it all faith-based. For a while, I had issues that maybe we were too similar. We kind of got a little bit where we lost sight of our vision and we're doing things to do them. Either they weren't faith-based or they weren't part of our mission. They might have been valuable things to do, but they weren't our mission. Our mission was, at least at the time, was to grow and revitalize inner-city churches, and I really felt that that was the vision and if that's what we were telling people to donate to, then that is what we needed to do. So for a while it might be worthwhile to have a tutoring site right here, but if it's not tied into something that we can see is getting to the bigger picture of connecting people to the church, then it's just a tutoring site and we need to say, "Cut it" or we need to turn it over to them (Dale/Board Member).

When we got serious about doing assessments on kids. We wanted to measure "are these kids improving?" ... Because some churches were collecting report cards, and some churches were just taking notes from the volunteers that said "oh yeah, they're doing great", and some churches were administering tests, and some churches were doing other things... That is like an internal process discipline that can be really sloggy through and not a lot of fun, but it pays off in the end... does the ability to quantify the impact, does it impact the effect the body of Christ is having? Is that the value of the organization? We had some internal

discussions. Is it a value? Do we care? (Laughter) Do we care at all? We decided ultimately that we do care (Brad/Co-founder).

We had a successful tutoring program. How do we transition that from being just a social ministry outreach, which in the beginning it was, “How do we start and introduce God into this mix? How do we do that? How do we reach out to those people?” (Lela/Board Chair).

Faith informs the vision and mission and it is important to continue to visit the role faith plays in the mission. It is possible to continue to develop as an organization, but lose sight of faith-based roots if it is not nurtured and valued in the organization through the use of prayer and scripture. This is demonstrated by the dotted red line in Figure 2 (see Figure 2 on pg. 103).

Practices and strategies. From the above quote, “How do we start and introduce God into this mix? How do we do that? How do we reach out to those people?” and the continuation of Dale’s quote below, evaluation at the board level is the starting point from which the organization manages the tension at the organizational level:

I think an organization like [CityHope] the way they need to stay focused on it [their mission] is their programs and the things that they do need to come to the board, the bigger picture things, not little things. And the board needs to be working to evaluate those. The leadership and the board...your paid leadership and your board needs to constantly be evaluating. There's nothing wrong with changing your mission or evaluating that, I mean changing your focus (Dale/Board Member).

If after careful evaluation, the board believes that the program is not accomplishing the overall mission then the organization withdraws from the program or the program needs to be brought into line with the overall mission as the previous quote put forth “but if it's not tied into something that we can see is getting to the bigger picture of connecting people to the church, then it's just a tutoring site and we need to say, ‘Cut it’ or we need to turn it over to them.”

Another way they manage this tension is to collaborate—work to accomplish both goals, expressing faith and providing a quality program as is evidenced in Brad’s statement, “Does the ability to quantify the impact, does it impact the effect the body of Christ is having? Is that the value of the organization? We had some internal discussions. Is it a value? Do we care?” Brad indicates that it is usually through communication among the staff and board that enables them to make sense of the different rationales and bring them in line with the overall mission.

Individual level. The tension between an instrumental and an expressive rationale also happens at the individual level. Again, the context of this particular case study is a faith-based organization wherein the overall mission is to connect people to the church—a means for expressing their faith. Therefore, even though a volunteer wants to tutor because they value literacy and it allows them to express this value, within the context of this study, I define the expressive rationale as being faith-focused. The following quotes bring to light this tension.

There are some people that are involved in our— a lot of people involved in our programs— that don't care really about the mission of [CityHope] they care to set an example of tutoring children. And it's okay with them

if none of those kids there go to church. Literacy is what they are concerned about (John/Co-founder).

So at the individual level, the tension happens between the individuals and the organizational mission “It’s okay with them if none of those kids there go to church.” The following quote continues to demonstrate this instrumental rationale.

The programs and the ministries that we run are faith-based but somebody may really have a heart for tutoring a child, not because of their faith, just because they want to do that, and they choose to do that through us. So we have to walk that line of we’re going to run it as a faith-based organization, but we also don’t want people to feel like they can’t get involved if they are not Christians (Amber/Full-time staff).

The tension is expressed by both respondents is not necessarily felt by the individual. The tension is felt at the organizational level as they try to “walk the line” between the overall goal of their faith-based roots—utilizing tutoring to connect the child to the church—and not alienating those who want to volunteer, regardless of their faith.

The tension between these two rationales can also occur within the individual as the excerpt for Hope’s interview demonstrates:

I have inside my own self [this tension], let alone the whole organization. Here I am trying to make all the systems and make things look really good to the community, but inside I’m like, let’s make sure we’re praying with the students. Let’s work on parents to bring them in and then to have Bible studies with the parents and offer up suggestions on how to [do] outreach. These people are sitting here in your cafeteria every day and we should be

bringing them in the church and it just doesn't happen. It's almost like the tug is in all the wrong places. It should've been in the church where they were having it. Those people were more about just tutoring and helping them with their school and they weren't focused at all on getting them into the church (Hope/Volunteer).

In the above excerpt, Hope (who helped develop the tutoring programs) felt a tension inside herself between the instrumental rationale "Here I am trying to make all the systems and make things look really good to the community" and the expressive rationale, "but inside I'm like, let's make sure we're praying with the students."

Practices and strategies. First, the organization tries to help the individual manage this tension through negotiation, "We have to walk that line of we're going to run it as a faith-based organization, but we also don't want people to feel like they can't get involved if they are not Christians." To walk that line, as Amber elaborates later on, is to make it known that the organization is faith-based through their literature and their overall practices, but at the same time to not alienate those who do not share that faith. Education is another strategy as the continuation of John's quote demonstrates:

You are trying to get them to buy into your mission enough so that both are compatible with one another...So trying to bring in line an individual's mission statement or vision for this particular part of the program. We try to do training programs or we try to reinstitute new ideas (John/Co-founder).

Administration vs. ministry. This key tension emerging from the data is layered underneath instrumental versus expressive but has to do more with the administrative

processes that the organization has to tackle in order to gain legitimacy—that is the activities that relate to managing the way the organization functions versus ministry—the acts of service the organization performs to accomplish their mission and overall goal. “It was always fighting the bottom line. And that’s the unfortunate thing about ministry. It is still business. So it was a matter of always fighting that” (Margaret/Board Member).

I would argue that, for the most part, the individuals concerned about administration come from an expressive rationale—they got involved with the organization because it was faith-based, yet there existed a constant tension, particularly in the beginnings of the organization between board members and the founders.

There is always kind of this tension between doing ministry and there is a little bit of business side to it...because people that go into this thing with, “I have this brilliant idea and I want to do this wonderful mission and this is a wonderful way to do God’s work.” And you’ve got all that goal weighing—you’ve got all the excitement and energy associated with that. And then there is this group of us that, for good or for bad, the lawyers and accountants and they’re going to say to you, “Wait a minute. There are certain things we should be doing”... I think you have to be very careful in how you present yourself, particularly in a not for profit. Give yourself legitimacy down the line. As you grow, you are always looking to court larger donors. Again, that tension between the business side and the mission side. You need the money to be productive. It’s just the way it is. But you want to do all these good works as well. You still have to come

out and show people who are smart and educated and have the money to support you, we are organized, we are established (Lela/Board Chair).

The tension is felt at both the individual and the organizational level. Individuals, particularly those who are responsible for the business side of things (i.e., board members) felt within themselves a tension between ministry “you want to do all these good works as well” and business “you need the money to be productive.” That translates to the organization as a whole feeling the tug— “you have to be very careful in how you present yourself, particularly in a not for profit.” Another original board member framed this tension as the left brain (creative) versus the right brain (analytical).

I remember there were a kind of a tension between the left brains and the right brains, and it [right brains] seemed the most dominant. Half of the board was very analytical and they wanted to put policies and procedures together. And then there were the other half of the board—and we thought more vision and more, well, opening the gates and maybe every step was not identified as we wanted to leave it open. Not bend all the policies but why did every stinking thing need a page and a half 1, 2, 3 steps? There was obvious tension in that but that also was a good equalizer

(Margaret/Board Member).

The tension is felt as administrators (the right brains) tried to put policies and regulations together while others (the left brains) were more focused on creative ways to do ministry. In the beginnings of the organization, there were two official staff people who also served on the board along with three official board members who also helped in

ministry. Therefore, both the board and the staff had a tension within themselves between ministry and administration.

So eventually there needs to become a distinction between am I staff member or am I a board member because you really can't be both. And "What's my role when I am doing the ministry and caring about the people versus what's my role when I've got to look at the budget?" And we've got to make hard decisions about what are we doing with our budget. The same people can't make those decisions without being really conflicted with one another or conflicted internally (Brad/Co-founder).

Even though this tension was stronger in the beginnings of the organization it still exists as the organization continues to develop. I interviewed both the first and second board chair, each of whom served for six years. The tension was not as strong, but still evident.

That's why the board's role is supporting because we have got to create at least a minimum amount of structural foundation to help people realize that this isn't just a fly-by-night organization. But one that is managing with what the legal term is fiduciary. It's stewardship in our terminology, but legalese, fiscally responsible, and so that's why there is tension. The foundational strength of the organization from a business perspective is important to maintain and establish and talk about and be visible to the outside world. So that we have the flexibility to change direction without people thinking that we just can't make up our minds (Dean/Board Chair).

The board chair expresses the need to be business minded “the foundational strength of the organization from a business perspective is important to maintain” in order to do ministry in such a way that enables them to change direction if that is where they feel God is leading them, “So that we have the flexibility to change direction without people thinking that we just can't make up our minds.” So it appears as though there is still a tension, but it has been somewhat mitigated in the later stages of the organization. Perhaps one of the reasons the tension has been lessened is because staff has been added to the mix who come from an administrative background.

Bringing in people who had some outside business experience, which was maybe not planned, but ended up not being a bad thing...a lot of times administrative is pooh-poohed... But then back tracking, now that we are all people focused with, we got to go back to some administration...you can't grow organically forever. Eventually you have to have a foundational structure, or else you just are a bunch of weeds instead of a tree (Ellen/Full-time staff).

The tension is still evident between the administration and ministry but to a lesser degree. “And so a lot of times administrative is pooh-poohed... But then back tracking, now that we are all people focused with, we got to go back to some administration.”

This is demonstrated in Figure 2 (see Figure 2 on page 103). An organization can continue to function by following the circular path represented by the broken brown line connecting building relationships, innovation, and managing those relationships and programs through communication. However, this can result in a disconnect from the vision. On the other hand, an organization can fail to communicate and manage

relationships, whereby following the circular path represented by the dotted blue line which can result in chaos and lost relationships from mismanagement.

Practices and strategies. In the above interview excerpts, members of the organization explain why they had to focus on the financial and administrative side of things, in other words they dealt with the tension through justification—reasons why they needed to be fiscally sound. When the tension got to the point where it was difficult for them to deal with it anymore, they withdrew. “I just felt frustrated...I don’t think I’m helping this organization at all. And I think I’m hindering so that’s when I decided that it was time for me to resign and that someone else really take over” (Lela/Board Chair). Lela resigned her position, the ultimate withdrawal. She also mentions that John did not like administration so he “cut himself off from a lot of people in a way because I know he had a different focus” (Lela/Board Chair). Therefore, withdrawal can also occur by not being fully engaged and present—another way to manage the tensions. A third strategy for dealing with the tension was to negotiate—move freely between the two poles. “But then back tracking, now that we are all people focused with, we got to go back to some administration.”

Inclusive vs. exclusive. Another key tension emerging from the data was one of inclusion versus exclusion. This tension can best be explained by visualizing two extremes on opposite ends of a continuum. At one end is an exclusive religious viewpoint that is highly intolerant of any doctrinal dissimilarities, and on the other end is an inclusive viewpoint that makes no distinctions whatsoever between religious beliefs. For example, Christianity encompasses many denominations—Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, etc. These denominations have doctrinal disagreements but are still

altogether a part of the Christian faith—salvation comes through Jesus Christ. If an individual was a Presbyterian and believed one had to be a Presbyterian in order to inherit eternal life that would be on the exclusive end of the exclusive/inclusive continuum. However, if an individual was a Presbyterian and believed that people of all faiths—Atheist, Muslim, Buddhist (those who do not believe that salvation comes only through Jesus Christ)—would inherit eternal life, they would be on the inclusive end of the inclusive/exclusive continuum.

Most individuals in this case study fall somewhere on the continuum between these two positions. However, each individual involved in CityHope may not only fall at a different point but may define those points differently.

We walk that line, you know, some people that think we are not Christian enough because we're not giving the refugees the Bible as soon as they get off the plane. And others thinking that we are too Christian because we are telling tutors to pray with the kids and with their students. So it's a fine line (Amber/Full-time staff).

CityHope, its staff, and many of the volunteers are Christians from a variety of denominations. They believe that salvation comes only through faith in Jesus Christ. However, that does not mean that they will not work alongside those of other faiths—Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, etc. So denominational exclusivity, Lutheran/Baptist/Catholic, is nested within other layers of exclusive and inclusive tension—Christian/Atheist/Muslim. This tension is demonstrated in the following quote:

I was visiting a church, [Word Baptist] in the city, a small congregation in an old Catholic Church...an African-American church, and a bunch of

their congregation went to this event that happened last week that brought together Jews, Muslims and Christians to talk and pray about the violence and heroin addictions and the emerging things that are going on in the city. The pastor in his message on Sunday, had to talk specifically to the congregation about the fact that—because there were some people that didn't go because there were Muslims there— he talked about [how]we together need to love our city. We don't have to become Muslim to share concerns about issues with Muslims. Some people of faith put them in a now that I am in the faith box, now that I am in the Christian box, I can have nothing to do with people in the Muslim box, and if I have relationship with those people, unless it's explicitly evangelistic, I am somehow implying that I agree with what they believe (Dean/Board Chair).

Although Dean was not referring to a CityHope function, it demonstrates positions along the continuum of exclusivity and inclusivity—Muslim/Christian. As Dean stated, “We don't have to become Muslim to share concerns about issues with Muslims.” By working alongside Muslims with common concerns Dean is being inclusive yet, she still “does not agree with what they believe”—an exclusive standpoint.

At the organizational level there is a tension between the specific denominational leanings of the founders and supporting church bodies and the overall goal of the organization to “see people saved” and “connect them to God”—growing the church at large. As an organization, CityHope has struggled with denominational tensions at less

extreme positions along the continuum—Lutheran/Other Denominations. This tension is echoed in the following excerpt:

I think people are interested in what we are doing and our goal is, or should be, to grow the church. It doesn't mean it should be to grow the Lutheran Church. But it's an issue because if you draw too far away from the Lutheran groups, you upset old staunch Lutherans. But if you don't draw away, you alienate all kinds of Christians (Dale/Board Member).

The tension between inclusive/exclusive is felt because CityHope was birthed from a Lutheran congregation, so in the early years, the majority of its staff, board, donors, and volunteers were Lutheran (exclusive). However, as they began to actively seek out those of other denominations to be on the board, to volunteer, etc. (inclusive) they were in danger of upsetting some of the older Lutheran stakeholders—causing tension.

Using Figure 2 (on page 103) to demonstrate, the FBO can follow the circular path represented by the dotted red line between passionate leadership, faith, and mission and vision, failing to build bridges of relationships.

Practices and strategies. These tensions are managed in several ways. One way is to collaborate—intentionally develop relationships with people from other denominations:

Developing relationship with [Ben and Jill Williams] of the [Southtown] neighborhood is another step toward dissolving the notion that [CityHope] is a “Lutheran, west side only” organization (Board Minutes, January, 2013).

However, the primary way the tension between exclusivity and inclusivity is managed is through negotiation. One way in which the organization negotiates is to focus on commonalities rather than differences.

I think people see us as, I hope people see us as Lutheran in heritage, but not exclusively Lutheran or parochial. That we are Lutherans that don't have a problem playing in other sandboxes, and that we can do that and we can find ways to have partnerships for ministry around what we agree on with different denominations and Christians than what we disagree on... And what we've done is gone out to people in other denominations and said, "There is a lot that we agree on around Christian faith. Let's focus on that" (Brad/Co-founder).

Another way in which the organization negotiates is to "walk that line" between exclusivity and inclusivity. This begins by differentiating between Jesus command to love and not judge and also to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation" (Mark 16:15). They do this by making it very clear that they are a faith-based organization in their official documents and literature yet they purposely work with those of other faiths and encourage volunteerism regardless of specific religiosity.

We don't hide from anyone the fact that we are a Christian organization, we're a faith-based organization, in the literature. It's in the literature, it's on your website, it's in there when I do [an orientation seminar]. I make it very clear that we are a faith-based organization. But I think we do good job of that when we are serving people or with the tutoring programs from our end, or ESL from our end. I think the part where it where we struggle

a little bit is it's not a requirement that someone be a Christian to volunteer
(Amber/Full-time staff).

Unfortunately, negotiation is not always possible. For example, Amber spoke about having to fire a volunteer who insisted on evangelizing a Muslim woman. She went on to explain, "I mean, her heart was in the right place, but there are cultural or political times when we have to manage that" (Amber/Full-time staff).

Amber tried to negotiate with the volunteer in order to manage the tension. However, when that failed, she had to differentiate between the tensions of exclusivity and inclusivity and choose one pole over the other. If the individual was not being harmed by outright evangelism, she would not have fired the volunteer—as the overall goal of the organization is to connect people to the church Amber confirmed and stated, "we do not hide the fact that we are a Christian organization, but, when it comes to the Muslim population, we are very careful to avoid putting people at risk." It is interesting to note that even though the organization's overall goal is to connect people to the church, they respect the beliefs of other faith and do not force their beliefs on those they serve.

Integration vs. extrication. This tension came about in two different situations. The first one had to do with the tension between CityHope and Ascension and trying to reconcile what differentiated the two organizations from each other. Several respondents spoke about how it was difficult for them to determine what ministries belonged to Ascension and what belonged to CityHope. The second had to do primarily with the relationships between CityHope and the churches that they were trying to work with. It emerged throughout the data as the organization struggled, particularly in the beginning, with trying to help churches connect with their communities through various programs.

They tried to integrate CityHope and the churches by creating templates and models to help struggling churches run various programs and ministries, but found they really had no control. Churches were their own entities. They struggled to manage the programs given to these churches to reach communities yet recognized that the church needed to make those programs their own.

I guess if you want to go back to frustrations, it is not having the ability to control them because they really are their own entities we're just helping them. So anything that helped us change our mind about our control and whether or not we are going to have more control or are we just going to let them be (Hope/Volunteer).

And we are not so bound to "We're going to make this church..." We don't have any control. So it's just a learning process of what we we're actually called to do and what we are actually competent in doing. And where we have leverage. Because we didn't have any leverage involving these churches (Brad/Co-founder).

Both of these respondents expressed the tension they felt as they struggled with the idea of ownership and what that meant—an inability to control. At the root of this frustration is the awareness that CityHope was responsible for the success and/or failure of these programs and so they wanted to ensure they were successful. Several respondents talked about this tension, “Who owns this? Who’s responsible for the end results? And if we are, then how do we get them to understand that we are and we need some more control over it” (Hope/Volunteer). The core problem being that it reflected

badly on the organization if the programs were not successful. They have since resolved the question of ownership, but the tension still exists.

Amber explains, “The model for those programs was that they were not necessarily our programs. They’re supposed to be the congregation’s programs.” CityHope helps get a program started, enabling the congregation to utilize it as an outreach tool, but it is only effective as an outreach tool if the congregation staffs the programs with their own volunteers. One tutoring program CityHope has been running for several years does not have anyone involved from the site congregation. As Amber goes on to explain:

So it really doesn’t fit. But then we feel bad dropping it because it’s meeting the needs of the African refugee kids that are over there... So do we drop them or do we sit down with that congregation and go, “Look, this is what it needs to look like if you want us to continue helping you”

(Amber/Full-time staff).

The organization still desires to connect people to the church and has created a model they feel is best for accomplishing that goal. However, when the model is not followed, they struggle with the tension between integrating and separating. Are they to continue taking part in helping the churches run the programs (i.e., integrating) or should they free them from those constraints (i.e., extricate)?

Practices and strategies. Respondents admitted that their lack of control, specifically in helping other churches, was a constant tension. They handled this tension by evaluating the situation and communicating with the other churches. They then created a model that basically gave the program to the church to run after they helped

them launch it, with the one stipulation that the church needed to have some of their own people involved in the program. It would not be completely staffed by volunteers from CityHope. When the church does not follow this stipulation—they reevaluate and try again to communicate. They are still in the process of determining how they will handle situations that don't fit the model. Another strategy for managing this tension is circumventing and redirecting—planting churches of their own or focusing on leader development.

The guys kind of figured out I think we had more success when we plant something because it's ours and we can make it the way we want it to be.

And we have more control over it and we can be more successful

(Lela/Board Chair).

And yet a third way to manage this tension, particularly within the board was to confront it as the following quote demonstrates:

Sometimes we just had it out in meetings. The bad part was the after the meeting meetings, and sometimes there was the after the meeting meetings, [those] are not good (Margaret/Board Member).

Throughout this section on tensions, at the root of the struggle is a desire to stay focused on the whys, attempting to accomplish the overall goals of the organization. Again, these tensions are not mutually exclusive as in “either/or” but by understanding the tensions, members and the organization can take steps to manage those tensions. The most common response as noted in the above sections is to first evaluate and then depending on that evaluation they may utilize various discursive strategies that help maintain unity such as negotiation, differentiation, compensation, education, or

collaboration. At other times they may confront the tension, withdraw or try to eliminate the tension altogether. As they employ these various techniques and common response mechanisms, they are attempting to approach the situations contextually. I asked Brad how he managed the everyday tensions, this was his response:

I try and surround each issue with some people that give me input on them so that it's not just my perspective, my solution. So, for each one of those I kind of get perspective. Trying to make it something that a group of people can give me input on. I try not to be too hard on myself about what realistically can get done in one week, one month one day. Prayer.

(Brad/Co-founder).

Many of these tensions that emerged and the way in which they were managed can be explained utilizing Social Identity Theory. For example, the tensions between exclusivity and inclusivity have to do with the self-categorization of various stakeholders (i.e., Baptist vs. Lutheran or St. John's member vs. Ascension member). Focusing on common goals helped to relieve the tensions and enabled various stakeholders to trust, bond, and tell other's about the organization.

Organizational Tensions-Phase Two

In the first phase of this research, I identified five tensions: supply/demand, instrumental/expressive, administration/ministry, inclusive/exclusive, and integration/extrication. All but integration/extrication were somewhat present in the second phase. However, the following tensions: instrumental/expressive, administration/ministry, inclusive/exclusive were not strongly represented (perhaps this can be accredited to the amount of available data gathered through the in-depth case

study versus the smaller second phase of this research) therefore, I used more generalized terms to describe those tensions—programs/relationships and spiritual/nonspiritual. These generalized terms embodied inclusive/exclusive, instrumental/expressive, and administration/ministry tensions. In the following sections, I will elaborate further on the tensions found in the second phase of this research.

Supply vs. demand. As in the first phase, demand refers to how much of a product (or service) is desired and supply refers to how much the market can offer. Each executive director told stories about how they either had to cut a program because of a diminishing demand or lack of supply, or conversely, the need to improve existing programs because of an increase in demand or supply. These decisions were not easy to make—hence the tension between supply and demand.

For example, Southside Community Development Corporation had to cut one of its original programs (one focused on mentoring youth) because it did not have the capacity to continue (supply), even though the demand was still evident. Eastside Mission sold their camp property (they owned a piece of land out east where they ran a camp/retreat for troubled youth) in order to balance a \$300,000 deficit. The camp was “intimately tied into the fabric” of the organization and this decision caused “quite a bit of angst.” However, the selling of the camp to a nature conservatory helped members reframe the tension which for the members was “very comforting.” Moreover, by selling the camp, Eastside mission then had the money (supply) to meet the demand for more programming aimed at the increasing numbers of homeless women and children. Northside Catholic became more involved with meeting the growing demand for housing

when they took over another nonprofit that was in trouble—thus balancing an increased demand with an increased supply.

Strategies. As in the first phase, the primary way to manage this tension is to either increase supply or decrease demand. They increased supply by first trying to build bridging relationships in an effort to access resources or get more people involved. They decreased demand by cutting existing programs—trying to narrow their focus and hone their mission. This is accomplished by first evaluating the program and then either eliminating it altogether (as in the camp) or negotiating a reemergence of the program when the supply is able to meet the demand (as with SCDC). When programs are eliminated however, it is important that members who are emotionally invested feel as if a compromise was reached.

Spiritual vs. nonspiritual. In the first phase, tensions of exclusive/inclusive and instrumental/expressive emerged. In the second phase, these tensions were alluded to, but were not necessarily salient. For example Chris from the Northside Catholic said, “Most of our clients aren’t Catholic. Many of our volunteers I think are still pretty Catholic or spiritual” thus alluding to the tension of exclusive/inclusive. Reggie from Eastside Mission gave an account of a social entrepreneurship endeavor that had saved their organization money and a desire to help other FBOs by offering the service as a ministry—a way to express their faith. However, the board looked at it as a way to bring money into the organization—a more instrumental focus. At their root, these tensions of inclusive/exclusive and instrumental/expressive center on differences in how religion is expressed and practiced and is often particularly evident in the earlier stages of a developing FBO as they struggle to define themselves. However, as the organization

matures, those nuances of how religion is expressed and practice merges into a more overarching category that can encompass exclusive/inclusive and instrumental/expressive is spiritual versus nonspiritual (i.e., physical, emotional, and educational).

This tension between spiritual/nonspiritual was strongly present in all the FBOs in this research and is exemplified in the following statements from each executive director: “As we minister to the practical needs, God will open the door to the much more meaningful and spiritual needs” (SCDC) “Ultimately to communicate and model Christ’s love and in doing that, and ultimately ministering to them practically but ultimately spiritually”(NSC) “Christian identity is critical, and everyone knows that we are a Christian organization and then right alongside of that is our ministry to the homeless-meeting basic needs” (ESM).

Relationships vs. Programs. The first phase identified a tension between administration and ministry and it was present in this second phase. For example, Reggie from Eastside Mission said, “I’m connected to all of the different components of the mission and I’m the CEO so I’m involved in administration,” and Chris from the Catholic Center stated:

It’s a really difficult transition to make from being that very kind of mission-based, our starting out in the beginning but then if you want to continue to grow and provide the services, you’ve got to kind of make that more from a volunteer focus to a raise more money, have your professional staff and continue to have more professional space (NSC).

However, there are not much data that utilizes the verbiage of administration and mission, perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that I was interviewing the primary

administrators of the organizations. Therefore, I used a different term to encompass more accurately the tension that was being expressed. As in the previous tension between spiritual and nonspiritual, this tension between administration and ministry can be generalized to a tension between relationships and programs. There is a focus on interpersonal relationships which appear to be synonymous to ministry for some individuals and a focus on running programs which often is synonymous with administration.

The following statements illustrate this tension: “Everything we do is much more relationally driven than program driven, even though the program might end in principle, the relationship doesn't end, it continues” (SCDC) “And because of the program, in the way that it is structured, and the way that we minister them and engage with them, you are able to move them quickly into a deeper relationship with you” (ESM). “It’s always great to give them clothing or hand them a plate of food over-the-counter but if you can look at them in the eye and say, ‘how are you doing?’ engage them, talk with them” (NSC).

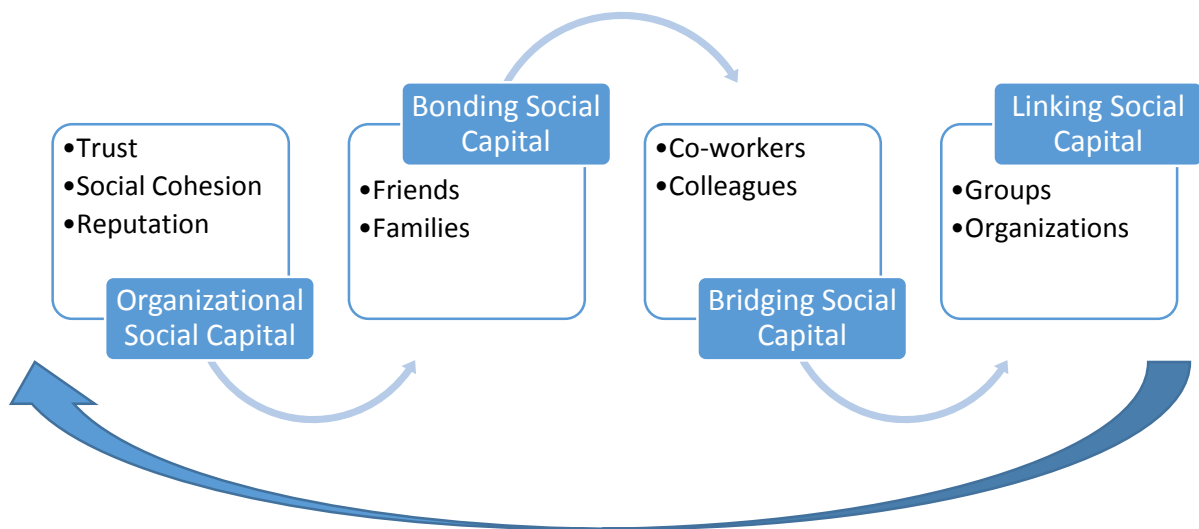
Strategies. The primary strategy for managing the tensions between spiritual/nonspiritual and relationships/programs was to negotiate—work to accomplish both goals, and move freely between the two poles.

Social Capital-Phase One

Does social capital play a role in the development of the faith-based organization, and if so, how? Social capital, as defined in this research, is the bonding, bridging, and linking connections that contribute to the innovation and growth of the organization. Key findings indicate that within the context of this FBO, organizational

capital affects bonding capital which affects bridging capital which affects linking capital which cycles back to creating organizational capital—the trust and reputation that enables the organization to meet its goals.

Figure 5: Social Capital Flow Chart



However, it is not necessarily a linear progression. An organization may begin with any form of social capital, but eventually if the organization is to continue to develop, other forms of social capital will emerge. When I asked respondents about the strengths of the organization, almost all of them talked about its ability to connect people and organizations together and through those connections accomplish their goals. As Brad exclaimed, “It’s a lot of working through and with other people to get done what the organization needs to get done” (Brad/Co-founder). The importance of social capital for the growth and development of CityHope is evident in its mission statement: “Restoring

the city to God by developing and linking people, communities and churches.” Ellen expounds on this in the following quote:

And truly, I think that that is [CityHope’s] niche, if you will, and that is how that mission statement comes together. It’s connecting people, communities, and churches. It might be a pastor and his church to a specific group. But it also might be that volunteer to a class that gets them to think. That really starts them changing their perspective. Because a good piece of this is public education. And so, I think that it really is. It’s what it always comes back to. It’s connecting (Ellen/Full-time staff).

In the above narrative, one catches a glimpse of some of the different types of social capital. Firstly, bonding capital connects people together through shared beliefs. As Ellen exclaimed, “It’s connecting people...changing their perspective.” Secondly, bridging capital acts as a bridge that brings people from different groups and networks together as Ellen continues in the above excerpt “It might be a pastor and his church to a specific group.” Different forms of social capital—organizational, bonding, bridging, and linking—will be unpacked in the following sections as well as clarifying how social capital is being defined in this research, how it is acquired, and how it is maintained.

The literature review expounded on some of the messiness inherent in the idea of social capital. I completely concur with this observation, and it is with fear and trepidation that I even employ the concept. However, as much as I have tried to get around utilizing the theory, it continued to emerge throughout the data and, I believe it is key to the development of this particular FBO. Therefore, one of the first distinctions I would like to make is that I am interested in answering the research question, “Does

social capital play a role in the development of the faith-based organization, and if so, how?” The research is not focused on how social capital helps or hinders individuals, although that may be a result of individual involvement in the organization.

In this particular non-profit organization, volunteers are vital in the provision of services that the organization is providing, so in a sense, the volunteers can be considered capital. When I asked one respondent why volunteers were important she said, “because there was a lot of need in [CityHope], not just money” (Margaret/Board Member) and another respondent marveled, “I am amazed by how one organization based primarily on volunteer efforts accomplishes as much as they do” (Colin/Volunteer). This differs from human capital in that it is not about the skills individuals possess but about their passion for the mission of the organization, so much so, that they tell others about the organization. The organization then benefits by tapping into individual networks through common values and beliefs. Therefore, in the context of this study, social capital is the resources available—found primarily in the networks and relationships of individuals, organizations, and groups—that allows CityHope to develop.

Organizational social capital. As stated in the first sub-section, this research is primarily interested in how the faith-based nonprofit utilizes social capital to develop and grow. Therefore, I will begin at the organizational level—that is organizational social capital. Firstly social capital, in all its forms, is not just about connections but the nature of those connections such as the level of trust, social cohesion, and the degree of reciprocity. These features are, at some level, evident in all the different forms of social capital. CityHope had a great advantage because it was able to capitalize on the

favorable reputation (a feature of organizational social capital) of its founding organization—nearly two centuries of relationships and service to the community.

I really think that urban congregations, [such as Ascension] touched so many people. I don't think we never talked about it really. But we didn't really identify it. May be talking about it now we might've been able to use that to a greater extent, but I don't underestimate how, because I see it. I saw it at the high school. I see how those people, they go back to that. They want to drive around the neighborhood. [Ascension] was the only mother ship if you will, that stayed strong (Margaret/Board Member).

Individuals were connected to the urban churches because many of them, at one time or another, were members—there was trust, an established reputation, and social cohesion. The Lutheran churches in the suburbs of this particular Midwestern city were birthed from these urban congregations and out of those (primarily three) only Ascension was still a vibrant congregation. Therefore there was an established reputation from which CityHope benefited. Individuals (as well as suburban churches) already believed in the reliability, trust, ability, and strength of Ascension—trust had already been established.

CityHope capitalized on that inherent trust and built on that through events such as HymnFest (a gathering of over 1200 people to sing Lutheran hymns with a mass choir and orchestra). The importance of this event was that it was grounded in the Lutheran traditions of this particular city—the singing of hymns in large gatherings of individuals and congregations—reminiscent of festivals that were prominent in the Lutheran community back in the 30s, 40s, and 50s.

It was very significant. It was a popular event every year for the general Lutheran community. No one else came but the Lutherans and it was because it was anchored in their history. They had had some festivals back in the 30s, 40s and 50s and we kind of re- established that which was not just popular among the Lutheran community, but particularly among the older people of the Lutheran community. Even though we were this small dying Lutheran Church and [CityHope came out of that, we continued to] create the identity of that idea— that we were the center of the Lutheran community. [CityHope] was helping regenerate Lutheranism in [a Midwestern city] (John/Co-founder).

The concert was a “feel good” event — it brought differing (and sometimes argumentative) factions [different synods such as Lutheran Church Missouri Synod & Evangelical Lutheran Church of America] of Lutheranism together for an evening of music and community building, helping restore a sense of “pride in being Lutheran” for many. Those good feelings were transferred to [CityHope’s] identity for many. And, [CityHope] carefully constructed HymnFest, early on, to include both factions of Lutherans. That was really important... The inaugural year drew almost 2,000 people, mostly Lutheran, to the event. As Lutherans were [CityHope’s] “home base” of donors at the time, this gave [CityHope] an unprecedented platform for awareness and exposure. Our

name recognition accelerated greatly within the Lutheran community as a result, growing our database of contacts quickly. (Brad/Co-founder).

Both founders talk about tapping into the common identity and social cohesion of Lutheranism (religious exclusivity), presenting CityHope as an organization that would help regenerate Lutheranism and restore a sense of pride in being Lutheran. This gave CityHope a head start in establishing the trust, social cohesion, and reputation needed to establish organizational capital. CityHope then continued building that reputation and increasing their organizational capital.

It's really a positive force in [a Midwestern city] a positive force to really make significant changes in [a Midwestern city] through all the programs we have and the connections... And all the connections that [CityHope] has... and they have them built up over the years. I mean it hasn't happened, obviously overnight. But you know, the years of all the connections (Jen/Part-time staff).

However, organizational social capital is only the starting point from which the organization can begin to meet their goals. Individuals, groups, and organizations must then identify with the organization enough so, that they tell others in their personal relationships and networks about the organization.

Bonding social capital. In much of the research on social capital, bonding capital is often seen as the lesser form primarily because it tends to be more exclusive (often leading to various disadvantages) and focuses on the ties between family members and friends. However, bonding capital was vital to this FBO, allowing them to connect volunteers to the vision and mission (i.e., the identity) of the organization, who in turn,

help the FBO meet their goals. Religious exclusivity mentioned earlier connects individuals together through shared beliefs and interests via a strong vision and mission— these individuals are often close family members or friends. The FBO is able to bring people together, particularly because of a common faith.

So people who are faith-based, church people, tend to volunteer through [CityHope] because it is faith-based. And so we get more volunteers. And the volunteers are committed, not just because of they think it is a good thing, they are committed because they believe that this is what God is calling them to (Ellen/Full-time staff).

Bonding social capital, as examined in this particular case, was also grounded in the identity and faith of the organization. People who are of the Christian faith choose to volunteer with CityHope because of its faith-based roots. Others get involved with CityHope because of common interests. This can be anything from the plight of the refugee to the decline of literacy in urban areas. One respondent when asked about the strengths of the organization had this to say:

It pulls people together. It helps people connect by knowing people and saying "Hey, have you talked to her? Let's have a meeting with____" I think one of our biggest, that we can't raise money on, but we do well, is convening people who have like interests and like hearts around a group or issue or opportunity (Dean/Board Chair).

As people become involved with CityHope, they brought others who had like interests. Sometimes these relationships were friends and family. "I think that is how a

lot of volunteers come to us, a friend of a friend. It's not a wide cast net that's brought them here. It's person-to-person" (Ellen/Full-time staff).

Let's just say, "I really should do something with my time. Maybe I'll tutor some little inner-city kid for, it's only a couple of hours one day a week." And then you do that, and then you start to build relationships with the child, and then you meet the mom and dad, the next thing you know, you start to bring your daughter because she just loves working with children, and the next you know, you bring the husband and the next thing you know, maybe he decides that he would like to tutor (Margaret/Board Member).

Other times they are colleagues and co-workers. For example, Mara was a recently retired school teacher who taught primary education in the inner-city. She was a member of a Lutheran church and it was that connection that brought her to CityHope. However, because of her connection with the school systems she recruited many of her non-Lutheran, non-Christian colleagues to the organization—they shared a common interest in education. In another interview with Hope, she talked about the tutoring programs that Mara coordinates. "She was at school so she had young friends. I don't know where she got all her help from but I just know from being out there all these years you, you have to go network" (Hope/Volunteer).

Mara was able to utilize her network in the public education system to gather volunteer help for the tutoring program. Therefore the bonding capital that existed between Mara and her colleagues formed a bridge between a group of educators and the organization.

Another feature of bonding social capital is social cohesion. Volunteers get connected not only to the mission and vision but also with other volunteers (they form bonds) which influences their level of commitment and how long they stay involved.

I've done it all my life. Even when I was teaching school, I did Sunday school and I love meeting the people because I feel volunteers are some of the nicest people you could ever meet in your life. And that's really why I do it... and I am glad I am doing it for [Ascension]. Now whether I would've done it otherwise, maybe, but would I have lasted for 14 years?

I don't know (Mara/Volunteer).

The reason Mara volunteers is because she meets wonderful people. She also questions whether she would have done it for as long if it were for a different organization.

Interestingly enough, Mara mentions Ascension, not CityHope. This could be because she is now a member of Ascension and that is a stronger identity than her association with CityHope. Nevertheless, it was bonding social capital that brought her to the organization and it was bonding capital that kept her there. The social cohesion that occurred, bonded her with other volunteers and the organization. She then told others in her network about the organization, whereby building bridges that often brought together heterogeneous groups.

Bridging social capital. Bridging capital is most effective in heterogeneous groups, enabling better access to assets and information. CityHope is a place where these relationships can be created and cultivated.

Whereas the tutor is a person, an adult person that they can talk with and associate with and be interested in them for that hour. And also it gives

them a different type of adult to talk to that is not their parent, or their particular teacher, but someone different that might come from a little different background than they are. And I think it's good for the tutors, it's good for the child, and I have seen so many of the last 13 years. So many wonderful, wonderful tutor pairs, it just makes me so happy and when they smile at each other, I just love it (Mara/Volunteer).

In the refugee community where I work, we have Americans who work as what we call mentors...they try to help that family adjust to the culture and understand what it means to be in America...what we find is that it, not only does it benefit the families that are coming, it really benefits the person who is here. To understand the stories of the people who are coming, to understand what it is to come to a new country with the new language. And it's really helped to build and bridge some gaps (Ellen/Full-time staff/Advent Tea).

Wow here we thought we were just for the poor despairing inner-city people. We never thought about the poor despairing suburban people. And reaching out and touching people who are a different social class, in a different upbringing, it changes you, it changes who you are (Margaret/Board Member).

These quotes demonstrate how the organization provides a liminal space for cultivating bridging social capital which is beneficial to both parties. Children in the

tutoring program meet adults with different values and from a different socio-economic background, mentors meet refugees from foreign countries and begin to understand each other's cultural values, and individuals from the suburbs and the inner-city are brought together and realize they are not so different after all. These bridging relationships are primarily a result of CityHope providing multiple venues and opportunities for individuals to get involved (an in-depth discussion of this point will later be presented).

The organization also intentionally seeks out individuals and organizations that will help them build bridges whereby linking them to the resources, skills, and connections they need to continue to expand and grow. "We need to recruit new Board members who have competencies that are needed" (Board Minutes-July, 2013).

I went to [Hope] and said, "Can you help make this happen?" Big picture. After that conversation, we said, "Maybe we know somebody who could help us with making that specific thing happen." And all the programs started like that. The volunteer appreciation stuff...we were at a point where the volunteers were important to make it happen, so how do we do a better job of making sure that they can keep helping us? (John/Co-founder).

Developing relationship with [Bill and Jill Williams] of the [East Suburb] neighborhood is another step toward dissolving the notion that [CityHope] is a "Lutheran, west side only" organization; nearby [First] Baptist is a possible source of volunteers (Board Minutes, January 2013).

So the board is really good at that. In terms of social capital, especially as they look to board members or committee members or where we want to go as an organization so that the board is always thinking about who are the, what are the skill sets that we don't have or where are the circles of Christians in the church right now that we are not currently connected to around town? And where are the churches? Who are the business owners in the community? Executives in the community? How do we get to them relationally? (Brad/Co-founder).

These excerpts illustrate the way in which bridging capital works. Although sometimes it happens serendipitously, often it is more strategic as the organization seeks out and cultivates relationships that help them to meet their goals. The organization continues to draw volunteers to the mission and vision, who in turn recruit their friends and family to the organization, often providing a bridge into another network entirely. CityHope then actively seeks out individuals and organizations that will link them to needed resources such as skills, money, and connections, helping them to reach their goals.

Linking social capital. Linking social capital involves relationships that vertically connect institutions, cross power relations, and often involve brokers. It differs from bridging capital in that bridging capital primarily brings heterogeneous groups together, it doesn't necessarily provide resources in the form of economic capital (although this often does occur). A good example of linking capital follows: "A donor comes forward that you have never heard of, never could have connected with, and they talk to somebody that is connected" (Dean/Board Chair).

The process for developing these kind of relationships begins at the bonding level “somebody is connected.” For example, Pat is a volunteer who was drawn to the vision and mission of CityHope—identifying and bonding with the organization. She recently retired from an international organization, and she utilized that network to link CityHope to needed resources.

I’ve introduced him [Brad] to two of the partners at [Smith and Jones] who like him a great deal, [Smith and Jones] now has [CityHope] on their giving list...they need an accountant on the board. And there’s a new, soon to be partner that they’ve recommended for [CityHope] who would be very, very good. So those kind of connections. And then, the biggest help is to get donations, or whatever they could do. [Smith and Jones] has deep pockets, so that’s a good connection (Pat/Volunteer).

Pat’s relationship with her co-workers (bonding capital)) and the network of her previous employer (bridging capital) provided a bridge that linked CityHope to more resources (linking capital) producing economic and human capital. This is one way in which linking capital is built—by utilizing existing personal networks. Another way is to purposely cultivate relationships with individuals from other nonprofit organizations creating another link to possible resources. I asked Dean how this happens. “Individual relationships, staff members going to meetings that involve people from other agencies and then they get to know them and then they say, ‘We’re working on this and why don’t we do something together’” (Dean/Board Chair).

These relationships between individuals in similar organizations will often act as a catalyst for the organizations to work together. For example, CityHope became part of a refugee collaborative that consists of the following 14 organizations that received a start-up grant in 2012: Asian Services*, CityHope, Christian Refugee Services*, Eastside School District*, Downtown School District*, County Family Services*, The Neighborhood*, Global Communities*, International Group*, Northern Schools*, Community Family Practice*, State Department of Job Services*, Refugees*, and US United, Inc.*.

So part of what we have done in that grant is build up all the different organizations around the table. We share volunteers now. We share information. We share families. So, prior to this, we were mentoring with Christian Services. We had a relationship with them. We moved on to other people coming to us and saying “Okay, I know this family and they could really use some help. Do you have a mentor?” So, the refugee services collaborative have formed those kinds of relationships that we didn’t have (Ellen/Full-time staff).

CityHope’s prior relationship with Christian Services came about as refugees began attending Ascension and the church became aware of unique problems existing in the life of the refugee (e.g., using a stove or a washing machine). CityHope began conversations with Christian Services to brainstorm ways in which they could work together to better serve the refugees. Ellen talks about how the prior relationship with Christian Services (a much larger organization) provided the bridge to other organizations and individuals, which in turn linked them to resources via a collaborative grant.

Therefore, it appears that in this particular organization, organizational, bonding, bridging, and linking capital work together to help the FBO reach its goals.

Acquiring social capital. When I asked respondents how CityHope has managed to acquire such a large volunteer base, a common theme was that their mission “tugged at heartstrings. They did it in a way that people wanted to be a part of it and support it” (Margaret/Board Member). CityHope was somehow able to tap into a deep seated value shared by many of their original volunteers, donors, and stakeholders.

That one hour introductory meeting was the first time that I had heard anything about the [CityHope] organization and their mission. I was so excited about the prospect of getting involved that I couldn’t sleep that night. There was just something pulling on my heart the entire time they were talking --- probably because both [John] and [Brad] were so passionate about their vision/mission (Sam/Volunteer).

This passion is a key factor in acquiring social capital and interwoven throughout the process of establishing trust, casting a vision, and creating opportunities.

Table VII. Strategies for building social capital

Acquiring social capital	Maintaining social capital
Establishing Trust	Communicating regularly
Casting a vision	Varied channels
Creating Opportunities	Quality communication

Establishing trust. As mentioned in the previous section, CityHope benefitted from the pristine reputation and longevity of Ascension. It is difficult to accurately measure this advantage—two hundred years of service to the Lutheran community. However, this trust still needed to be accessed and transferred to CityHope. I asked the

previous executive director how they were able to connect with individuals. “In the early years, it was casting the vision. People allowing me in their pulpits and their churches, doing events where we were invited” (John/Co-founder).

John mentions how his connections with other churches and individuals in the area gave him the platform needed. It began with “people **allowing** me in their pulpits.” If John had not already established a level of trust, congregations would not have invited him to preach from their pulpits. Some of this trust was inherent in his role as an ordained pastor and some of it had been established as he volunteered his time helping other churches and para-church organizations. In addition, the very mission of CityHope— to reinvigorate urban churches—is a selfless goal that helped to create trust.

I think this is one of the purest missions I ever heard was a group that said, “We’ve experienced something positive and we want to share that.” And it wasn’t “Gee, I think we can make a lot of money doing that.” (Lucy/Part-time staff).

This trust was built upon and maintained as the organization followed through on their promises. “When they plan something, as in planting a church or starting a program, it happens. And whatever funds had been meant for this thing it goes toward. They [individuals] trust us” (Nancy/Part-time staff). And provided transparency and sound fiscal policy

You can’t be loosey-goosey with other people’s money and go out there and fund raise and try to write serious grants or go after serious large donations from individuals if your financial house is not in order. It can wreck everything. You can be doing the greatest ministry on the streets. It

can be the most compelling vision and it can be changing people's lives.

And if the financial house inside is a mess, It will all fall apart (Brad/Co-founder).

That you let them know how their money, how their donations have been used and how future gifts and donations will be used, and giving them the vision of where the nonprofit is going (Jen/Part-time staff).

Nonprofits rely upon the donations of philanthropists, grants, and donors to maintain their operations. Therefore, coupled with establishing trust through sound fiscal policy and transparency is having a compelling vision that “tugs on the heartstrings” of said donors.

Casting a vision. Most of the interviewees mentioned that individuals were drawn to the organization because of the vision and mission—that is “casting a vision.” The earlier quote from John about his ability to connect volunteers and donors to CityHope started with the reply “In the early years, it was casting the vision” The phrase “casting a vision” was utilized in several interviews when interviewees responded to the question regarding the strengths of the organization. For example, “I think we're good at casting vision for what can be done in the city and what needs to be done” (Amber/Full-time staff).

Perhaps it would be helpful to unpack that phrase. The verb “cast” is to throw forcefully in a specified direction and the noun “vision” is something that you imagine, a picture in your mind. In essence it is the ability to paint a picture in such a way that others can see the possibilities. I will utilize this story from John to illustrate:

You know it's that story I tell all the time about the guy who wanders into town and says, "How come there is not a freeway from here through the mountains to the other side? Why do we always have to go around so much further? If we just build a road from here over the top of the mountain, then it would be a shorter trip." That person will attract people around them that are excited about the idea of a road going over the mountain. The reason it's only a few is because most people can't see it. The job of the initial guy in town is to help some to see the possibility. Get them excited about it (John/Co-founder).

Casting a vision is to communicate the vision so concretely, that people can grab hold of it and envision how they can help it come to pass, enabling them to make sense of how everything fits together—the whole picture and not just bits and pieces.

It's really knowing very clearly what your mission is, what your goal is, and reiterating it and making sure that your goals are in line with your mission. So, everything makes sense to everybody. They all have buy-in because that's what their mission is (Hope/Volunteer).

Creating opportunities. It is not enough to just present the vision. People must also see how they can somehow help accomplish this great vision. If the vision is communicated continually and clearly, it enables others to see how they fit into the big picture. One way in which CityHope acquired social capital was to multiple opportunities and levels for involvement.

We were doing all sorts of things to get people to come down to the city and just be involved. Not really do anything, just come down there and be

comfortable being down there and that was really important to introducing or reintroducing the city at large to what was going on in urban (Brad/Co-founder).

The idea was to establish trust by first getting people comfortable with the setting and focusing on more than their pocketbooks.

The process was always to have multiple levels of opportunities for people to get involved in first, their money would come later. But start them out in a one-day event maybe, where they were very limited in their capacity and then give them an opportunity to step up and do a little more—more responsibility and little more time commitment as they came along for the other pieces. Typically their money would follow as well because they cared about what they were doing and they would give to it (John/Co-founder).

Social capital in this FBO was birthed by first casting a vision, then further developed by tapping into shared interests— creating bonding social capital by providing varied opportunities for people with different interests to get involved in the ministry. This resulted in an organization that is somewhat multi-faceted in that they use a variety of approaches to help link people to the church such as tutoring, jobs partnerships, refugee mentoring, service opportunities, church planting (starting a new church), etc. This happens at both the individual and organizational level.

So when you start looking into the ministry and expanding that ministry and tutoring...A lot of people may take [CityHope] 101 [an introduction of the organization's different ministries listed in the previous paragraph]

and if they indicate that they are interested in working in any of those areas, we contact them. And then finding people who are interested in expanding a ministry. Identifying those people and then asking them to come on board just to help with different things (Jen/Part-time staff).

The organization utilizes an introductory class (CityHope 101) as a mechanism to discover like interests that would help connect the volunteer to the organization and get them involved. Often those individuals in the class have a particular interest in one area and may even have innovative ideas to help expand that particular arm of the ministry. These ideas are encouraged. For example, when I attended the 101 class, the facilitator stated that many ministries had found their beginnings in the ideas that volunteers had brought to the organization and the value of that type of input. However, these high level volunteers often need a starting point for their involvement.

What you need is an opportunity for somebody to try something simple and easy and say, "I like that." And then get involved...Most of them just want to feel good about themselves and "I did something God wanted me to do." But from that fishing pond in the wading pool there, there are some fish that need deeper water. You never get to those if all you supply is the deep waters. You got to supply the shallow waters (John/Co-founder).

John talks of the importance of providing opportunities that didn't require a huge commitment (shallow waters) in either time or money in order to connect individuals to the organization and the larger vision. Within the context of John's quote he was telling the story of another emerging nonprofit in the area that was having trouble getting

volunteers, mostly because the work that needed to be done was physically challenging as well as dangerous. John then expounded on the importance of providing “shallow waters” that required minimal commitment and allowed individuals a venue in which they could “give back.” Lela believes that is crucial to their ability to get people involved in the organization. “I think that brought people. Having those opportunities” (Lela/Board Chair). By providing these opportunities, CityHope acquired social capital in the form of previously untapped connections.

Some people kept saying they wanted to give back and they didn’t know where to volunteer. And there was no need in [Eastern Suburb] and there was no need in wherever they lived but they wanted to be able to give back to someone who needed what they could do and I said, ‘I know where we can give back— at [CityHope]’ (Pat/Volunteer).

And the vision of that is to me, the church is much like this sleeping giant. There are many, many people who are Christians and wants to do something, but still really, can’t get from “I really think God wants me to do something. I want my faith to have feet boat” if you will, to “I don’t really know what to do or how to do it.” (Ellen/Full-time staff).

People want to get involved, but do not know how or where. By supplying a compelling vision as well as a myriad of opportunities, CityHope was able to provide a win-win situation—connect those who had both time and resources to those who needed both time and resources. Therefore, it facilitated cooperation of individuals to work together for a

common purpose (i.e., bonding social capital) as well as brought together heterogeneous groups, enabling better access to assets and information (bridging social capital).

As mentioned earlier, trust is a primary feature in all forms of social capital. CityHope's programs are built in mechanisms for establishing and building trust between the various stakeholders of the organization—volunteers, recipients, donors, etc. For example, the mentoring program helps build trust between the mentor and the refugee (which translates into trust in the organization as a whole).

A mentor walks alongside someone and makes them feel like they not only have someone to turn to, but someone that is also building into them and teaching them at the same time. Mentors are not only walking through life beside them by being intentional about showing them things and teaching them from their own experiences, but mentors are also sounding boards to ask questions and just help the refugee feel like they are not alone (Donna/Full-time staff).

So trust is built through the mentoring programs by first giving of your own knowledge “teaching them” and being vulnerable “from your own experience” and by listening. This same process of building trust is found throughout the various programs and events CityHope has established—that is they are all relationship oriented. When CityHope experienced failure in reinvigorating churches, it could be attributed to the trust somehow breaking down.

I think I don't know if it was a lack of communication because they seem to stop trusting us and usually that happens when there's lack of

communication and things aren't open and I don't know when that started... somewhere along the way, the trust broke (Hope/Volunteer).

Trust is a feature of social capital and social capital helps the organization to reach its goals. Perhaps when failure is experienced, it could be attributed to a loss of social capital that results from broken trust. If this is true, perhaps the key to maintaining social capital is building and maintaining trust.

Maintaining social capital. After the relationship has begun, and people are plugged into the organization, it is important to maintain those connections so the volunteers and donors don't lose interest and walk away. It appears that open and honest communication are key ways in which the organization helps to build and maintain trust. Moreover, that communication should be regular, positive, and utilize varied channels, "You have all these people that are still engaged. It's very easy for people to disengage from an organization, but they always keep in touch. Not too much. But the right amounts" (Lela/Board Chair).

Communicating regularly. The organization is good at staying in touch, but not overly zealous in their communication.

You keep in touch with them on a regular basis with the donors. That you report that to them regularly. That you let them know how their money, how their donations have been used and how future gifts and donations will be used, and giving them the vision of where the nonprofit is going. And what they are doing. I think that it's really important. Keep in touch with folks (Jen/Part-time staff).

It is unclear as to what the right amount or regular basis means exactly, however it is clear that there needs to be some form of ongoing communication in order to maintain connections (i.e., social capital). However, the primary way in which these valuable connections are maintained is through direct interpersonal communication utilizing various channels—face-to-face, phone conversations, emails, or snail mail.

Varied channels of communication. Nearly all of the staff members stated that communication—the construction, processing, and exchanging of messages—was one of their primary tasks in their day to day responsibilities.

There's a lot of relationship management that goes on in a typical day. And that can happen through phone calls, emails, meetings, conference calls, face time whatever it is, it's a lot of working through and with other people to get done what the organization needs to get done (Brad/Co-founder).

I love email. I mean it has its limitations but I mean it's a way to actually keep in touch...you may be asking about volunteers, but especially as I'm thinking about what works—texting works really well with refugees and Facebook are actually some of the best. Call, I use liaisons, so finding a community worker I can trust, that actually will send a message to someone else (Lucy/Part-time staff).

Knowing what channel of communication works best for different groups and the importance of trust in the process of communication are key to maintaining social capital.

Technology is also helpful in maintaining these relationships by keeping an “institutional memory” of who is connected to whom, what their particular interests are, etc.

We manage it technology wise. So we have a pretty sophisticated database of volunteers and donors that tracks, is able to track where they work, who they know, who else they are connected to in our database, what their interests are, what their work related experience is, so we can keep an institutional memory of people that are partners and what we know about them (Brad/Co-founder).

Positive communication. In addition, social capital is maintained by not only communicating frequently and utilizing different channels, but by the tone of that communication. That is showing appreciation as well as continuing to cultivate and educate volunteers and stakeholders. “Just appreciate them... To have volunteer appreciation events which [Amber] coordinates every year” (Jen/Part-time staff).

We are known for that in our circles and among of lots of agencies and foundations that we have a really strong volunteer program that recruits quality people, gives them a time of training, and manages them well. Doesn't just drop them off somewhere and say, “Figure it out.” But circles back with them and helps them transition and even move someplace else. We do that better than most (Brad/Co-founder).

Therefore, communication—quantity, variety, and quality—is key in maintaining social capital.

How it works. Bonding social capital can result in negative consequences (Fukuyama, 2002; Portes, 1998), however, it often was a key component for developing

other forms of social capital. The process of building social capital in all its forms began with individuals bonding with the organization, primarily because of a common vision and a certain level of trust. Those individuals then encouraged their close friends and families to volunteer. It then expanded from close personal familial relationships to relationships that are formed through shared memberships in organizations—creating a bridge between heterogeneous groups. Social capital increased as individuals who have bonded with the organization utilized their networks to create more social capital.

Sometimes those networks consisted of others from the same socio-economic background, ethnicity, and beliefs (as in close friends and family) and other times, those networks formed bridges into networks that consisted of individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds, ethnicity, and beliefs (e.g., Presbyterian, Africans, suburbanites)—bridging social capital. “Somebody like [Dean] takes all this back to [a Presbyterian Church], it’s a huge church and so all of a sudden people in [a western suburb] at a Presbyterian church, they know about [CityHope]” (Lela/Board Chair).

Then, not only do they hear about the organization because of Dean, but the church at the organizational level begins to talk about the positive qualities of CityHope—creating a link at the organizational level—building more organizational capital. “The church that I go to it’s like whenever I mean, like 90% of the time whenever anything is discussed about the city and the positive effects an organization is making on the city. I am not exaggerating, 95% of the time it’s [CityHope]” (Jen/Part-time staff).

Once individuals bond together, find commonalities, and create trust within the organization they tell their friends, family, co-workers, and neighbors, creating bridges between groups of different people and linking the organization to other sources of

economic and human capital. The organization then utilizes the economic and human capital in such a way that it facilitates increased trust and good reputation whereby creating more organizational social capital. This has happened throughout the growth and development of this organization. Perhaps the following example can illustrate this process.

Before CityHope incorporated, John taught a bible study downtown for urban employees. Pat started attending those studies and trust was established. She eventually retired and began volunteering for CityHope. She then told her friends who lived in a wealthy suburb and many of them began to volunteer and contribute financially to the organization. If CityHope had tried to tap into that population without Pat acting as a bridge, it is doubtful they would have been as successful. The value inherent in Pat's personal relationships (bonding social capital) was the mechanism that allowed this small, faith-based organization to access a network of people that were of a different socio-economic background in a distant suburb—linking them to human and economic capital. If the organization continues to prove trustworthy and Pat's friends begin to identify with the organization, they may in turn provide bridges to other networks and the cycle continues. As Hope so aptly put it:

That's why I go to the city club so I can go to network and tell about things that I'm doing and they can say, "I know somebody that can help you." And you just can get outside your own circles to other people. And you get a fresh face, fresh point of view. Someone who is willing to come in and help you out. That's how I think the long-term is to keep networking and networking to get outside the circles (Hope/Volunteer).

Hope paints a picture where you can almost envision the effort that it takes to change your trajectory and get outside of your own circles—“keep networking and networking”.

It is clear that faith-based organizations depend on their volunteers and donors to operate. Often times their first volunteers and donors are those who share the same denominational leanings. However, to grow, develop, and expand they need to continually reach new audiences and potential sources of social capital—one way to do this is to manage the tensions between religious exclusivity and inclusivity. Some organizations choose to stay religiously exclusive (churches are a great example), others choose to be more inclusive and focus on commonalities. Perhaps it is safe to speculate that being too exclusive could result in less bridging and linking capital whereas becoming too inclusive could result in the loss of organizational and bonding social capital. Therefore, in order to benefit from all forms of social capital, the tension between inclusivity and exclusivity should be held in constant tension. The way CityHope has accomplished this is by having a clear and compelling vision, whereby developing trust—yet balancing that with innovative and inclusive programs that encourage people of different backgrounds to get involved. These ministries are divided into the following areas: Church Planting and Leadership Development, Refugee and Immigrant Ministries, Urban Family Learning Centers, Open Table, Urban Ministry Training and Engagement.

Social Capital-Phase Two

Key findings in phase one indicated that within the context of this FBO, organizational capital affects bonding capital which affects bridging capital which affects linking capital which cycles back to creating organizational capital—the trust and

reputation that enables the organization to meet its goals. This was not supported in the second phase of this research. Perhaps this can be explained by the unique dual-purpose that CityHope served, in that as they developed, they found that not only did they serve the poor and downtrodden, but they also served the volunteer by helping them grow in their faith walk—thus in some ways, the volunteer was also the client. The volunteer bonded with the organization and then brought their friends along, creating bridges between diverse groups of people. This is where bridging capital was salient. In the second phase, however, the focus of developing close relationships was primarily with the clients, therefore bridges between diverse groups of people did occur, but it was not particularly salient.

Organizational social capital. As stated in the first sub-section, this research is primarily interested in how the faith-based nonprofit utilizes social capital to develop and grow. Social capital, in all its forms, includes features of trust, social cohesion, and reciprocity. All of the executive directors interviewed in the second phase of this research mentioned the favorable reputation (a feature of organizational social capital) of their organization “We’ve been around for 38 years. We were very fortunate in that our founders really engaged a lot of individuals” (NSC) “[Eastside Mission] has a long tenure and history in this city. It has an excellent reputation.” In the case of SCDC, it mentioned its founding organization—“[The church], has been here for a long time and given us a pretty good foundation on which to stand. Recognized by the community.” This reputation and trust in the organization paves the way for individuals to bond with the organization, utilize personal networks, and collaborate with other organization. “Everything with us is driven on relationship. Relationships with students and families

that we serve, relationships with our program partners, organizations that we collaborate with, relationships within the ministry with staff” (SCDC).

Bonding social capital. Bonding social capital connects individuals to the organization. All three directors spoke about how developing relationships is at the core of what they are trying to do. “Relationships. That’s how you get the people that you are getting to get involved” (NSC). “It’s based on relationships, it's based on impact, based on accountability, and based on us kind of walking that journey with them” (SCDC). “Get to know these men, to listen to them, their stories, to begin to cultivate a relationship, and in that context communicate Christ to them” (ESM).

In the first phase, the focus was on how volunteers bond to the organization and then they often will bring their friends to participate, utilizing those networks as bridges between heterogeneous groups of people. In the second phase, the directors’ focus was more on developing bonding relationships with those whom they serve. Those clients may tell others about the organization but, as mentioned earlier, it does not necessarily bring together heterogeneous groups of people. That being said, when they did speak about how they acquired their volunteers, they mentioned how they often come by “word of mouth” meaning that again, those who have bonded or identified with the organization tell others.

Bridging social capital. Bridging capital is most effective in heterogeneous groups, enabling better access to assets and information. Although there was some mention of this—all three executive directors mentioned bringing together volunteers with those they serve but they did not elaborate on the socioeconomic, racial, religious, or

other differences between individuals— it was not strongly supported in this second phase.

Linking social capital. Linking social capital often involves relationships that vertically connect institutions, cross power relations, and often involve brokers. This was evident in all three organizations. They all spoke of collaborating with other like organizations, working with institutions and schools, influential people that were involved in their organizations, etc. Eastside Mission has “a wide network of local churches that are engaged.” Southside Community Development Corporation “partner [s] in a lot of ways with a lot of organizations that maybe some ministries will not partner with” (e.g., public schools, secular organizations). Northside Catholic works with another nonprofit to “provide mental health assessments to their clients as well as billing for some services through other agencies to increase their revenue stream.” In addition, they all spoke of influential individuals who leveraged their personal positions to connect the organization to additional resources.

Acquiring social capital. Having an established reputation built on trust was the primary source of organizational social capital, enabling each of the organizations to meet their goals.

Establishing trust. As mentioned in the previous section, each organization benefitted from a pristine reputation and longevity. The Southside Community Development Corporation, like that of CityHope benefitted from the reputation of its founding organization, Southside Church. “[Southside Church] has been in the community for long time, probably about 125 years doing a lot of great work, and by

God's grace, has had some meaningful impact.” The other two organizations had established reputations from the longevity of the organizations themselves.

This trust also was evident in bonding capital that came about as relationships were built between the organization and those they serve. “[God] helped build and strengthen even more meaningful relationships and bridges across the community and give us of that street cred with some folks” (SCDC). “It’s always great to give them clothing or hand them a plate of food over-the-counter but if you can look at them in the eye and say, “How are you doing?” engage them, talk with them...people heal when they have a relationship” (NSC). “We realized that we were not really connecting with our men in those chapel services... my real responsibility was to these men” (ESM).

Casting a vision. There was little support for the importance of casting a vision in the second phase.

Creating opportunities. There was little support for the importance of creating opportunities for people to get involved in the second phase.

Maintaining social capital. After the relationship has begun and people are plugged into the organization, it important to maintain those connections so the volunteers and donors do not lose interest and walk away. This is accomplished through communication. As Chris stated, “That’s how you get the people that you are getting to get involved. That’s how you get—continue to cultivate those relationships, communicate with them” (NSC).

Communicating regularly. Two of the three executive directors spoke about communicating regularly with various stakeholders. “We have 23 newsletters that go out a year. I write an article for the newsletter. I write a letter for the annual report. I give

speeches at all of our events, I have a little Friday newsletter that my predecessor started” (NSC). “We do a mailing every month and we do two mailings in December, and those are mailed to our donors. Typically we’re telling them a story about something that happened in the mission, what their gifts have done” (ESM). The executive director from the CDC confessed that regular communication is one of the organization’s weaknesses and something that could be improved, “to bring our staff together regularly and that it is feasible. But finding more creative and practical ways to communicate and learn from each other’s programs and ministries” (SCDS).

Varied channels of communication. Communicating regularly through various channels—mail, email, face-to-face, social networks etc. was how this capital is maintained. Face-to-face communication seemed to be the primary means of maintaining social capital at Southside Community Development Corporation but the other two organizations mentioned on several occasions their use of social media, newsletters, email, radio, and face-to-face communication for keeping people engaged and informed. “We communicate with social media. Like I mentioned, all of the information is on our website. So it’s through those different channels that we reach out” (ESM). “People bring people in. We have an orientation it’s more of the come and check out [Northside Catholic] to people who have heard about it. They hear about it on social media...it’s all sorts of different ways we don’t have to do a lot of recruiting, mostly word-of-mouth” (NSC). As the executive director from the Catholic Center declared, “I think sometimes if you just work them [stakeholders] a little harder and keep the current donors engaged and let them know what we are doing and how we are growing and that we are not just doing the same old same old. We can keep them engaged.”

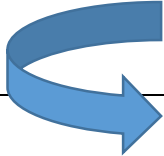
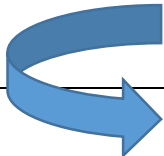
Positive Communication. In the first phase, respondents spoke about the organization showing appreciation for them in positive ways kept them connected. This was not directly communicated in the second phase, although all three executive directors spoke about the importance of communicating with various stakeholders positive stories that illustrate how their donations and volunteer activities have had a very real impact. In this way, the importance of showing appreciation was vocalized.

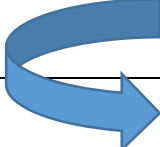
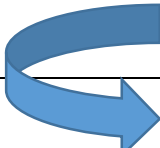
How it works. The process of building social capital begins with individuals bonding with the organization, primarily because of establishing trust through the longevity and reputation of the organization. Those who have bonded with the FBO then tell others about the organization. Bridging capital was not supported in this second phase.

Organizational Identity-Phase One

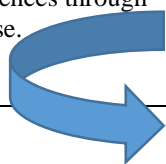
How does organizational identity develop and does it contribute to the overall developmental processes of the faith-based organization? The key finding of this case study was that organizational identity, like organizational development, followed a pattern that could be likened to human development beginning with the first step in a developing life—conception (see Table VIII). This first step in the process I labeled desideratum which is defined as “something that is needed or wanted” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). This was followed by the birth of the organization, a process of separating from its mother organization; the infancy stage, a process of differentiating between its predecessor and itself; the toddler stage, a process of innovation; the early childhood stage, a process of accommodation; and finally, middle childhood, a process of clarifying its vision and purpose. Therefore, like physical development, organizational identity

Table VIII: Process of Organizational Identity Development

Stage 1	Key Findings	Key Features	Representative Quotes
Conceptual Stage/ Desideratum: the conceptual stage of realizing there is a need	An individual's identity and reputation gave credence to the beginnings of what would later become a separate faith-based organization. The Identity was shaped by members and donors as well as founders	Felt need Expressed need Desire to meet need Sensemaking	The church started to grow again, which then caught the attention of some other urban pastors who were in the same position, dealing with the same issues (Amber/Full-time staff). Folks were coming asking questions about how [Ascension] had come back to life (Dean/Board Chair). There was an idea floating around at one point about getting churches (especially financially strapped churches) to work with each other and share resources - pastors, office support, etc. (Lela/Board Chair) People started giving for ministry purposes instead of capital purposes (Brad/Co-founder)
			
	Turning Point	The crisis of a failed capital campaign coupled with the expressed need and desire to rejuvenate dying urban churches(primarily through donations)	
Stage 2	Key Findings	Key Features	Representative Quotes
Birthing Stage/ Separation: the act or process of separating from the birth mother, in this case Ascension.	Social Identity theory explained the roadblocks that were encountered.	Supply/Demand Inclusive/Exclusive Integration/Extrication	We found roadblocks in both fundraising and getting people involved as long as it was connected to a single congregation. And so we found it helpful and necessary to start a separate organization for those reasons (John/Co-founder). I think for some people, especially older people, they just don't get that it would be okay for my church to go help another church (Dale/Board Member) I don't think one church would've had the stomach for that... putting up with that in terms of conflicts over money and who gets to be in control of these volunteers who gets to be in control of these programs (Brad/Co-founder)
			
	Turning Point	Forming a separate 501c3 helped CityHope manage the various tensions, by focusing on commonalities and allowing individuals from other church bodies to identify with the organization.	

Stage 3	Key Findings	Key Features	Representative Quotes
Infant Stage/ Differentiation: a further separation from Ascension and trying to differentiate the things that separated the two organizations	Ascension's established reputation contributed to the validity of the organization and had the advantage of an existing infrastructure yet caused tensions as the two organizations tried to determine their specific roles and responsibilities.	Role Clarification Integration/Extrication	They are physically so intertwined and some of the same people are intertwined and people can't separate it (Dale/Board Member). I think we talked about separating from the building...Separating the pay for both [John] and [Brad] once we got to that point where we could do that (Lela/Board Chair) I had trouble reconciling "What is this? Does this belong to [Ascension?]? Does this belong to [CityHope]? Who's owning this?" (Brad/Co-founder).
		Turning Point	Some of the programs that began at Ascension came under the guise of CityHope because they had the connections and know-how to better sustain them. So as they began to identify their areas of expertise and strengths, they were able to better differentiate what separated them from their mother—this was followed by a period of innovation
Stage 4	Key Findings	Key Features	Representative Quotes
Toddler Stage/ Innovation: a process of developing their distinctiveness by introducing new ideas, devices, and methods	Failure and disillusionment caused them to try and make sense of what was happening. They knew that the need was still there, so they reframed how they could meet that need, transforming an entire church culture would be more difficult to accomplish than focusing on leadership development.	Excitement Growth Creativity Lack of focus	We were doing a youth servant event weekend, we were doing a hymn festival, we did a requiem, we did a marriage renewal (Brad/Co-founder). They were kind of like the movie "Ups" you know. There is this little dog. It's like one of those Pixar things. There's this little dog that follows along. He's following along. And then all of a sudden he's like, "Squirrel!" and he's off. And I felt like that's what we were, all "squirrel" we would get diverted with things all the time (Lela/Board Chair) We have those huge growth years where everybody was excited about everything (Hope/Volunteer).
		Turning Point	The turning point from the innovative stage to the accommodation stage was brought on by the realization that it didn't matter how many programs they started, they were not going to be able to turn around these dying churches.

Stage 5	Key Findings	Key Features	Representative Quotes
Early Childhood Stage/ Accommodation: a process of mutual adaptation between persons or groups in which they can adjust their differences through compromise.	One of the issues in this failure was resolving the issue of control. There were too many variables to control in trying to transform an entire church culture. They resolved this tension by reframing.	Sensemaking Disillusionment Failure Reframing Control	When I think of our turning points, usually I think of one in particular we learned, was finally the day that we realized in a much as we want to save these churches, it's not going to happen and that was huge (Lela/Board Chair) We care about those things [planting and revitalizing urban churches], but I think the key to getting at it is a more sustainable way for us to get at it, is to focus on leader development and not on trying to transform an entire churches' culture. (Brad, Co-founder).
	Turning Point	They went through several revisioning processes, hired an outside consultant, and rewrote the mission statement to encompass what they were actually doing	
Stage 6	Key Findings	Key Features	Representative Quotes
Middle Childhood Stage/ Clarification: a process intended to make the mission more understandable and clear.	The identity problem was framed within in terms of the marketing challenge among the donors. Philanthropists are inundated with pleas for support from a variety of service organizations, marketing helps to highlight what makes a certain organization worthy of their financial support.	Vision Process Sensemaking Assimilation Mission Revision	Lack of a clear organizational identity within the philanthropic community can make organizational marketing a challenge (Jinder, G.R., 2013). The mission has become clarified more as each one gets a name. It gets a specific target population (Colin/Volunteer). They have looked to define themselves...they have settled into, "Alright, were going to try and develop what our, what we are, what we do, and kind of stick to that...they are rightfully their own entity. (Lela/Board Chair).



begins at conception and continues to develop throughout the life of the organization—not stagnant, but evolving and changing.

Several respondents, when asked about the organization's identity, confirmed the fact that it changes and evolves. "That's a hard question. Because I think it's changing, shifting" (Amber/Full-time staff). "I see them as a service organization with a lot of—but an organism like a very living dynamic. I just see ever-growing, ever-changing—very, very much alive. Not stagnating" (Ana/Part-time staff).

I felt like we were trying to identify what our mission was, what was it going to become? And it was something that we wanted to be evolving over time. And I think that at the time I left the board, it was a little different than when we started (Lela/Board Chair).

In light of these statements, it would be helpful to trace some specific developments in the trajectory of the organization that influenced identity—keeping in mind that organizational identity and organizational development are not synonymous. I argue that organizational identity is concerned with questions of purpose and often develops through various interactions with individuals and the environment in which it is embedded whereas organizational development are deliberately planned, organization-wide efforts that attempt to increase effectiveness and efficiency, enabling the organization to better achieve their goals.

Organizational Identity-Phase Two

In the first phase, the key finding was that organizational identity followed a pattern that could be likened to human development. This was difficult to corroborate in the second phase due to the difference of in-depth examination both in time involved and

data that were collected. However, each respondent spoke of what they knew about the beginnings of their organization and each organization began in response to a need that the founders recognized. In addition, it became evident in the second phase of this research that these developmental phases are often revisited throughout the life of the organization—meaning that an older organization may encounter various external factors that cause them to circle back and reevaluate their identity and purpose. This will often follow with periods of differentiation, innovation, clarification, etc.

As stated earlier, the overall question for this research is concerned with how the faith-based organization develops and grows and key findings indicate that various organizational processes interact throughout the stages of development, with some being more salient at different stages than others. Therefore, the following sections attempt to illustrate the process of organizational development, weaving in salient themes and concepts of organizational identity, tensions, and social capital.

Organizational Development-Phase One

Stage 1-Conceptual Stage

Organizational Identity: Desideratum. The organizational identity began when the founders noticed there was a need in their surrounding sphere of influence. Therefore, I labeled this first stage of identity development desideratum—something that is needed or wanted. The key themes of this stage are a felt need, an expressed need, and *passionate leadership* who desire to live out their *faith* by meeting the needs expressed in interactions between various stakeholders.

[Ascension] was a Lutheran congregation in the 1800s, the time when the Germans Lutherans were living down here and [it] was thriving. Then

those German Lutherans started to move away and the church started to decline, as do so many urban churches. And so they were left with 50 to 60 people who had been probably a thousand member congregation at one time. So at some point they realized they needed to do some things, so they called [John] to kind of see what he could do...The church started to grow again, which then caught the attention of some other urban pastors who were in the same position, dealing with the same issues (Amber/Full-time staff).

Ascension as well as other urban churches were in decline (there was a felt need by pastors and active congregants). As Ascension began to grow, urban pastors from other churches came to John to see how he could help (an expressed need). Ascension had experienced phenomenal growth and as John began to try and help other urban churches he saw that often, finances were a major barrier. Originally the idea was to meet the needs of struggling urban churches by connecting them together to share resources thus balancing the tension between supply and demand; it did not involve starting a separate organization.

There was an idea floating around at one point about getting churches—especially financially strapped churches—to work with each other and share resources - pastors, office support, etc. Obviously, they would need to reach out to other resources because there just wasn't money floating around in the inner city (Lela/Board Chair).

Ascension had experienced a rebirth which had garnered attention from other struggling churches in the city. In the process of trying to help these other churches, it

became obvious that lack of resources was a continual roadblock. Many of the churches were struggling to pay even a part-time pastor, let alone pay for any office support. They themselves only had one full-time pastor and a part-time secretary on staff, and although they had a lot of building space, it was broken down and costly to upkeep. It was decided that maybe they could utilize an upcoming anniversary to raise money for capital improvements that would serve the dual purpose of restoring Ascension's historic buildings while serving as a resource center for other urban churches—a way to bring together the felt need and the expressed need.

CityHope was originally the name of a capital campaign, the sole purpose of which was “to raise money for capital improvements marking the church's [Ascension] hundred and 50th, or thereabouts, anniversary” (Brad/Co-founder). The campaign was launched in 1999 with the hopes of renovating Ascension's old buildings and celebrating their growth and rebirth. There was a well-respected pastor and church leader in their congregation and they held an initial event to honor him and kick off the capital campaign:

Well, it was the very first time we [the board for the capital campaign] used the phrase [CityHope]... We wanted it to be a large-scale fund development campaign on the basis of [Pastor Robert Weber] and his years of ministry downtown and he was really the draw. He was the thing that made us real. I was still very new in the ministry, by and large, and I put in 8 to 10 years, but I was still kind of the running around making things happen, but [Pastor Weber] was the guy that was giving us credibility in the larger Lutheran Church (John/Co-founder).

The individual identity and reputation of Pastor Weber gave credence to the beginnings of what would later become a separate faith-based organization—this was one of several links between individual identity and organizational identity (Scott & Lane, 2000).

And we did that first event. And the initial event turned out fine and the day after, as we were getting ready to start follow-up work on the event, [Robert] died. So as a crisis is concerned, that was one. We actually kind of had to back up for about a year and not do anything with it because it looked like we were demeaning [Robert's] memory somehow (John/Co-founder).

This initial crisis of Pastor Weber's unexpected death mandated that the founders take a step back for a short period of time from the building campaign as the Lutheran community mourned the death of this well-respected man. During this cooling off period the founders received feedback from that initial fundraising event. There was excitement about the ministry Ascension was doing in the urban area—money came into the capital campaign earmarked for ministry not the facility. So the felt need was still there—urban churches were dying and people obviously cared about that. However, through their donations, they expressed how they wanted to meet that need. Again, in the reciprocal communication processes the identity of this new organization (i.e., CityHope) was taking shape.

Organizational Tensions. As in most new endeavors, an organization needs to acquire both financial and human resources to get started—causing tensions between supply and demand. “The only thing that slows you down was "Do we have the resources

and time and people to do it” (John/Co-founder). Often the key question when deciding whether or not to move forward is a question of resources—a tension between supply and demand. How they manage this tension will have an impact on organizational identity, affecting the growth and development.

Initial donors were connected to Ascension and Pastor Weber in various ways, but many were previous members of Ascension and now members of other Lutheran churches located in the suburbs. Their home congregations were in need of money for operating and capital improvements also and so many of them could not justify giving money to the building campaign or a congregation other than their own. Dale and Lela (both members of other congregations) demonstrate their agreement with this assessment: “I think for some people, especially older people, they just don't get that it would be okay for my church to go help another church” (Dale/Board Member). “You want to support efforts in the city, but your home congregation and your loyalty is to your church” (Margaret/Board Member).

People wouldn't be as inclined to give, say \$100 or \$1000 per year to [Ascension] (even though that would have been just as tax deductible to them as giving to [CityHope]), because I think it would have been psychologically viewed as just giving to another church. People were already giving to their own churches and would have been less inclined to give money to another one they didn't attend (Lela/Board Chair).

John continues expounding on this fact.

People were unwilling, or less than willing, to give money to our church when they felt that their church needed money as well. But somehow

mentally, it was easier for them to give to an organization that all of us were involved in, including their church...I think people see congregations as ours and yours, but an organization or nonprofits like [CityHope] that stylize itself as being for everybody, working for our city together in [the Midwest] people could see our city as an us instead of a them (John/Co-founder).

The original idea for CityHope served a dual purpose—to engage the support of suburban churches in helping Ascension update their buildings, allowing them to then utilize that building space to aid other churches. They needed to somehow engage the larger community if they were going to succeed in either of these goals. However, the response they received shifted their focus on buildings and helped to clarify the vision. There was still a felt and expressed need to help urban churches be effective, but the response they received caused them to ask “What does this mean?” They realized that perhaps the focus should be more on bringing ministry to the churches versus bringing the churches to the ministry illustrating that identity—particularly in a nonprofit—is shaped by members and donors as well as founders.

The first tension that needed to be managed was between supply and demand—the need to garner necessary resources in order to accomplish the mission. However, the founders discovered early on that one roadblock to acquiring necessary funds was their connection to one city church. Therefore, from the conceptual stage, the tension between inclusivity and exclusivity was also evident. In this particular case, founding members managed the tension by becoming more inclusive and focusing on other churches and not just Ascension.

The guys [John and Brad] saw a much larger picture being painted for ministry opportunities in the inner city. Just letting [Ascension] handle that would not have been a good idea because it would send the message that one church will act as the resource for all other churches (Lela/Board Chair).

As the money continued to come in earmarked specifically for ministry, the campaign hired a part-time bookkeeper to keep track of the finances.

Social Capital. Ascension was known as the mother congregation to all the Lutheran churches on the west side of the city and had a good reputation in the surrounding neighborhood and within the larger Lutheran community. Ascension had existing organizational capital, meaning the larger Lutheran community and the Christian community as a whole, trusted them and were confident that designated money would be used for ministry purposes. “There was a nostalgia about [Ascension] that appealed to the broader Lutheran Community” (Lela/Board Chair). Initial volunteers and donors came from Ascension, but as the vision of helping struggling churches came to the forefront, Lutherans that had once been members of Ascension got on board.

Many of us have our roots in inner-city churches. And if we didn't go there, we were baptized there. There are many of us were baptized in the city churches. So we have a heart for them. But we kind of like our suburban lifestyle. But we like coming back to those roots. It feels good to connect, it's a legacy. Even though everything is changed. Having said that, if you're sitting out at [a suburban church] you want to support

efforts in the city, but your home congregation your loyalty is to your church (Margaret/Board Member).

A tension between supply and demand contributed to the birth of the organization—a high demand and clear need for reinvigorating urban churches but little supply for accomplishing that goal. However, as the organization managed the tension between exclusivity/inclusivity by becoming more inclusive, there was an increased supply in both finances and volunteers. Therefore, the way in which these initial tensions were managed contributed to the birth of the organization’s identity and original mission statement—“Connecting Christians in mission by planting new churches and revitalizing existing city congregations” an interesting iteration from Ascension’s mission statement, “Connecting people to God and to one another.”

We started out and I don’t even remember now what the official mission statement was, we’ve changed it several times along the way, but it’s principally connecting people to God and to one another. We say it differently because, again we’re kind of curbing in on that non-confrontational religious thing, but we’re connecting people to the church, community, or improving church and communities that are left in the city (John/Co-founder).

The initial tension between supply and demand could have been managed in a variety of ways. For example, they could increase their supply of funds by applying for government grants, but that would change the identity of the organization and ultimately who becomes involved.

The idea here in the beginning was not to be just a social ministry. But we wanted to have more depth... What I like about it [CityHope], what impressed me to get involved was the fact that we weren't going to do just social ministry and that is so important (Lela/Board Chair).

Receiving government money is not necessarily a bad thing, but it does change the way you operate which changes your identity and who will become involved "What impressed me to get involved was the fact that we weren't going to do just social ministry and that is so important." One reason that Lela became involved in the organization was that she perceived it to be different from another organization she was involved in—it would not become so focused on meeting the demand that it would drift from its primary mission and become "just another social service organization".

The first stage of organizational identity was recognizing there was a need—a demand. People were asking questions about how Ascension—the mother church for several west side Lutheran churches—had come back to life. The turning point that propelled Ascension to consider CityHope as a designated outreach arm of the congregation was a crisis of a failed capital campaign coupled with the expressed desire (manifested in earmarked donations) to rejuvenate urban churches. Thus, the identity was conceived in response to initial communicative actions of donors and other stakeholders.

There was a demand or need that was expressed through increased supply. Therefore, managing the tension between supply and demand that occurred at this juncture of the organizational process brought into alignment available resources and

existing organizational capital. However, in order to obtain the necessary funds, an organization that was separate from the founding church needed to be formed, thus managing the tension between inclusivity/exclusivity and moving the organization forward.

I know that [CityHope] initially came out of a conversation that was connected with the revitalization and raising money for [Ascension]. And there were people who saw that folks were coming asking questions about how [Ascension] had come back to life, and it was increasing requests for that kind of focus and several people that were involved in the funding campaign at that point had some vision and started to say, “You know, we should start two different funds. We should have two organizations.”

(Dean/Board Chair).

Stage 2- Birthing Stage

Organizational Identity: Separation. This new organization needed to have a separate identity from its founding organization, therefore I labeled this stage of organizational identity development, separation—the act or process of separating from the birth mother, in this case Ascension. As in human development, this is a relatively short stage characterized primarily by the need to further manage the tensions between integration/extrication, inclusivity/exclusivity, and supply/demand. Key characteristics and themes include organizational and bonding capital and the development of a *mission and vision*. In 2003, CityHope became a separate 501c3 nonprofit organization—a move motivated primarily by financial considerations. I asked Brad why becoming a separate 501c3 was an important step for City Hope.

We were an arm of a church that ultimately would not have allowed, I'm guessing, for [CityHope] to get to this size and the number of things that it's doing in the number of places all over town. All these places. The throwing things against the wall to see if we can make it work. I don't think one church would've had the stomach for that. Either wouldn't have had it in terms of it drawing away from what the church feels its mission is geographically to putting up with that in terms of conflicts over money and who gets to be in control of these volunteers who gets to be in control of these programs. So sometimes I think what happens is somebody has some great idea that's wider than its mother. It's bigger than what its mother is able to provide. And so it moves out beyond that, typically either becoming a nonprofit or going and finding or slotting yourself under a larger nonprofit (Brad/Co-founder).

Brad's comment reinforces the idea that various communicative actions contributed to the organization's identity—it needed to be separate from the founding organization if this new FBO was to have any authority.

Organizational Tensions. In the conceptual stage of the organization, most of their donors were Lutherans (often from other congregations) but after they legally separated from Ascension and incorporated as a separate organization, they began to draw people from other denominations—another step along the continuum of inclusivity/exclusivity. “They wanted to have an organization that wasn't specifically Lutheran and that was a discussion at the beginning” (Lela/Board Chair).

It became more evident that their particular denominational affiliation was not necessarily an important factor in accomplishing their newfound vision. I asked Brad if working with other denominations was an intentional move, and the reply was “yes” for the following reasons:

Because the opportunities and the problems we were facing with what was going on in the church in the city required that we get beyond one denomination. There are a lot of resources sitting in the body of Christ across the city that we weren't accessing for the good of the kingdom if we were only going to work with Lutherans... there is a lot that we agree on around Christian faith. Let's focus on that.” (Brad/Co-founder).

As CityHope intentionally focused on commonalities they shared with other denominations, it helped them separate from Ascension and allowed individuals from other church bodies to identify with the organization—a major process of social identity theory. The turning point of forming a separate 501 nonprofit was managing the next layer of development, primarily the tension between inclusivity and exclusivity.

Exclusivity is defined as having an exclusive religious viewpoint that is highly intolerant of any doctrinal dissimilarities, and inclusivity makes no distinctions whatsoever between religious beliefs. In this research, it manifests itself as having an “us versus them” mentality, whether it is within a denomination—my church versus your church— or between denominations and belief systems. They found barriers in both fundraising and getting people involved as long as it was connected to a single congregation.

We already had a mission and vision that we were trying to accomplish in [Midwestern city] as a group of people, most of which at the time were at

[Ascensions] Lutheran Church, but we found roadblocks in both fundraising and getting people involved as long as it was connected to a single congregation. And so we found it helpful and necessary to start a separate organization for those reasons (John/Co-founder).

They could have chosen to manage this tension by being more exclusive and continuing to operate as an outreach arm of the congregation, but that again, would have changed the identity of the organization and who would become involved.

Social Capital. By focusing on commonalities and shared beliefs, they encouraged stakeholders from other churches and denominations to identify with the organization—creating bonding capital. In fact, most of the staff and organizational partners come from other denominations—contributing to its identity. When asked to talk about the strengths of CityHope, one respondent exclaimed “crossing denominational lines, for sure, and I love that. It is God. It’s not us. It’s not a denomination. God is so big” (Donna/Full-time staff). “We are Lutherans that don’t have a problem playing in other sandboxes...and we can find ways to have partnerships for ministry around what we agree on with different denominations and Christians than what we disagree on” (Brad/Co-founder). In a subsequent interview, Brad expounded on this.

Too often congregations viewed themselves as competitors with other congregations, rather than being one another’s biggest cheerleaders and enablers in multiplying and sharing ministry. This underutilization caused resources to further erode, which hampered the ability for urban congregations to fully address the human, spiritual and relational brokenness of their communities (Brad/Co-founder).

These early development accounts indicate that again, how the organization managed early tensions contributed to their initial vision and identity of connecting **Christians** in mission (emphasis added). The tension between supply and demand was still present but it was in managing the tension between exclusivity and inclusivity—focusing on commonalities and shared beliefs—that helped to alleviate the “us versus them” mentality and bring into alignment the concerns of key volunteers and donors with the overall mission and identity of the organization. This focus on a common vision and mission helped to create bonding capital, driving the organization forward. This small step in the process of developing an organizational identity—legally separating from Ascension—was followed by a longer process of solidifying that separation.

Stage 3- Infant Stage

Organizational Identity: Differentiation. The organizational identity was still very much associated with Ascension, yet as they continued to develop they began to focus on how they were different. Therefore, I labeled this next stage of identity development, differentiation. The key characteristics and themes that emerged during this stage of development were building relationships, organizational and bonding capital, and managing tensions between integration and extrication. CityHope had legally separated from Ascension, yet it was still dependent on her in various ways.

Firstly, it operated out of Ascension’s building, shared staff with Ascension, and many of its volunteers were drawn primarily from Ascension. This had both positive and negative effects on its identity. The positive had to do with an established reputation which contributed to the validity of the organization. For example, Ascension was the mother church to many suburban churches, and it had a proven respect and legitimacy

among the larger Lutheran community. Secondly, because John was an ordained Lutheran minister, he was invited to preach at other churches located in the suburban areas which raised awareness and expanded the reach of this emerging FBO. “I was the platform personality that helped to raise awareness, that helped raise awareness about the city and what could be done down in the city and how we together could make that happen” (John/Co-founder). Thirdly, because of the shared building space, volunteers, and staff, CityHope was able to utilize Ascension as a testing ground for various outreach programs “[Ascension] was like the testing spot for everything we did, so we always did everything there first. Whatever worked we would go and try elsewhere” (Hope/Volunteer).

Organizational Tensions. Unfortunately, these built-in advantages also led to some ambiguity on several levels. At the organizational level, because CityHope was birthed from Ascension, it had the advantage of an existing infrastructure of buildings and human resources. Yet at the same time, it caused tensions as the two organizations tried to determine their specific roles and responsibilities. “They are physically so intertwined and some of the same people are intertwined and people can't separate it” (Dale/Board Member).

When I came in, I did not have as good of a handle, like I understood the urban part of it, but not really how it was connecting. So that [Ascension] and [CityHope] together was always hard for me to separate those two... It's still difficult (Ellen/Full-time staff).

The biggest pull happened because we, for many years, all the staff were shared between both. I think there was a pull as to ‘Well, we are paying for more of the staff member's time’ or ‘Well, he is supposed to be our pastor and he’s not spending enough time here. He is spending too much time out and about.’ The pull around staff members who are trying to juggle both is the big one (Brad/Co-founder).

The fact that the executive director was the pastor at Ascension, the associate director was a deacon at Ascension, and several key volunteers were members at Ascension added to an identity crisis of sorts which needed to be clarified if the organization was to develop its own separate identity.

I think we talked about separating from the building. We looked at separating out, especially right at the beginning. Separating the pay for both [John] and [Brad] once we got to that point where we could do that, to some extent. So we had time for [Ascension], time for [CityHope]. I think we tried to not use [Ascension’s] resources for [CityHope] purposes. Doing things like that. I think they tried to separate it out. And I think they tried organizationally to do that too (Lela/Board Chair).

This was accomplished, for example in the case of the executive director, by designating 10 hours a week of his time to be used solely for CityHope and hiring a retired pastor at 10 hours a week to do his shut-in visits and hospital calls for Ascension.

Ascension was an established congregation with many outreach programs of its own, and it was often it difficult to determine who owned or was responsible for a certain program or ministry, “I had trouble reconciling ‘What is this? Does this belong to

[Ascension?] Does this belong to [CityHope]? Who's owning this?" (Brad/Co-founder). So again, the way in which the organization managed role ambiguity and the tension between integration and extrication contributed to the development of the organizational identity. Some of the programs that began at Ascension came under the guise of CityHope because they had the connections and know-how to better sustain them. So as they began to identify their areas of expertise and strengths, they were able to better differentiate what separated them from their mother—hence this step in the process of identity formation, differentiation.

Social Capital. Although CityHope benefitted from the developed organizational capital inherent in Ascension, they needed to build upon that by highlighting how they were different. Therefore, they needed to be intentional in seeking out individuals who could help them differentiate themselves from Ascension. Lela talks about finding the right people for the inaugural board.

So we looked for board members who would have specific skills that would assist us in accomplishing that so that we would have a legitimate organization...we engaged [a board member's law firm] to do the legal work for us. So they got all the paperwork together and got us incorporated, and the 501c (3) filing.... It was myself, Nick, and Margaret, and she had her background with development work, which we thought would be a good skill to have (Lela/Board Chair).

In addition, as various roles were clarified individuals were able to see how they best fit—attracting the right people at the right time, aligning volunteers with the mission strategy. At this stage, stakeholders needed to see that CityHope was not just an extension

of Ascension Lutheran Church. It was going to be different. However, it was difficult for some to see things differently. The founders and early adopters were visionaries enabling others to see the possibilities and it was the job of these initial members to somehow translate the vision to others who could not see it. I will utilize this story from John to illustrate:

The job of the initial guy in town is to help some to see the possibility. Get them excited about it. And you do some of the initial legwork necessary to get the process started...And many people won't get the idea until they see the path cleared through the trees and some initial gravel base put down. Then they can kind of see where the road is heading, and then they will get on board because they begin to see this is possible. It could be done (John/Co-founder).

Sometimes this meant taking a smaller piece of the larger vision, identifying those who had a passion or the necessary skills for that smaller piece and then asking them to be involved—utilizing bridging social capital. For example, tutoring was one of the first tools CityHope used to reinvigorate inner-city churches. Mara, a retired school teacher and a member of a suburban Lutheran church understood teaching. Hope was a high level volunteer who understood the bigger vision, but did not necessarily understand education. Those two were paired together “Mara was the teacher. She knew what to do academically, but I needed to bring the volunteers” (Hope/Volunteer).

The pull between utilizing the reputation of Ascension but yet differentiating themselves at the same time attracted the needed volunteers at this juncture of the organization. Tensions of supply and demand, exclusivity and inclusivity were still

present but it was managing the tension between integration and extrication helped CityHope build bridging social capital and propel the organization into the next developmental stage.

Stage 4-Toddler Stage

Organizational Identity: Innovation. As the organization started to attract people from various walks of life—some of it planned and some unplanned—they entered a period of creativity. Therefore, I labeled this next stage of identity development innovation. During this stage they exhibited features of excitement, creativity, growth, and lack of focus. Key themes and characteristics during this stage of development were innovation, bridging capital, and tensions between instrumental and expressive rationales. During this innovative stage, people were drawn to the organization who “could deal better with chaos” (John/Co-founder) and a lot of time and effort was put in to creating events and programs. Many of these programs and events were extensions of individual identities. For example, a teacher suggesting a tutoring program, an alcoholic suggesting a celebrate recovery program, or an unemployed volunteer suggesting a jobs partnerships program.

In the previous stage, the organization needed to separate from Ascension in order to begin forming their own identity so they focused on alleviating tensions between inclusive and exclusive mindsets. However, they still were primarily a Lutheran organization, receiving most of their support from Lutherans, so they wanted to not only confirm that identity, but capitalize on it as well. Therefore, during this innovative stage the focus was not only on creating programs that would enable churches to connect to their neighborhoods, but also to create events that would help connect the organization to their Lutheran roots, to other Lutheran churches, and other Lutheran organizations (e.g.,

the high school). One successful event that helped to accomplish this was HymnFest.

The following excerpt describes that event:

The beauty of HymnFest was the people, all the people. Not just because of the numbers but because the ELCA the LCMS and non-Lutherans came. I think it was they had the high school choir sang and the parents came. I think it was so beautiful. It was so much centered around the good old heritage of Christian song or Lutheran song in Lutheran music if you want to focus it down to Lutherans. I think one way to soften the hearts of Lutherans and get them out of their box that they're in is through music... It was a part of that legacy feeling again, we keep marching on...And it was all wrapped around [CityHope] (Margaret/Board Member).

Of course, HymnFest was not the only event they utilized to get more people involved.

We were doing all sorts of things to get people to come down to the city and just be involved. Not really do anything, just come down there and be comfortable being down there and that was really important to introduce seeing or reintroducing the city at large to what was going on in urban (Brad/Co-founder).

In the beginning stages of the organization the primary purpose for these events was to get others to buy into this vision of reinvigorating the church and through that, attract donors and volunteers. An unfortunate by-product of this innovative stage was that as the organization continued to try and define themselves by starting new programs

and events they seemed to only muddy the waters, so to speak, in terms of developing their identity.

At one point there was talk of buying properties, rehabbing the houses and having them for people. And then there was talk of, with the African immigrant thing, we initially we talked about what can we do to help those folks assimilate? And we're having a conversation with [Brad] one time at a meeting and he was like "We're thinking of having a soccer program!" And I was like, "No that's not what we do!"... I look back on this, they had hearts that if you came up to them [the founders] and said, "I'm just having problems" they would start a program. Both were equally as bad. And I said, "We can't do that. We can't have 97 programs, we can hardly manage the 4 that we have" (Lela/Board Chair).

She later used the popular Pixar film, "Up" to illustrate the lack of focus:

They were kind of like the movie "Ups" you know. There is this little dog. It's like one of those Pixar things. There's this little dog that follows along. He's following along. And then all of a sudden he's like, "Squirrel!" and he's off. And I felt like that's what we were, all "squirrel" we would get diverted with things all the time. And it was hard. I just felt like we weren't focusing (Lela/Board Chair).

This lack of focus and identity caused confusion not only for people outside the organization but several staff members spoke of trying to get a handle on all of the different ministries of the organization.

The first year [as a staff member] was mostly just me trying to figure out what [CityHope] did because it did so many things that I was like, “Wait, what’s that?” So the first year I was just getting used to it. The second year I got a handle on all the things we did (Amber/Staff member).

Throughout all of the interviews, a feeling of frustration was expressed concerning this lack of focus.

Our difficulty in the early years was we had so many things going on. We weren’t sure if we were focused. Because we had so much that we were focused on. We had tutoring. We had immigrant work. We had all kinds of stuff. Are we really focused? Do we know why we do what we do? (John/Co-founder).

Organizational Tensions. They were casting a wide net—utilizing all kinds of big events to connect people to the organization—resulting in a net filled with a variety of fish. All the fish were edible, but some needed more seasoning. Some needed to be reminded of why they were doing what they were doing. Therefore, the key tension that needed to be managed in this stage was between expressive and instrumental—why are we doing what we are doing?

The only thing that was keeping it pulled together and heading in the same direction is the vision and original purpose. And so I think it stays together and continues to move forward because the passion for that was important. We said a lot in the early years that it was important to put volunteers...to keep them stoked to keep them focused and passionate about what we were doing and not turn it into another volunteer event...we need people

to remember why we are doing what we're doing and not just do the activity themselves. We like the activities, we like the money we get, but we want people to remember why (John/Co-founder).

This period of innovation was accompanied by excitement within the organization. “I think at the beginning I think everybody’s excitement growing, it was a big thing. The newness of it. The fact that it was different, that there was so much opportunity out there. So I think that was good” (Lela/Board Chair).

Social Capital. Donors and volunteers were excited by all of the opportunity and programs being launched, and they began to tell their close friends and families. Thus, this excitement multiplied and grew the organization. Although organizational and bonding capital were both prevalent during this phase, bridging capital took center stage. “We have those huge growth years where everybody was excited about everything” (Hope/Volunteer). As the organization’s volunteer base grew through these innovative events— they began to focus less on the big events.

We just don’t need that [multiple events to get people to come down to the city] anymore. The systems are now in place. We have enough relationships and churches now calling us wanting to get involved that we don’t need to prime the pump anymore for partners the way we did back then... Tools have a lifespan and effectiveness, and then you move on to something else. The organization grows up. It matures, it shifts...and different tools are now needed to take it someplace else. So we are in the middle of figuring that out (Brad/Co-founder).

The innovative stage brought excitement and growth to CityHope. However, not everyone had the same reasons for getting involved—resulting in a tension between expressive and instrumental rationales. Managing this tension brought into alignment the organizational identity, mission, available resources, and capital—organizational, bonding, and bridging—which thrust the organization into the next developmental stage.

Stage 5-Early Childhood Stage

Organizational Identity: Accommodation. As CityHope managed the tension between expressive and instrumental rationales, it propelled them into the next stage of identity development—accommodation. Accommodation is a process of mutual adaptation between persons or groups in which they can adjust their differences through compromise. When the existing schema no longer works and needs to be changed to deal with a new object or situation, accommodation occurs. Key characteristics and themes found in this stage were disillusionment, failure, control, and reframing. CityHope discovered early on in the process that they could not save these churches. “When I think of our turning points, usually I think of one in particular we learned, was finally the day that we realized in a much as we want to save these churches, it’s not going to happen and that was huge”(Lela/Board Chair). Thus again, it was interactions with others—in this case other churches—wherein they began to question their purpose. These interactions caused the board and staff of CityHope to try and figure out how they could be more effective.

During this stage they experienced disillusionment and failure—causing them to reframe, refocus, and revision. The excitement during the innovative stage of the organization was ignited by the success of one urban church and the desire of those both

internal and external to that congregation to revitalize other urban churches. This utilized bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, attracting all types of people to the organization with different motivations for becoming involved. Unfortunately, although the innovative stage brought with it the necessary volunteers and donors, it was accompanied by failure of the original vision and purpose of the organization.

[John] and [Brad] soon found out that a lot of these churches were of the mindset that were like, ‘Oh my goodness come help us but don’t change anything we are doing. The four of us that are left in this church really like it the way it is’ and so they found that it was as much as they probably had a lot of answers, it was becoming unrealistic because they’re getting pushed back (Lela/Board Chair).

Hope also speaks about the same problem in answer to why CityHope was unable to rejuvenate these churches, “A closed perception that people have is a challenge. I guess we probably didn’t look at how to overcome the challenge and we never fully figured that out” (Hope/Volunteer).

Although there were several churches they attempted to help and rejuvenate (none of which were successful) the one that was mentioned on several occasions was St. John. “[St. John’s] is definitely a turning point when it comes to that for all of those things. I think they realized that we couldn’t do the big church, but maybe we could focus on the volunteers and get the volunteers to spread the word and do it that way” (Hope/Volunteer).

The failure at this church was especially heart-breaking for several reasons. First, a timeline constructed in 2008 indicates that in 2001, even before they incorporated as an

organization, they had begun having conversations with members of St. John's Church. This was one of the first congregations that came to Ascension for help, even before the incorporation of CityHope as a 501c3. Secondly, St. John's was prominent in all of CityHope's marketing and public relations material—so this failure had a negative effect on the organization's reputation. Thirdly, CityHope had not only tried the above mentioned programs, they had utilized a large amount of both manpower and funds starting their own worship service in the building aimed at reaching the neighborhood, “[St. John's] was big in that we tried to do our own thing and have our own worship service in there” (Hope/Volunteer).

This was a turning point in the identity as the organization hit a wall in that not only did they fail to turn this particular church around, in 2009 after a congregational meeting at St. John's, the members decided to close its doors altogether.

The closing of [St. John] congregation is a turning point of sorts for [CityHope]. The organization invested 7+ years attempting to work with the congregation and its leadership. Efforts took many forms over those years and each of them met with failure to achieve our objectives. [St. John] proved to be a hard, but important lesson for [CityHope] in terms of its efforts to encourage healthy ministry within existing congregations. It has helped [CityHope] further define the strategies it uses today when partnering with churches (Brad/Co-founder, written reflection).

I think in the beginning, we did have the same mission mindedness, but I think once things started not working out, maybe that's when we had a

little more difficulties in, “What are we now? We thought we were going to do this? And it’s actually not happening and what are we going to do? How do we shift? Where do you shift the dynamic? What would change it now? How do we go from what we thought we were going to be into what are we going to be next?” (Lela/Board Chair).

You can almost hear the struggles as both Brad and Lela try to make sense of this unexpected change in the organization’s vision. CityHope needed to figure out why their efforts had failed and what needed to change. One realization was that Ascension’s success was due to the combination of strong leadership and a predominant church culture that was outreach oriented.

Organizational Tensions. One of the issues in this failure was resolving the tension of control or regulation—integration/extrication. There were too many variables to control in trying to transform an entire church culture.

We can’t make a [John] out of somebody else. It’s different, and I think it took a different type, a different approach to change that. We just needed to explore. And we just never really got around to exploring how we could approach it differently, but [St. John’s] it was more like a confirmation we just can’t control these churches (Hope/Volunteer).

This failure and disillusionment caused them to figure out what was going wrong. They knew that the need was still there, so they reframed how they could meet that need—transforming an entire church culture would be more difficult to accomplish than focusing on leadership development. For better or for worse, a church is an organization seeped in traditions and possessing a culture and identity of its own. Trying to transform

an entire churches' culture proved difficult, but focusing on mentoring the individuals—leaders, pastors, and members—was another way to get at the overall vision of reinvigorating churches.

It's like, you know, either fishing for somebody or teaching them to fish and we are to be teaching them to fish: educating them, supporting them, and mentoring and all that. It's what the church planters, all the talk of planting churches, but with [church planting initiative] we are developing people who want to plant churches and we're not really clear yet what the relationship will be with them and us in the long run, but we know there will be one we just don't know what is going to look like (Lela/Board Chair).

We care about those things [planting and revitalizing urban churches], but I think the key to getting at it is a more sustainable way for us to get at it, is to focus on leader development and not on trying to transform an entire churches' culture. (Brad, Co-founder).

Social capital, although present, was not salient in this stage. However, the way in which they resolved the tension between integration and extrication helped them further develop their primary purpose and identity, propelling them into the next stage of development.

Stage 6-Middle childhood stage

Organizational Identity: Clarification. The organization than entered a stage in which they attempted to clarify their identity—that is they underwent several processes to

try to make their mission more understandable and clear. Key characteristics and themes found in this stage of development were management, communication, assimilation, and mission revision. The earlier stages of innovation and accommodation (brought on by the failure of their original mission) contributed to a lack of focus causing the identity of the organization to be somewhat segmented. This lack of focus made it appear as though the organization did not have a solid identity—confirmed and triangulated in a feasibility study conducted by an outside consultant firm.

When respondents were asked to explain [CityHope], the descriptions were somewhat vague beyond inferring that the organization was engaged in inner city ministries -- although a quarter of the respondents did articulate programs benefitting refugees or immigrants. We believe that this non-specificity may be related to either the evolution of the organization's scope or the broad nature of its programming. This was of some concern to the consultants since lack of a clear organizational identity within the philanthropic community can make organizational marketing a challenge (Jinder, G.R., 2013).

This consultant was hired for the purpose of determining the feasibility of CityHope conducting a capital campaign, nevertheless, this is interesting because the identity problem is not framed within the mission of serving those in need but rather in terms of the marketing challenge— demonstrating the permeability that exists between external and internal communication processes. It also demonstrates how donors affect the development of organizational identity—often an overlooked aspect in the context of faith-based nonprofits.

In the secular world, marketing is about highlighting the distinguishing and unique aspects of a product or organization with the purpose of finding and keeping customers. The “customer” in a nonprofit organization is the person receiving services, the volunteer providing those services, and the donor making it possible for the organization to administrate those services. As with the secular market, philanthropists are inundated with pleas for support from a variety of service organizations—marketing helps to highlight what makes a certain organization worthy of their financial support. Therefore, the identity needs to be clearly stated and understood—the process of clarification. In an early written reflection, the current executive director had this to say about the weaknesses of the organization, “Broadness/Over-eagerness/Lack of Discipline – the organization is often described as an ‘octopus’ by insiders and outsiders, alike. It seeks to do too much in too many different areas at the same time” (Brad/Co-founder).

Because of these weaknesses, in the next stage of organizational identity development, they tried to assimilate all of these different identities and understandings of who and what the organization was. This was not an easy task. “It’s in the growing pains of shifting to like a one person entrepreneurial organization to a corporate type identity and I don’t think anyone there has the understanding” (Lucy/Staff). There was an expressed struggle within the organization as they tried to figure out how to shift from being a “one man show” to having a common understanding of the vision.

It’s working out that tug and pull on your own identity. Once that is tight, then push forward. If everybody’s in on the vision and they believe in it.

I think everyone believed in [John’s] vision. I just don’t know if everyone knew how to get to some of the goals (Hope/Volunteer).

Even though CityHope started out with the goal and the vision to invigorate urban churches, this goal was in response to Ascension's success and identity. However, Ascension had strengths in their leadership and church culture that were key factors in their rebirth, "I have to believe it is very, very leadership driven. I am not sure there is a formula without the right leader" (Colin/Volunteer). Unfortunately, the other churches they were working with did not have these same strengths. So they, began communicating with one another, trying to figure out what needed to change. "I remember going through a couple of vision processes and trying to figure out what our next steps were" (Hope/Volunteer). Brad explained how the organization tried to make sense of the failure:

We want to see more healthy churches. That still remains the value and the passion. How we go about doing that has changed. We spent a lot of time, for example, in our early days, trying to figure out how to prop up and resuscitate a dying congregation because we were once a dying congregation and it worked once for us and maybe we can make it work someplace else. We learned the pretty hard way that that's really not very doable. It happens every once in a blue moon. But, but you end up spending a lot of time, money and effort in tears and spinning your wheels 90% of the time on churches that are going to die anyways. And so that has shifted. We have moved away from intentionally going in and consulting. So we are focusing more now on developing the kind of people that can sustain a healthy future, a healthy church rather than try to

resuscitate dying churches with leaders who weren't capable of turning it around to start with (Brad/Co-founder).

Throughout this stage of middle childhood, the process of clarifying the vision and mission statement was taking place. Organizational identity develops over time and is vocalized in the organization's mission statement.

Your vision starts your whole identity and so vision and mission is the start. You have your strengths and your weaknesses and you have your challenges and your opportunities, the whole SWOT thing. That thing is so real. And based on identifying those things, and figuring out how you are going to tackle them, completely changes your identity (Hope/Volunteer).

As the identity of the organization developed (which was reflected in practice), the mission statement was revised to reflect that identity. Previously, it was "Connecting Christians in mission by planting new churches and revitalizing existing city congregations" and is now "Restoring the city to God by linking and developing people, communities, and churches." The primary reason given for the revision of the mission statement was to have it capture and encompass more of what they were actually doing. I asked interviewees about that visioning process:

We had several Saturday Board retreats and examined all aspects of the ministry, prayed together, talked about what God was already showing us He was doing on the west side, and listened to Brad and other staff members talk about what they were sensing from God. We settled on several themes for the future and then the staff added goals in each of

these areas that stretched from 2002-2012. The ordering of these goals has changed over the years as God has brought opportunities to us, but the gist of the vision is still the same (Dean/Board Chair).

A lot of it was time spent relationally among staff and or board or both. Getting them closer together in relationship. We often spent time going over the history of [CityHope] and their own personal histories in [CityHope]. And then spent time talking about what could make us better or what would take us the next step down the road in their mind. They would get together and we would break into smaller groups of people to discuss those things...So recapturing the history was as important as pushing forward the vision (John/Co-founder).

These comments demonstrate the actual construction of organizational identity, how organizational identity is part of the result of retrospective sensemaking by organizational members, as well as a communicative process between those members.

When I asked the co-founders about why they changed the mission statement, one of the co-founders felt the mission statement was a little too detailed and needed to broaden in order to encompass what they really were doing.

It was a very, very specific statement and it needed to be broader to embody some of the things that we do... It didn't really describe the work that we do in developing people—developing leaders, developing refugees, developing Christians in their own discipleship. It didn't embody any of that at all. And so I wanted something that was more, not

general but broader, that kind of encompassed everything we do. And the final reason was we are not having any luck revitalizing churches. We needed to drop that (Brad/Co-founder).

The other co-founder also felt the revised mission statement needed to encompass more of what they were actually doing, but he felt the revision was more detailed, not broader.

The mission statement didn't change, it morphed. And they tried to start using different phrases that were, in some cases more descriptive of what we were trying to do or more distinct, more focused, and in other cases more palatable so that funders, donors and volunteers would, from a broader setting, would understand and accept it... You couldn't just say "connecting people to God and one another." You want all the points under that somehow so people can see what you are doing. The life of [CityHope], what we did was so broad as we tried to connect people to God and to one another, we regularly had folks that needed it explained. "Why are we doing this? Why are we doing that? Why are you supporting tutoring? Why are we getting involved in cross-cultural ministries?" And in each step along the way it was easy for me to explain why that was important to connect people to God and to one another, the city, or whatever the mission statement was. It was easy for me because I understood. But the further that got away from me standing there being able to explain, the more difficult it was. They were just trying to clean it up so that anybody could clearly state with specifics what we were talking about (John/Co-founder).

So although there was agreement that the revised mission statement was more reflective of what they actually were doing, they had different realities and perceptions of the new mission statement, why they needed to revise it, and what that meant. The struggles they were encountering perhaps indicates differing multiple layers of meaning that they were struggling to articulate—primarily the interaction of organization and personal identities. For example, one of Brad’s primary identities is that of a writer and public relations specialist. From a public relations standpoint, he needed the mission statement to be written in such a fashion as to not only reflect what they were actually succeeding in but also to be ambiguous enough to enable them to change direction without losing face. When he spoke of the change in the mission statement, he used the words, “I” and “we”, suggesting a connection to this particular change. In fact, when I asked him to tell me about the change in the mission statement, his first words were “[John] didn’t like it.”

The other co-founder, John, comes from a social entrepreneurial and leadership standpoint—two of his primary identities. He indicated that the needed change was because the organization had grown and therefore, he could no longer be there in person to explain or “give sense” (Weick, 1995) to others about the vision. Therefore to facilitate others getting involved, the mission statement needed to clarify how they were to do that (i.e., bullet points) and utilize a more encompassing terminology (i.e., people versus Christian). When he spoke of the change in the mission statement, he used the word “they” frequently, suggesting reservation to the changes in the mission statement. Both founders expressed frustration in needing to revise it, but for very different reasons. However despite the tension and frustration, they were able to co-create a common

identity through negotiation that gave verification to their individual identities (Swann, 1987).

The revising of the mission statement both clarified and broadened the overall vision. For example, “Connecting Christians” is more specific than “linking and developing people” in the sense that “people” is a broader term than “Christians.” On the other hand, “linking and developing” is a more specific term than “connecting.” The bullet points under this main statement clarify the areas that they would focus on to achieve their goals:

- Urban Community Development and Church Planting
- Welcoming and Partnering with Refugees and Immigrants
- Equipping Congregations to Serve Their Communities Effectively
- Training and Deploying God's People to Serve in the City

For many, this has been a positive step in helping the identity of the organization to develop—clarifying the mission and vision. During my interview with Colin, I asked about the strengths of the organization.

The clarity of the mission, the broadness of it, I guess. In the past it was kind of wishy-washy as to “Let’s just help bring God to the people in the city.” And now it’s just seems so much clearer... So I think maybe it’s that the mission has become clarified. Maybe broken up a little bit, may be clarified more as each one gets a name. It gets a specific target population (Colin/Volunteer).

In applying this to the development of identity, sometimes practice precedes prose and at other times it is the opposite. For example, the writing and revision of the mission

statement came about as the practices of the organization developed. As CityHope went about their vision of revitalizing urban churches, they discovered they were having great success in developing people. Individual members of these dying churches would often “catch the vision” and want to somehow make a difference. They would get involved in service opportunities or attend educational presentations and as individuals (a small component of the larger church), **they** would be revitalized. This caused organizational leaders to reflect and try to make sense of what was happening which would feed back into practice and so on. An iterative interaction between practice and discourse—practice preceded prose.

On the other hand, strategic planning often is a written projection of who the organization hopes to become in the future. The written plan becomes a road map for how the organization is going to get from here to there—prose precedes practice. These concepts can be summed up in the following response from the board chair to the question of how identity develops:

For any organization, I think probably 80% of it develops by default by the people that are hired. By or in mission, I think it is materialized. And then I think it is important that 20% of it comes with conscious effort as we step back and say, “Who are we?” and that's the role the board plays periodically, another way it works in that it helps the staff in answering the question. Because identity can get so dispersed that it doesn't mean anything anymore. Everybody in our culture, we are such individualists. I mean, the way the staff is organized it could be really possible for each one of those people to be situated in their own little stove pipe doing a

little program and early on, I think that is some of the way it was. But increasingly, I think there is, for lack of staff people, people that have come together and regardless of what aspect of the ministry they are involved in, they're all there and they are working together. Now they may not have all been intimately involved in planning, but they are there helping... Staff meetings are part of that, the way it gets reinforced and reinvigorated. It is important to have people coming and going. It's important that board members change periodically, it's important that new staff members are added or new volunteers get more active... To bring the staff in contact with volunteers who are asked the questions that we are too close to ask we don't even think of the questions... I think that in all organizations a lot of it happens by default, but there should be some portion that is conscious intention or when they wake up, you don't recognize yourself (Dean/Board Chair).

This quote does a wonderful job of summarizing the process of identity development. There is conscious intention, primarily from board members and others that are not so connected to the day to day issues, to guide and direct organizational identity. This is where strategic planning and visioning processes come into play, "And then I think it is important that 20% of it comes with conscious effort as we step back and say, 'Who are we?'" (Dean/Board Chair). Yet, identity is not an unchanging, stagnant, concrete proclamation of who we are but it often develops and materializes through sensemaking—an iterative process of practice/interaction/reflection/discourse.

We were getting feedback and stuff from [Brad] and [John] and they were on the front lines then, talking about our programs. And [John] making the realization that, with [Brad] that these churches are not going to, they want us to come in, but they don't want us to change anything...I think at that point we kind of, "Now, what are going to do?" and chatting about it, figuring it out (Lela/Board Chair).

The above quote illustrates how practice (programming) was followed by feedback (interaction) which was followed by reflection (realization) which was followed by discourse (chatting). So organizational identity evolves and changes, particularly in an FBO where no one person owns it. In addition, the data seem to suggest that as the FBO acquires new members, they bring with them ideas, passions, and relationships that influence the direction of the organization and help to co-create an internal identity. In the 101 orientation, CityHope encouraged prospective volunteers to come to them with their ideas and suggestions because "that is how many of our programs have gotten started" (Amber/Full-time staff).

I was thinking that you increasingly have wheedled down the things that we're not good at and have identified the things that we are good at, but tomorrow God could bring somebody that's good at something that we weren't good at, and as an organization in the collective that now has to be incorporated into our identity. So at the individual level it happens through individual experience...without completely changing the character of the organization (Dean/Board Chair).

Organizational Tensions. The primary tension to be managed at this juncture was the pull between administration and ministry. They needed more administrative help as the organization became more complex. As John stated, “The other thing you need in order to attract large quantities of people and dollars, is you need to eliminate the chaos and start looking like this is managed and organized well.” This changed the identity of the organization somewhat.

They changed because task people are what you need to function as an organization so that the health of the organization becomes, after a while, the primary purpose because we begin to believe that without it we can't do what our primary goal is. And so we have to look after the health of the organization (John/Co-founder).

There is an underlying tension expressed here between administration and ministry “task people are what you need to function as an organization so that the health of the organization becomes, after a while, the primary purpose” To accurately understand the underlying tensions in this quote, it is necessary to understand John's self-professed identity—that of the visionary or prophet.

“The prophets in our midst aren't tolerated because they're not there for the health of the organization and the organization itself is what, after a while, is what's important... The more the organization grew, got organized, the more it was managed better, the less well I fit in so, while I recognized that it needed to go that way for the health of the organization, I also recognized as it was going that it was only a matter of time before I no longer fit” (John/Co-founder).

For many years, because John was the executive director, the tension between administration and ministry was held in taut at a place that was comfortable for him to be involved. As the organization begins to shift in either direction it will change the identity which will affect who becomes involved in the organization, “it was only a matter of time before I no longer fit.” Other key players also recognized when it was time for them to move on.

A fresh perspective is in order. I don't think I'm helping this organization at all. And I think I'm hindering so that's when I decided that it was time for me to resign and that someone else really take over. I have a really high regard for [Dean]. She has a lot more capabilities than I have. I really do admire her. I am glad that she fulfilled that position for them. And I'd say, I think she took them to a much higher level than I could ever do (Lela/Board Chair).

And so it is just getting more, and more complex, especially when we talk about creating other businesses, offshoot businesses and all that. I was there for the time I needed to be. And now somebody that has a bigger broader business background will be more helpful (Dean/Board Chair).

Both Lela and Dean acknowledge their limited capacity for where the organization was headed and the need to step down—a theme continually expressed by interviewees, this idea of having the right people at the right time.

Social Capital. So as different people become involved with the organization, they bring with them gifts and passions that co-creates an internal identity. Those

members begin to identify with the organization and develop feelings of attachment and connectedness. The following quote demonstrates this process:

Volunteering is so rewarding. It's like you would pay to do it, because you want that feeling. It's the reverse of having a job, it's the reverse of having a job. I can't speak to volunteering at a younger age. I think at a younger age, you put other things before the volunteering. And at this age, volunteering takes a very prominent place. I know it does in my life. And I think it does in other people's lives and they invest themselves a great deal more. Because they need to. Because you need an identity. I had none when I retired and now I've, hopefully, made one I can live with...[after a long pause] You know, I like that answer. Because I was waiting for the time issue. You know you have more time when you're older but I like that answer much better, of just an identity (Pat/Volunteer).

This same volunteer lavished praises on the organization, the staff with whom she works and spoke about significant connections she has forged between CityHope and her previous place of employment (a well-known, international company)—all processes of organizational identification. As the organization's identity continues to develop through various processes such as managing tensions and visioning it continues to attract a wide variety of volunteers, members, and stakeholders who may identify with different aspects of the organization. One person may identify with the faith and values of the organization whereas another one identifies with the work they do among refugees.

This process of developing an organizational identity involves various stages, iterations, and social identity processes surfacing in different tensions. The way in which

the organization manages these tensions affects the organizational identity which in turn affects the extent of identification, which in turn affects social capital—the bonding, bridging, and linking connections that contribute to the growth and innovation of the organization. CityHope is still a relatively young organization and will, no doubt, continue to change and develop. However, just as in human development, the earlier years of development are often more crucial and dramatic— CityHope seems to have finally defined themselves.

I think they have looked to define themselves finally, and get a concept of, even if it evolves a little bit it doesn't seem like it changes quite as much in my mind...Now it seems to me that they have settled into, "Alright, were going to try and develop what our, what we are, what we do, and kind of stick to that"...Looking at physically separating themselves from the church and some of those other things that are happening that they are rightfully their own entity.

So now we return to the overall research question of this study. What processes enable an FBO to develop and grow? For this case, the process began at conception, when leader/s of faith recognized a need and continued to be innovative and contextually relevant in meeting that need. This innovation resulted in a multi-faceted institution that attracted a wide variety of volunteers and stakeholders that were able to identify and bond with the organization. These bridging relationships were managed through frequent communication utilizing various channels. However, if not careful, the organization can be pulled off course so they must create a structural foundation—being fiscally sound and

results oriented—assessing needs, creating programs to meet those needs, and then evaluating programs in light of the overall mission and vision of the organization.

The founders of CityHope were men of faith. That faith was the foundation for their vision— the revitalization of urban churches. They utilized innovative and multifaceted events and programs to get others involved and build bridges between black and white, poor and rich, suburbs and cities, and Catholics and Protestants. As they grew and developed, various tensions needed to be managed. The management of these tensions brought the organization into alignment, thrusting it forward into another developmental stage. Had the tensions been managed differently, the organization may still have grown and developed but it would have changed their identity attracting different stakeholders, donors, volunteers, staff, and members.

Therefore key findings in phase one of this study suggest that unique tensions experienced in the context of a faith-based organization and the way in which these tensions are managed contributes to the organizational identity. Volunteers, donors, staff, and other stakeholders become involved with the organization because their individual identities harmonize with the developing organizational identity—creating trust in the organization and social cohesion resulting in organizational and bonding social capital. Bonding social capital appears to be an important precondition for bridging social capital to occur in this case study. Stakeholders who identify and bond with the organization tell their friends and networks about the FBO whereby creating bridges into new groups of people—contributing to the growth and development of the organization.

Organization Development-Phase Two

Stage 1-Conceptual Stage

Organizational Identity: Desideratum. The key characteristics of this initial stage of identity development was a felt need, an expressed need, and a desire to meet that need.

We were started 38 years ago by a number, there used to be actually 17 parishes [in a small neighborhood]. Some of them have since closed... there still is a significant amount of poverty, but they just couldn't handle all the people knocking on their doors asking for help. So they said we need to get this all into one place. So they created [Northside Catholic]

We realized, in addition to the ministry that's going on in the church side of things, we recognize the somewhat unique, but very special and dynamic mission field that we have here, and for a lot of folks, the process and privilege of ministering got us getting involved at a much deeper level, than religious and spiritual programs. Because as important as that is, we recognize to help people, with a portfolio of significant needs (SCDC).

If you go way back to the beginning, [Eastside Mission] never housed anybody. It was established as a spiritual center to engage the growing immigrant population. So in 1910, we had all these Eastern Europeans come to work in the various industries here. A lot of them ended up unemployed and they needed somebody to care for them, to feed them.

Thus, it was in the communicative actions between founders and their environments wherein, they recognized a need that they could fulfill.

Organizational Tensions. As in our case study, all three of these organizations needed to acquire both financial and human resources to get started—causing tensions between supply and demand. One of the first official acts of Eastside mission was the sponsoring of a large gathering in a downtown church with the sole purpose being to raise funds and gather churches together to establish the “church at work downtown.” The community development corporation started the CDC to expand their “scope of services and volunteer/partner network, as well as to strengthen funding potential” and the Northside Catholic started in response to the ongoing demand for social services in a particular neighborhood. They felt they could better meet the demand if they joined together—increasing their supply of both finances and human resources.

Social Capital. Each of these FBOs drew upon the existing organizational social capital found in the churches from which they gathered donors and volunteers. “We’ve been around for 38 years. We were very fortunate in that our founders really engaged a lot of individuals” (NSC). “[Eastside Mission] has a long tenure and history in this city. It has an excellent reputation.” In the case of SCDC, it mentioned its founding organization—“[The church], has been here for a long time and given us a pretty good foundation on which to stand. Recognized by the community.”

Two of the organizations were started by joining with other churches to better meet demands. Organizational capital is apparent in both cases but, due to the age of both organizations, it is difficult to establish if that capital was borrowed from their founders. The third organization separated from a founding church, and it is evident that

it was the foundation that enabled them to form the community development corporation. The church had built trust and respect—key dimensions of social capital—in the neighborhood through the past century. In all three cases, founders needed a supply of resources—both human and financial—to meet the demand or the need that was the catalyst for organizing. Bringing into alignment available resources, emerging demand, and existing organizational social capital moved the organizations forward.

Stage 2- Birthing Stage

Organizational Identity: Separation. Separation is the act or process of separating from the birth mother. As in human development, this is a relatively short stage and comes about in the creation of a separate 501c3 organization. The second phase illustrated that the birthing of the new nonprofit is not always an FBO separating from another organization as in the case study. Southside Community Development Corporation separated from its founding church, much like the case study in phase one. However, Eastside Mission gathered together partner churches and volunteers to meet the unique needs resulting from an influx of immigrants seeking employment claiming to be the “church at work downtown” and Northside Catholic emerged as several catholic churches joined together and pooled their resources to effectively meet the increasing needs of a deteriorating neighborhood. Therefore, two of the three organizations in phase two find their beginnings in joining together with other churches and leaders to form a separate organization—hence the label “separation.” However, each FBO needed to become separate entities in order to develop their own identity.

Organizational Tensions. The first stage key features included tensions between supply/demand, inclusive/exclusive, and integration/extrication. As mentioned in the

earlier section on tensions, inclusive/exclusive and integration/extrication were present, but not salient. For example one respondent declared that the volunteers for the catholic center were not necessarily religious but they had “more of a spirituality and a faith in God. I think everybody is here that is here and has that commitment to our mission, but whether we are practicing Catholic or Baptist or anything else, I don’t think that’s as important.” This demonstrates that the tension between exclusive and inclusive is present even though not salient.

These underlying tensions acted as mechanisms to help in the birthing processes of the organizations and, as a result of these tensions, all three of the faith-based organizations interviewed became separate 501c3 organizations. It is important to note here that tensions are not always evident or negative. They merely represent two opposing forces. “We started the CDC to expand our scope of services and volunteer/partner network, as well as to strengthen our funding potential.” In other words, by separating from the church (integration/extrication) they were able to partner with other organizations that were not necessarily of their religious background (inclusive/exclusive) and increase their supply of both volunteers and funding (supply/demand).

Social Capital. As was found in the case study, focusing on commonalities and shared beliefs enabled stakeholders from other churches and denominations to identify with the organizations—creating bonding capital. The choices an organization makes in regard to how they will deal with inherent tensions affects who will get involved with the organization, ultimately affecting its growth and development. Becoming separate organizations enabled them to draw together people from different churches as well as

those who were not churchgoers at all—promoting social cohesion by focusing on mutual concerns (i.e., neighborhood, literacy, city, poverty, immigrants, etc.).

Attempting to meet the needs emerging in their immediate sphere of influence and managing the various tensions during this birthing stage brought into alignment other key features, thrusting the organization forward.

Stage 3- Infant Stage

Organizational Identity: Differentiation. The key feature in the next developmental stage was a differentiation from founding organizations— strengthening their funding potential as well as enabling them to tap into other additional networks of volunteers and members. In order to do this, they needed to demonstrate what differentiated them from their birthing organization as well as other similar organizations.

The Eastside Mission began by meeting with local pastors in the area “to raise funds with which to establish a rescue mission that would function as the church at work downtown.” That is they sought out and teamed with local pastors and churches to help them increase their supply of funds in order to reach out to the specific needs that were unique in the downtown area. Therefore, they focused on an area that was overrun with the rootless, the outcasts, the drunkards, and the poorest of classes, differentiating itself from its supporting churches whose congregants consisted primarily of individuals who had reached the middle-class.

Northside Catholic joined together with several other churches in the neighborhood to better meet the continual demand. “They just couldn’t handle all the people knocking on their doors asking for help. So they said we need to get this all into one place. So they created [Northside Catholic].” Northside Catholic’s emphasis on

meeting the physical needs, distinguished it from the Catholic churches in the area whose primary concern was in meeting spiritual needs.

Southside Community Development Corporation's website states that it is situated in an area where 60-65% of the population is below the poverty line, 48% of teenagers never graduate from school and, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, and residents come from more ethnic backgrounds than any other neighborhood in the state. These facts alone differentiates them from some other like organizations. Therefore, in an effort to expand their scope of services and make a greater impact on the neighborhood, the Southside bible church founded Southside Community Development Corporation.

Organizational Tensions. As in the first phase, the newly founded FBOs needed to clarify their specific roles and manage the tension between integration/extrication. However, this exact tension was not particularly salient and it had to do primarily with a distinction between the spiritual and physical. In all three cases, the separate FBOs allowed for a further delineation between the identities of the churches whose main focus was on meeting spiritual needs and the identities of the newly formed FBOs whose main focus was on meeting the physical or nonspiritual needs.

Northside Catholic receives government grants and the executive director mentioned frequently throughout the interview the need to be careful in how they express their spirituality. The executive director from Eastside Mission was explaining to me the difficulty in the demand for housing due to the increased homelessness and their decision as an organization to not acquire government funding, "Trying to navigate and negotiate and at the same time, what we are fiercely committed to here is maintaining our core

organizational objectives. So one of the very unique things about the city mission is that we have never changed our spiritual focus.” The community development corporation does a lot of work in the public schools and they “can't get up in front of everybody in school and give a huge gospel presentation, but also knowing that may not also be the most effective way to share the gospel in a context like that anyway.”

All three organizations seem to struggle continually with this tension between the spiritual and the physical. Managing this tension at this stage, enabled them to draw from a larger pool of potential volunteers and donors.

Social Capital. The organizations benefitted from the developed organizational capital inherent in the churches from which they emerged, yet they needed to gather their own volunteers and donors by highlighting how they were different. Eastside mission declared themselves to be the “church at work downtown” and encouraged parishioners from surrounding churches to invest themselves (and their finances) in the downtrodden and the broken—thus building bridges between existing churches and the emerging organization. Northside Catholic gathered volunteers from surrounding churches who wanted to help serve the poor as a way to live out their faith—the new organization provided this opportunity. By separating from their founding church organization, the SCDC was able to apply for grants and gather volunteers who were not connected to the church, but interested in helping to improve their neighborhood. Thus each organization sought to differentiate how they were different from the founding churches thus managing the tensions evident at this juncture, whereby attracting new people with similar concerns to the mission and vision.

Stage 4-Toddler Stage

Organizational Identity: Innovation. Innovation was the next stage in the developing organizational identity. A natural process occurring after the previous stage in which they tried to differentiate their organization from others, form their own particular identity, and begin to develop their mission. In this stage, they would find innovative ways to accomplish that mission—introducing new ideas, devices, and methods to meet emerging needs.

ESM was founded to evangelize the destitute left in the wake of the industrialization of a Midwestern city. In the early years of Eastside Mission, they provided baths, clothes, sewing classes, food baskets, and weekly meetings. In 1926, they filled a hall with 15,000 people who came to listen to Billy Sunday, bringing notoriety to Eastside Mission. Today, it is unlikely that baths and sewing classes would be needed, much less considered to be innovative but for the historical context in which the organization was embedded, these were all innovative methods that distinguished them from the churches and other organizations. These innovative methods enabled them to achieve their overall mission of meeting immediate material needs and introducing people to the life-changing gospel of Jesus Christ.

Southside CDC discovered early on that key problems in the community were joblessness and youth truancy. To address these problems they modified an existing jobs partnership program to focus on youth, tailoring the curriculum to 16 to 22-year-olds. This program launched them into a partnership with the local schools and helped them to further distinguish themselves from the church they were birthed from. Today, they work directly with the public school system and utilize scriptural principals found in the book of Proverbs.

They know we are faith-based organization. They know what we're all about, and we also know that while we are there, we honor the integrity of the classroom...The CDC allowed us to build upon the core ministry programs of the church and implement new efforts. We could further expand existing program models and/or creatively integrate them within our local schools and across the community (SCDC).

In the early years of Northside Catholic, their main ministry was serving soup and sandwiches in a nearby storefront, “no one came until we started putting shoes and boots in the window and that drew people in.” Those two programs are what they are still known for today. Again, it doesn’t seem as if putting boots and shoes in the window was particularly innovative, but it was a felt need at the time that helped NSC to stand out as separate from the churches that helped to form the organization.

Organizational Tensions. All three organizations continued to develop a wide range of social welfare programs, enabling them to balance the tension between the physical and the spiritual. Eastside Mission tries to “respond with compassion to hurting people by meeting their immediate material needs and introducing them to the life-changing gospel of Jesus Christ” (Poh, 2010, p. 4). The Southside Catholic Center utilizes scriptural principals to help youth develop leaderships and needed skills. “We don't pound the Bible over their heads...the truth that we incorporated in our program are Proverbs and we just call it good wisdom for life, or just give practical insight for jobs” (SCDC). NSC receives government grants, but strives to weave spiritual aspects into their programs “Because of our government grants, we have to be very careful. We cannot make our people, any of our clients pray. We can’t force anybody to do that. But, for

example, lunch downstairs, they always say the Our Father and grace before meals” (NSC). As in the previous stage, the primary tension to be managed was between the spiritual and physical, however the management during this phase was focused on creatively meeting physical needs in a spiritual way.

Social Capital. As the organizations encouraged innovative ways to balance the spiritual and the physical, they would attract people to the organization who were excited about the opportunities and allowed them to put into action their ideas or their particular talents. Two of these organizations have a much longer history than the case study, and as stated earlier, it seems that an older organization will encounter external factors that alter their focus. They may then circle back into differentiation, innovation, and clarification stages. For example, Eastside mission’s focus in their earlier years attracted teachers and seamstresses (to name only a few) to volunteer. In later years, as mental illness became more prominent in the homeless, they attracted people trained in psychiatry, mental health, and the like. The catholic center had a volunteer who was a talented artist. “So once or twice a month, she would offer art class downstairs on a Tuesday morning. It was great. She did some great things. We have since expanded that.” Each organization continued to manage this tension between the spiritual and physical—meeting physical needs in a spiritual way. The physical needs changed somewhat, however, attracting different people to the organizations.

The various ways in which others could get involved utilized bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, attracting all types of people to the organization with different motivations for becoming involved. The primary tension to be managed at this juncture is between spiritual and physical. Each organization managed this tension at a different

junction along this continuum, but it brought into alignment other key features, propelling the organization to move forward.

Stage 5-Early childhood

Organizational Identity: Accommodation. As the faith-based organizations managed the tension between spiritual and physical rationales, it propelled them into the next stage of the developmental process—accommodation. Accommodation is a process of mutual adaptation between persons or groups in which they can adjust their differences through compromise. Key characteristics of this stage often result from the activity of the previous innovative stage resulting in a slew of programs and the need to gain some control.

During this stage, there was also a sense of disillusionment and a need to reframe in order to deal with various failures. Eastside Mission and Northside Catholic were too far along in development to know about earlier failures, but as was stated earlier, these stages are not linear but cyclical and reoccurring. For example, the executive director of Eastside Mission mentioned a more recent failure that occurred shortly after building a women's shelter—an innovative project meant to meet the growing population of homeless women and children. There were discussions about the need to close the shelter, but it was felt that was not in the best interest of all concerned. A compromise was to sell a camp that was no longer serving its original purpose and funnel that money into the shelter.

Southside Community Development Corporation's first program was to "raise student leaders to be servant leaders in this community." This program was an

innovative attempt to answer the problems plaguing the neighborhood such as truancy, crime, and drop-out rates. However, at the present time, this program is not in effect—although the executive director mentioned a desire to resurrect it in the future when they had the capacity to do so. This was a way of reframing that failure and adapting to the present situation.

Organizational Tensions. The primary tension to be managed at this juncture is the pull between relationships and programs. All three organizations spoke about this tension:

We have had a couple of schools who've asked us to expand. Our philosophy is we always want to go deeper before we go wider. We don't want to be 6 miles wide and 2 inches deep. We want to be even better stewards of the students we are working with now and at local high schools... we are always trying to find that right balance between being a relational and transformative ministry, that qualitative side, but also being quantitatively as impactful as possible (SCDC).

The protocol was they would come in, they would have a meal, and they would go to chapel...The church would come in, they would bring the food and prepare it. And then they would conduct the chapel service... the fact that we had required chapel kept many guys from ever coming here...I thought we need to stop required chapel...and in its place we are going to have a voluntary support group... where you have a chance on a regular basis now to get to know these men, to listen to them, their stories, to

begin to cultivate a relationship, and in that context communicate Christ to them. Every one of them quit (ESM).

It's always great to give them clothing or hand them a plate of food over-the-counter but if you can look at them in the eye and say, "How are you doing?" engage them, talk with them. They may not always respond back to you. But if you can treat them with dignity and respect (NSC)

Social Capital. Accommodating the various needs that emerged, helped to strengthen organizational social capital and build bridges between the various groups of people. For example, one of the first activities the CDC engaged in, was to conduct a survey of their community in order to discover what the community felt was needed. They continue to stay connected in such a way that they can keep abreast of emerging needs and opportunities. Both of the directors from the other two FBOs are involved in neighborhood organizations, read relevant research, and try to accommodate not only the clients they serve directly, but the needs and concerns of the neighborhoods in which their organizations are located.

Dealing with organizational failures required that they adapt their mission and vision to better accommodate the needs of their communities. In addition, resolving the tensions between relationships and programs helped them to build organizational, bridging, and bonding capital, propelling them into the next stage of development.

Stage 6- Middle childhood stage

Organizational Identity: Clarification. The organizations then entered a stage in which they attempted to clarify their identities and answer the questions, "Who are we

and why are we here?” Again, this is a result of the previous stage, attempting to accommodate emerging needs and realizing they cannot possibly meet them all. They then began to focus on strengthening the ministries they do particularly well, clarifying their mission. For example, as mentioned previously, the CDC had to stop one of their original programs as they did not have the capacity to continue. However, their youth partnerships program blossomed and provided an entry point into the local public schools—clarifying their identity. They still are investing in the youth and families in their neighborhood but how they go about that is becoming clearer.

Eastside Mission and Northside Catholic have gone through several iterations of clarifying their identity. In the early years of its operation, Eastside Mission did not offer overnight lodging but offered baths, clothing, food, meetings, and classes. They were rescuing the poor by first meeting immediate needs in hopes of meeting the spiritual. Today, their primary distinction is providing shelter to the ever-growing homeless population. They are, as in the beginning, still a rescue mission attempting to meet spiritual and physical needs, but how they go about their mission has changed throughout the decades. The executive director has this to say about Eastside Mission’s identity, “Christian identity is critical, and everyone knows that we are a Christian organization and then right alongside of that is our ministry to the homeless- meeting basic needs. So when everybody thinks of [Eastside Mission] that’s what they think about. You house and you feed the homeless.”

Northside Catholic is still known for providing food and clothing but their identity has shifted to one of “radical hospitality.” Many FBOs provide food and clothing but NSC has become more holistic in meeting needs in a way that is “grounded in faith love,

and respect.” For example, they provide their clients with mailboxes, haircuts, GED classes, and many other services that attempt to offer their clients a sense of normality through hospitality. Clarifying identity occurs as the organizations begin to categorize and compare themselves with other like organizations and find what it is that is unique about their particular organization and the services they offer. They sharpen and clarify their identity as they develop their capacity to respond to the every-changing, ever-emerging needs of the communities they serve.

External Factors –Phase One

How do external factors affect the growth and development of the FBO? That is what is the context—the circumstances that form the setting for organizing? Many FBOs are established to address problems that become evident in the surrounding culture (i.e., context) therefore, external factors not only affect the FBO but are often the catalyst from which organizing begins. Once the problem is made sense of, the organization can then formulate a vision and mission or a way to approach the problem—utilizing sensemaking by asking the question, “What is going on here?” The answer to this question helped shape CityHope’s mission and vision (i.e., the identity of the organization). That is, the way they made sense of what was happening in their church, its surrounding neighborhood, their city, and their world influenced their actions. If these external factors shift, it will affect the identity of the organization as well. Contextual issues external to the organization emerged from the data in three main areas—neighborhood circumstances, political/cultural climate, and funding sources.

Neighborhood circumstances. What is happening in the neighborhood where the FBO is located influences the mission and overall development of the organization.

These circumstances include such things as population decrease or increase, changing demographics, and/or socioeconomic factors. CityHope, for example, was an outreach arm of a growing urban church—in an area where both population and overall church attendance was decreasing. In fact, the city in which CityHope is located is 57.4% smaller in population than in 1950 and during the years of CityHope’s incorporation—2001-2013, the area experienced a decrease in population of 18.1%. This external factor (decreasing population) affected how they interpreted their growth. If one were to analyze church attendance records, they could come to a conclusion as to whether church attendance is increasing or decreasing (assuming that all those who have attended are being accounted for). However, the way in which they make sense and bracket the information influences how they respond. Is attendance decreasing because church is not relevant or is attendance decreasing because the population is decreasing? Is it a combination of factors?

Because of the mission of this particular FBO, as churches in the surrounding area of this case study begin to decrease in numbers, they contact CityHope. Often, this decrease is due to demographic change.

Where churches that wouldn’t have come to us 10 years ago are now coming to us because they experience change in their communities.

Changes happen within the church community outside of [CityHope] where now, all of a sudden, they get an idea or a vision or a desire to want to do something in the city and that impacts us (Brad/Co-founder).

[Ascension] was a Lutheran congregation in the 1800s, the time when the Germans Lutherans were living down here... [so we help] to mobilize the congregation around working within the community that [is] here now, versus the German immigrant community that had been here that had moved on (Amber/Full-time staff).

Respondents emphasize how geographical location affects CityHope. Firstly, Brad talks about how changing demographic in the neighborhood will often be the impetus an urban church needs to seek out help. Secondly, Amber emphasized that not all urban neighborhoods are the same. It is important that CityHope not take a cookie cutter approach to helping urban churches reconnect with their neighborhood—they need to be contextual. Often, this may result in starting new programs and other times it may mean tweaking an existing program. Ana explains how a changing neighborhood has shifted the dynamics of her church's afterschool program.

When we started, we had a mixture of people—Latino, Hispanic, we had black kids we had white kids—and then the neighborhood started to change. And [city] schools were performing so abysmally that people started to move into the inner ring suburbs. And they brought all of their behaviors, all of their poverty with them. Section 8 housing, and then people started to take flight. Black and White who have money, who had infrastructure within the family, who had money, who had education, who valued education, they started to take flight. So that leaves our church and our afterschool program, our 501c3 in the middle of a residential area that is very different from when we began...A lot of brokenness, just a lot of

brokenness. It's just changed. It's because of those external influences outside—social, education, economic. It's been difficult (Ana/Part-time staff).

These changing demographics often bring with it socioeconomic changes in the population. Ana goes on to talk about how their church has started meal programs to feed these kids who often come to the tutoring program hungry. The external factors of a changing neighborhood—both in race and economics—affected how this particular tutoring program responds. In addition, as neighborhoods begin to change, it impacts where CityHope concentrates its efforts.

The way urban neighborhoods and communities develop or how we develop changes potentially where we might invest efforts in the urban future. So as a neighborhood becomes more and more gentrified, more and more filled with white middle-class people, [CityHope] has less to provide because our ministries are focused more on the poor, the outsider, the foreigner... and the call among those people to have healthy churches (Brad/Co-founder).

Political/Cultural climate. Other external factors that drive internal processes have to do with the larger context.

I'd say that indirectly our ministries are impacted by what's going on in [a Midwestern city] from the government perspective with funding, cutbacks in police and other services that impacts the people that we serve, and then impacts what they're asking us to fill a gap around (Dean/Board Chair).

FBOs are often referred to as the third sector—filling the gaps between the market and government. If there are cutbacks in government services, an FBO will often be affected by that. There will be a higher demand for their services. In addition, CityHope found that if an issue was being covered in the media, it often had a profound effect on the organization. For example, at one time they lost funding for their tutoring program.

It seemed like their decision was based on a bigger agenda. They said, “Well, we have just been watching the reports nationally. We just don’t think—we are not seeing that afterschool tutoring programs are really helping kids, so we are not going to fund them” (Amber/Full-time staff).

They continued their tutoring programs, but it did affect the bottom line. Other times, what is being covered in the media requires them to respond in some way that actually modifies the organization. For example:

About a year and a half ago all the conversation about illegal immigrants, we got hit by a ton of people who were just “Why are you helping refugees?” We spent a lot of time having to re-explain who refugees are, who immigrants are, what benefits they have, what benefits they don’t (Amber/Full-time staff).

The ongoing debate in the political arena concerning immigration framed immigrants negatively, for the most part. Moreover, it seemed to Amber that the general public was confused about the difference between illegal immigrants and refugees. CityHope’s response to these external factors added an educational piece to the organization that was not previously in place—it drove the internal processes, direction, and the very identity of CityHope.

When I asked Dean about specific factors that drive the agenda of CityHope, this was her response:

The clearest one is the whole refugee thing... You can start globally, the instances of refugee camps are increasing because of the tension in the world. And the government goes back and forth in terms of how many people they want to help get out of the situation... they are looking to [a Midwestern city] as a place in which to settle people and provide the opportunity but it is somewhat unpredictable. So we have to be flexible. And we have a good network of people that understand where people are coming from next, when the people are going to be coming, and all that. And that impacts us in a sense in that it's not something that we can control but we try to be sensitive to.

Funding sources. Gathering resources is necessary if the faith-based organization is going to survive.

I think that it's capitalism 101. So if you are a funder and there is a lot of money to be made, people go to where money is available. And if the money is available, because government money really has risen, so the number of social programs have increased through time. And as they increase there is more money and therefore, there are more opportunities. So I think it is more about that, that there is more opportunity to do that work because there is more funding available. I think if government funding stopped, there would be less organizations. And that is usually what we see. We see frustration, a lot of places have to close because the

funds weren't available. So really, the funding drives, like it does everything, if people are not buying then you can't stay open. It's kind of like that for me (Ellen/Full-time staff).

Government grants are often a primary funding source that will affect the internal processes of the organization, in fact, this is precisely why CityHope thus far has chosen not to apply for government subsidy. Moreover, the availability of government funding for the faith-based nonprofit has changed the landscape somewhat in that there are more organizations competing for funding. This can result in programs being cancelled or with the organization getting off track from their original mission.

I think that a piece of it is that a private organization has to serve one master or the other. So we would make different decisions, and the only reason that government funds are important is because then that drives the agenda or drives what you do... The organizations I see that seem to lose sight are ones that follow the money trail. So I do this because I got funding, so that takes me here because I have funding, so that I do this because of funding (Ellen/Full-time staff).

Most of the government grants have stipulations, what we can and cannot do. And we are a faith-based organization and we just don't want to get into that. It limits us on some things... These are strings that we just, that just don't go with our values, we just don't want to. So that differentiates us greatly (Amber/Full-time staff).

Even though CityHope does not apply for government funding, they have received grants from other funding organizations, influencing what aspects of the ministry are emphasized.

[CityHope] has definitely went far more to a refugee focus over time. I know that is due in a big part, and maybe this shouldn't have bothered me, but I did know the transition to a refugee focus over time is due in a big part to the fact that is where funding is available. It is not whatsoever that the refugees don't need our help, but there are a lot of other people who need help too. I know the organization has to be funded, but I think it's just been a very strong deciding factor of where the focus of the organization has been redirected over the years. It's a great thing that [a funding foundation] is very interested in making refugee programs possible in [a Midwestern city] and so it's willing to find people that are working on that. It is wonderful that [CityHope] has been able to be a big part of making great strides for refugees as a result, but a disappointing reality that grant funding can be such a deciding factor in an organization's programming (Sam/Board member).

External Factors –Phase Two

In phase one, contextual issues external to the organization emerged from the data in three main areas—neighborhood circumstances, political/cultural climate, and funding sources. This was supported in the second phase.

Neighborhood circumstances. Neighborhood circumstances and staying connected to the pulse of the community, also affects the way in which the faith-based

nonprofit operates. “Everything we do now is at least either connected or built upon the feedback we got from our community and our own fairly comprehensive demographic study of the dynamics, the needs, the opportunities in this community” (SCDC). “There are some people in this neighborhood that would like nothing better than for us to pack up our things and move on down the road somewhere because some of these neighbors feel that all we do is bring in the poor and the homeless and the criminals and we desecrate their neighborhood” (NSC). This executive director continues explaining changes they have made to combat this viewpoint. For example, they have changed the way they distribute clothing, setting up personal shopping appointments with clients so they do not have a large line of people waiting on the street. “Certainly some neighborhoods you can work in and they are more receptive than others...Nobody wants a facility in their neighborhood” (ESM). This executive director goes on to explain that when they do place a facility in a community, “it’s a positive impact--I mean crime decreases and a lot of things, positive things happen.”

Political/Cultural climate. The political/cultural climate definitely affects the FBO and the way in which they operate. For example, changes in how Medicaid covers mental health issues has resulted in increased homelessness among the mentally ill. This has caused two of the organizations who deal primarily with homeless issues to begin addressing mental health issues, either by partnering with other organizations or by offering some sort of mental health counseling. Other changes occur in policy: “An example with the primary focus that the feds have on housing first and chronically homeless individuals” (ESM). “In the early 80s there really wasn’t much of a shelter system -a formal shelter system. Homelessness, even though it’s been around hasn’t

been a huge problem until the past 40-30 years. Thanks to Ronald Reagan is what I like to say” (NSC). These statements indicate that the way in which government addresses homelessness and other social issues has a huge impact on how the faith-based nonprofit responds.

The recession that began in 2007 resulted in a rising unemployment rate which triggered government to focus on job training. The community development corporation received “a federal contract through the Department of Labor called the workforce investment act contract, which in many ways was very good because it allowed us to provide very practical and comprehensive job training for students that we’re serving in the school.” Unfortunately, because of the nature of government grants, when they lost that contract, it forced them to lay off some people, which leads me to the next factor that affects the development of the faith-based organization.

Funding sources. The third prominent finding was the impact funding had on not only internal processes, but the development of organization’s identity. For example, when I asked the executive director of Northside Catholic if faith was core to their identity this was the reply, “That’s a difficult question. Because of our government grants, we have to be very careful.” The executive director from Eastside Mission spoke passionately about their refusal to accept government funding and how it kept them “free to maintain our spiritual ministry, we could not do that if we took their money. But secondly, it allows us to operate outside of their strategies.” The executive director from the community development corporation stated that they are “very careful not to apply for any kind of state or federal contracts that would cause us to compromise the integrity in any way or testimony or lose focus ...I mean, honestly, all different forms of funding

can cause you to drift a little bit if you're not careful.” All three executive directors spoke about how funding affected, not only the bottom line, but their very identity as well.

These findings from both phases illustrate how external factors can have an effect on the ways in which tensions are managed, the people that become involved with the organization, and the decisions that are made in regards to mission and vision—affecting the developmental processes.

Organizational Development-Summary

What processes enable an FBO to develop and grow? This question is where all the previous questions and predominant themes come together. Similar themes emerged from both phases of this research: faith, leadership, innovation, bridging relationships, management and development, and communication. The differences in longevity between the organizations could be, in part, responsible for the minute differences that emerged in the themes between the first and second phases. The mission and vision were better established so there was not as great of a need to continually vocalize the mission, and seeking funding became a bigger piece of the puzzle as the organizations became larger and required more funds to operate. Leadership was significant in both phases, but in the first phase there was a definite emphasis on *passionate* leadership. In the second phase, development took precedence as a specific task of management.

Key findings suggest that there are unique tensions experienced in the context of the faith-based organization. The tension between supply and demand emerged in both phases of the research—a tension, that I would argue exists in all organizations, nonprofit or for-profit. However, in the faith-based nonprofit, the way in which they go about managing this tension contributes to the organizational identity. For example, if they seek

out government funding to increase their supply, it can affect how they express their spirituality.

The tension between administration and ministry found in phase one was modified in phase two as a tension between relationships and programs. Again, as stated in the previous paragraph, perhaps this can be attributed to the administrative role of the primary informants in the second phase. Nevertheless, the tensions between administration/ministry and relationships/programs seems to stem from the same pull. For example, in the first phase, members spoke about the need to administrate so that they could prove themselves worthy of support from various stakeholders which in turn could then support ministry. In the second phase, the executive directors alluded to the idea that relationships is where the spirituality and/or faith is practiced, however, it is difficult to procure funding for developing relationships. Programs is what donors and grants support, thus the similarities between administration/ministry and programs/relationships.

In the first phase, tensions of exclusive/inclusive and integration/extrication were prominent, but in the second phase, they were not. This could be attributed again, to both the ages of the organizations and the multiple voices that were heard in the first phase. In addition, the unique mission of CityHope was in helping other organizations (i.e., churches) to be effective. Thus, these tensions emerged primarily at the organizational level. The three organizations in phase two, although there was cooperation with other organizations, their primary mission was in serving and helping individuals. That being said, the principal tension found in exclusive/inclusive and integration/extrication is between the spiritual and the nonspiritual—centered on how religion is expressed and

practiced as the FBO attempts to meet both physical and spiritual needs. This tension between the spiritual and nonspiritual was perhaps the overarching tension that contributes to the organizational identity in the faith-based organization.

The way in which these tensions are managed affects who becomes involved in the organization—volunteers, donors, and other stakeholders become involved with the organization because the organizational identity harmonizes with their individual identity, particularly where they place themselves spiritually. All three executive directors really felt that it was their focus on relationships that allowed the spirituality of their organizations to flourish. These relationships were built on trust and respect, resulting in social cohesion. In addition, each interviewee spoke about the reputation of their organization contributing to its continued success and credibility, enabling them to link with other organizations and resources. Therefore, as in the first phase, various forms of capital are crucial to the development of the faith-based nonprofit. However, bridging capital did not emerge in the interview data for the second phase, nor did primary methods for acquiring bridging social capital—casting a vision and creating opportunities. Perhaps a more in-depth examination would discover bridging capital to be an important part of the model.

The founders of these organizations were people of faith—they believed that an all-powerful Creator God cared and loved all humankind, and because of that love, would direct and guide them. That faith was the foundation for their vision. They utilized innovative and contextual events and programs to help meet the various needs of the communities in which they were embedded. As they grew and developed, various tensions needed to be managed. The management of these tensions brought the

organizations into alignment, thrusting them forward into another developmental stage. Had the tensions been managed differently, the organizations may still have grown and developed but it would have changed their identities attracting different stakeholders, donors, volunteers, staff, and members.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this research was to develop a theoretical model for understanding the growth and development processes of the faith-based nonprofit organization, the role faith plays in the development of organizational identity, and the function of social capital in the faith-based nonprofit. It examined the reciprocal communication practices by which an organization and its members make sense of uncertainty and ambiguity enabling the organization to successfully develop and grow (Corley, 2004; Jian, 2007, 2008, 2011; Jimmieson & White, 2011; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002).

There is a substantial amount of research on organizational identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000, 2004; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Scott & Lane, 2000), organizational tensions (Gibbs, 2009; Jian, 2007, 2008; Poole & Van de Ven, 1989; Tracy, 2004), and social capital (Bourdieu, 1980; Coleman, 1988; Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008; Poder, 2011; Putnam, 1995, 2000; Putnam & Feldstein, 2003; Temkin & Rhoe, 1998; Schneider, 2009). Although many of these theories have been utilized across academic disciplines,

for the most part, they remain separate bodies of literature. These separate bodies of literature explore various theories in depth, helping to explain certain aspects of organizational processes, however, a more unified approach could offer new insights.

Theories, in general, are “interrelated constructs (variables), definitions, and propositions” (Kerlinger, 1979, p. 64) thus, theory is interested in the relationships between constructs and ideas. However, each individual theory only explains one aspect of organizational development. An organization, like an organism, is complex and the functions and properties of its individual parts can be better understood in relation to the whole. This research presents a theoretical model that brings together organizational theories, demonstrating how these various theories—rather than the variables of a particular theory—are interrelated, contributing to a better understanding of the entire organizational developmental process. Thus, this study examines connections between separate bodies of literature, giving a more complete picture of how these elements interact and contribute to the developmental processes of the FBO.

The second phase of this study added rigor and uncovered differences between "mature" FBOs and the case chosen for this study. Organizational identity development is more intense in newer organizations that are trying to figure out who they are and why they are here. Although organizational identity continues to develop throughout the life of the organization, the search for identity is more salient in the earlier years of development. In addition, as organizational identity begins to take hold, the focus moves to getting more people to buy into the vision—thus building bridges between various stakeholders’ social networks begins to become more prominent. More mature organizations have a better idea of who their primary purpose and become more focused

on making that happen—thus a stronger focus on funding. In addition, they often have a larger network of stakeholders connected to their organization and the focus becomes more on managing this network through constant communication. Figure 6 below illustrates this concept. A newer organization concentrates on the themes presented in the top portion of the model, although an organization will continue to cycle through the differing themes and phases throughout their development.

This research also seeks to contribute to the following separate bodies of literature and theories: organizational development, organization tensions, organizational identity, and social capital. Thus, this final chapter will discuss the findings of each research question and their implications to the respective bodies of literature, review and summarize the study, identify the limitations of the study, and finally, offer conclusions and further directions for research.

Organizational Development

The overall question for this research was concerned with the discovering the processes that enable an FBO to grow and develop? First and foremost, this paper integrates several bodies of literature to present a model of organizational development within the context of the faith-based organization. It extends the stage model of development by focusing on the processes, presented as organizational tensions that act as mechanisms, launching the organization into the next developmental stage (Tshoukas & Chia, 2002) and enabling the organization to go about the process of changing (Jian, 2011). Moreover, it illustrates how organizational identity—the heart and soul of the organization—not only changes, but follows a pattern of change and development along with the overall development of the organization.

Figure 6: Cycle of Development-Differences



This process is continual and ongoing as the organization goes through various stages in its growth and development (Haire, 1959)—resulting in an increased need to “comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate, and predict” (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988, p. 51). This is accomplished through the interactions between the organization, its members, and its environment. Thus, as they develop they need to adjust both their strategies and structures (Chandler, 1962) becoming more formalized, suggesting that some FBOs fail to develop and grow because they do not go through these various stages in their development, either being too formal in the entrepreneurial stages or by not increasing their level of formality as they mature.

It demonstrates the mode of change in the single organization illustrated in the life-cycle model (Van de Ven & Poole, 1998), but is also illustrates the interplay of dialectical and life-cycle theories of organizational change, providing a stronger explanation of how development can take place in the emerging faith-based organization (Van de Ven & Poole, 1998). This interplay is particularly salient in many faith-based organizations that often are birthed from established congregations (Vidal, 2001) thus illustrating the unit of change and development occurring due to exchanges between the two organizations—occurring in dialectic tensions.

This research adds to the organizational development literature, expanding previous stage models and reflecting not only patterns of development, but highlighting how specific processes of organizational identity, organizational tensions, and social capital interact throughout the stages of development. In addition, the model indicates that organizational identity processes are most salient in the beginning stages of a developing faith-based organization when the focus is on expressing faith through the

mission and vision of the emerging FBO. As the organization continues to develop, social capital becomes more salient, building bridges between social networks and expanding the sphere of influence.

In addition, the second phase of the study discovered some differences between a new emerging organization and a more mature organization. It appears that a mature organization is more collaborative and operational, whereas a younger organization is passionate and anchored in faith. Emerging organizations concentrate more on developing an organizational identity and more mature organizations begin to concentrate on operational issues (i.e. fundraising and management). As the organization matures and becomes tolerant of the inevitable tensions it can transition into becoming more collaborative and better managed. The fundamental theory is how they hold on to their values and principles and at the same time realize that they are likely to be reinterpreted as other people come into contact with the organization. In essence there are all of these moving parts which are continually being adjusted to fit the situation and context. As they encounter these new contexts, they fold that into their evolving identity—not necessarily changing the identity but adjusting it.

Organizational Tensions

What are the tensions in a faith-based organization and what role, if any, do they play in the organizational developmental process? Organizational tensions are inherent in the process of organizing and often emerge due to contradictions, dilemmas, paradoxes, or situational ironies. For example, a common tension in many nonprofit organizations—often referred to as the third sector because of their unique position between the market and the government—is found in the paradoxical pull between

mission and market (Evers, 1995; Frumkin, 2002; Knutsen, 2012; Salamon, 2003; Weisbrod, 1998). Research suggests that because of the inevitability of organizational tensions, the focus should be on accepting and managing tensions rather than on controlling or resolving them (Oliver & Montgomery, 2000; Volberda, 1996). Other research has found that not only are organizational tensions inevitable, but they can be productive, actually shaping the organization and helping to achieve a state of balance (Jian, 2007), and moreover, when tensions are framed positively and as complementary, it helps employees to make sense (Tracy, 2004).

This research adds to the theory and theoretical development of this body of literature in several ways. First, this research was focused on exploring and understanding the particular challenges unique to the faith-based organization. Tensions that surfaced in this research are primarily found within the context of the faith-based organization—tensions having to do with spirituality and the forming of a separate 501c3 organization. There is research in the nonprofit sector that brings to light the paradoxical pull between the market and the mission and the futility of attempting resolution due to necessity of both (Evers, 1995; Frumkin, 2002; Knutsen, 2012; Salamon, 2003; Weisbrod, 1998). This research expands this concept into the faith-based nonprofit sector—specifically human service organizations—illuminating the paradoxical pull between the spiritual and physical. Meeting the physical, emotional and/or educational needs of the communities they serve is a primary goal in most human service organizations. However, the faith-based organization must balance this goal with the value they place on meeting spiritual needs. If they focus only on the spiritual, there is little difference between the FBO and places of worship; if they focus only on the physical, there is little difference between the

FBO and secular nonprofit human service organizations. Thus attempting to resolve this inherent tension in the faith-based nonprofit is ineffective. This research attempts to bring understanding to this paradoxical pull, demonstrating ways in which the faith-based organization manages this inherent tension—primarily through prayer and bible reading.

Secondly, previous research has found that organizations will often frame tensions as positive and complementary to help employees make sense (Tracy, 2004), as well as utilizing a frame of reference as a mechanism helping the organization to make sense (Sackman, 1991; Starbuck & Milliken, 1988). Again, these findings are extended to the faith-based organization context, in that faith is the “frame of reference” (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988, p. 51)—the mechanism that enables the organization to make sense (Sackman, 1991) of the opportunities and pitfalls that compete to pull them off course. Religion is an intricate component that enables the faith-based organization to stay focused on the “why” as they go about providing services. As tensions are framed within the context of faith, stakeholders are not only able to make sense of the tensions, but are able to accept them as positive, and more importantly, as a way in which God guides and directs.

Thirdly, although organizational tensions are inevitable, they can help shape the organization, enabling them to achieve a state of balance (Jian, 2007). This balance helps bring into alignment the core mission and purpose of the organization, clarifying issues of identity and propelling them into further development. Therefore, continually revisiting core religious identity, holding up the original vision and mission (Sinha, 2012), and evaluating opportunities in light of this vision, helps in managing the tensions that would pull too far in any direction causing unbalance. In other words, faith is the fulcrum of the

faith-based organization, the point on which all of its activities and programs rest and on which it pivots.

As was found previous research (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013), keeping faith and religion central to the organization is accomplished in three primary ways. First, striving to recruit people of faith to serve on the board and staff. Second, utilizing the bible and prayer in the implementation of programs and events. And third, making certain that religiosity is expressed in the mission statement. Utilizing these methods help to not only frame the tensions that emerged but actually shape the identity of the organization.

Organizational Identity

How does organizational identity develop and how does it contribute to the overall developmental processes of the faith-based organization? Religion is a defining element in FBOs (Bielfeld & Cleveland, 2013; Chaves, 1994; Cnann, 1999a; Netting, 1984; Wilson, 1973), and often at the very core of identity. Unfortunately, we do not necessarily understand the process of organizational identity development and the role faith plays in this process. Results of this study indicate that when roadblocks, opportunities, and/or unmet expectations emerge, they are seen as God's way of guiding and directing or they are seen as triggers to actively seek God's guidance through prayer and scripture. Therefore, faith is not only a core feature of the FBO it often at the core of organizational identity processes.

During crisis or failure, members attempt to understand what is happening through communicating with one another, that is they play "an active and defining role in the production of their own reality" (van der Hiejden, Driessen, & Cramer, 2010, p. 1788). As members attend group meetings, engage in re-visioning processes, and rewrite

the mission statement, they are “expressing, negotiating, forming, and defining” their identity “through discourse” (Young, 2007, p. 226) but faith is always at the center—the frame of reference (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988). Therefore religion is an intricate component that enables the faith-based organization to stay focused on the “why” as they go about providing services.

This research supports the idea that organizational identity is not static (Jian, 2011; Kreiner et al, 2015; McNamee, 2011) and extends this view suggesting that not only is it not static, but organizational identity like stage models of organizational development, follows a pattern that can be likened to human development. In addition, organizational identity adapts as it goes about defining and fulfilling its vision—both informally and formally. The formal aspect to the development of identity is proactive, and found in the strategic management process. This formal process creates a foundational structure that enables the organization to gain the credibility needed to go about the process of “changing” (Jian, 2011). The informal aspect of identity development occurs in the communicative discourse between staff, volunteers, donors, and other stakeholders.

Recent organizational identity research argues that dual identities often occur in voluntary organizations between management and volunteers (Kreutzer & Jager, 2011). This study took a more unified approach, examining how differing identities actually help to mold organizational identity. For example, as different people became involved in the organization they incorporate their own personal identity—comprised of their values and beliefs and exhibited in their abilities, resources, and talents— into the collective of the organizational identity.

This is more prominent in the nonprofit sector where there are no clear cut lines of ownership and accountability—contributing to the permeability between external and internal communication processes (Cheney & Christensen, 2001). This research demonstrates, through ethnographic accounts, how the lines between marketing (often considered external communication) and organizational identity (often considered internal communication) interact. Moreover, acquiring new donors (external communication) is often dependent on having a clear, concise, and unique purpose and identity (internal communication).

The study demonstrates that in many faith-based organizations, identity develops more informally, somewhat by default— donors and volunteers contribute to the identity along with staff and board members. Therefore, this supports previous research that organizational identity is often constructed, molded, and formed through interaction with others (e.g. Albert & Whetten, 1985; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney, 1983; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000), and within the context of the faith-based organization, differing theological beliefs, values, perspectives, abilities, resources, and talents were actively pursued as a way of helping the organization both develop their identity and reach their goals.

Social Capital

Does social capital play a role in the development of the faith-based organization, and if so, how? Social capital is a multi-faceted construct, declaring that social networks have value contributing a broad range of benefits to society (Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 2000; Coleman, 1988; Knack & Keefer, 1997; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998), but they require time and effort to build and sustain (Fredricks, 2003; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005).

Unfortunately, although the body of social capital literature has grown exponentially, little is known about the process for creating social capital. This research attempts to focus on the process (Devine & Roberts, 2003) by utilizing ethnographic accounts to demonstrate how organizational social capital is created and maintained and why it is important to the developing FBO. Key findings indicate that within the context of this FBO, organizational capital affects bonding capital which affects bridging capital which affects linking capital which cycles back to creating organizational capital—the trust and reputation that enables the organization to meet its goals. This agrees with Bordieu's (1986) argument that different forms of capital can under certain circumstances convert into other forms, extending his argument into the convertibility of various types and forms of social capital.

The findings suggest that the social capital conversion process begins with the development of organizational social capital. In the context of this study, it existed in the reputation, social cohesion, and trust-based networks of the founding organization and members (Arregle, Hitt, Sirmon, & Very, 2007; Schneider, 2009). Arregle and colleagues (2007) argued that newer businesses' "need for social capital may be satisfied, in some limited fashion, by 'borrowing' another actor's social capital" (pg. 78). This study suggests that faith-based organizations "borrow" or benefit from the social capital of its founders, whereby extending Arregle's and colleagues (2007) findings from the context of emerging family firms into the context of the emerging faith-based nonprofit.

A primary building block of organizational social capital is trust based networks (Schneider, 2009). Initial volunteers and donors of a new faith-based nonprofit are often made up of a social network of individuals who trust one another and the organization,

primarily because they share the same denominational leanings or common faith. These shared norms bind them together, creating bonding social capital—whereby converting organizational social capital into bonding social capital. As volunteers, staff, and stakeholders continue working together for a common purpose— trust, reciprocity, and shared norms helps to develop this bonding social capital (Fukuyama, 1995). However, I would argue that if the organization is to continue to grow, develop, and expand they need to continually reach new audiences and networks.

The findings advocate that this is accomplished as individuals who have bonded and identified with the organization encourage their friends, families, and those from their social networks to become involved with the FBO, providing bridges that bring together heterogeneous groups and provide access to resources (financial, human, and physical)—whereby converting bonding capital into bridging capital. This supports Hans and colleagues (2014) argument that bonding and bridging capital work together because they serve different functions and extends it by demonstrating how this can occur. For example, ethnographic accounts indicate that “casting a vision” enables others to see the big picture and provides various opportunities allowing diverse groups of people to find a place where they can fit. In addition, this supports previous findings that a shared vision provides direction, and purpose by presenting an end goal that is realistic and achievable (Martin, McCormack, Fitzsimons, & Spirig, 2014).

At a higher level, individuals who have bonded with the FBO may act as a bridge to link institutions with which they are involved (i.e., place of employment, school, gym, etc.) to the faith-based organization. As various groups and organizations become involved, it contributes to the FBO’s reputation and the cycle starts all over again. The

faith-based organization maintains social capital by proving themselves trustworthy through sound fiscal policies, transparency, and frequent communication.

In conclusion, this study has advanced the social capital literature by offering a process model for social capital development within the faith-based nonprofit organization that could offer a conceptual framework for future studies. Secondly, this research gives insight into, not only how social capital is acquired in the faith-based nonprofit, but how that social capital is activated—suggesting that social capital is active not passive. Thirdly, while this study did not explore the structure of the FBO network—weak and strong ties—it suggests that bonding and bridging social capital are both needed if the organization is to continue to develop, grow, and stay true to its mission.

External Factors

How do external factors affect the development of the faith-based organization? External factors have an enormous effect on, not only the development of the nonprofit (DeVita, Fleming, & Twombly, 2001), but also on the internal processes of an FBO. Most FBOs are established to address problems that become evident in the surrounding culture. Therefore, they begin with a sensemaking process that tries to bring clarity to ambiguity and uncertainty, asking “what is going on here?” and “how can we help?” The way in which stakeholders bracket and interpret these factors, shapes the identity of the organization. If these problems diminish or intensify, it will affect not only how the FBO operates, but it may affect its organizational identity as well. In addition, when attitudes shift due to larger political issues such as illegal immigration, ineffective education, or increasing crime rates, the FBO needs to address the concerns of their stakeholders and spend additional time educating, informing, and creating additional programs to address

these emerging problems. This study demonstrated ways in which the organization responded to political issues prevalent in their communities, and how their responses became central to their purpose, thus contributing to their organizational identity development and helping build social capital.

Funding is another external factor that affects nonprofit organizations—both faith-based and secular. In the infant stages of the case, funding was not an immediate concern because it began as an outreach arm of an inner-city congregation with existing infrastructure, human resources, and community connections, providing fertile ground in which to grow and develop (DeVita, Fleming, & Twombly, 2001). However, funding in the second phase of this research was not only an external factor but emerged as a predominant theme affecting the very identity of the organizations. Those FBOs that receive government funds stated that they need to be careful in how they express their faith and those who do not accept government funds believe that if they did accept government funding, they would have to sacrifice their core values. Thus funding was also an intricate part of organizational identity and had affected who became involved in the organization.

Sensemaking processes enable the organization to deal effectively with ambiguity, uncertainty, and other external factors they encounter. When experiencing uncertainty, they attempt to find meaning by seeking more information (i.e., is the neighborhood or context changing?). If experiencing ambiguity, they engage in personal conversations to gain clarity (van der Hiejden, Driessen, & Cramer, 2010). This study did not necessarily find any additional external factors that have not yet been explored in previous research,

but it adds to the understanding of how those external factors affect the overall development of the nonprofit organization.

Limitations

Despite the contributions of the research discussed above, this study does have limitations. First, it was a case study of a particular organization, therefore, it is meant to generalize to a theoretical proposition (Yin, 2009). To improve the transferability of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), executive directors from three other faith-based nonprofit organizations in the area were interviewed. Further transferability could be obtained by examining those organizations more in-depth and/or including a random sample of other faith-based nonprofits.

Utilizing quantitative methods could further expand the findings, particularly in investigating further how bridging and bonding social capital work together. For example, I proposed that a faith-based nonprofit grows through the enactment of bridging social capital and found that although that is true, bonding social capital appeared to be a building block to the development of bridging social capital. Moreover, although bonding capital is vital, without bridging capital an organization could become too inwardly focused and cease to develop to its full capacity. It would be interesting to sample FBOs and conduct a network analysis, attempting to determine if those with overly dense networks become inward-focused and cease to grow and expand (Portes, 1998, Saxton & Benson, 2005) or if FBOs with less dense networks struggle with mission drift. In addition, measuring the constructs of organizational identity and social capital in several FBOs and then using that data to conduct various statistical tests and techniques, could give insight into the relationship between these constructs.

Secondly, the theoretical propositions obtained are limited in their impact due to the focus on only one type of organization—a Judeo-Christian faith-based organization. This narrow focus affects several findings. First, because of the boundary of how faith is defined and practiced in this research, it might limit practical knowledge that could be gained through the ethnographic details to those of differing faiths. Second, stakeholders become involved with faith-based organizations because of shared values and religious identity which could affect the findings regarding social capital's effect on growth and development. Third, shared religious beliefs tend to mitigate tensions. However, as was noted previously, religious individuals may fall at different places along the exclusivity and inclusivity continuum, whereby affecting the organizational identity formation. In this way, the present study offers unique insights that would be difficult to gain in a secular setting. Nevertheless because tensions that contribute to identity formation are experienced by all organizations as well as a dependence upon social capital to help reach their goals, future studies could attempt to replicate the findings of this study in secular organizations as well as organizations of differing faiths (i.e., Jewish, Muslim).

Third, this study had data limitations. The goal of the present study was to give a macro view of the interconnectivity of several bodies of literature—particularly those pertaining to organizational management and developmental processes. I therefore theoretically sampled members from the administrative level of the organization—both paid staff and volunteers. Although I did utilize field notes, board minutes, and other organizational documents, my data consisted primarily of in-depth interviews with the aforementioned respondents. However, at the request of the board chair and executive director, I did not interview donors. A deeper understanding of the theoretical

implications of this study and a greater depth of information may have been obtained by conducting focus groups representative of the different ministries and/or roles of the stakeholders, volunteer workers, and donors. Further limitations may apply due to interviewing errors, the investigator's own biases, and technical errors which might have occurred during transcription of the recorded interviews.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The largest percentage of the United States population resides in urban areas, which are often inundated with unique challenges—specifically issues related to social integration. Nonprofit organizations have shown promise in responding to these challenges, helping to build trust and community in urban neighborhoods, and although research focusing on the nonprofit organization has been increasing, it still lags behind—particularly research specific to the faith-based nonprofit. Since the launching of faith-based initiatives by the United States government there has been increased academic interest in faith-based organizations, but the majority of these studies fail to advance theory and knowledge specific to FBO. Therefore, the primary purpose of this research was to develop a theoretical model for understanding the growth and development processes of the faith-based nonprofit organization.

As with all organizations, FBO's are continually being pulled in different directions by the very social capital they rely on; as well as external factors, funding opportunities, growing needs, etc. It is important that they hold in healthy tension the mission, vision and purpose—organizational identity—that they perceive as coming from God, and the external needs and the relationships with individuals and organizations that create the social capital so necessary for accomplishing the mission. The healthy FBO

keeps this balance, this tension by staying focused on central principles that hold everything else together.

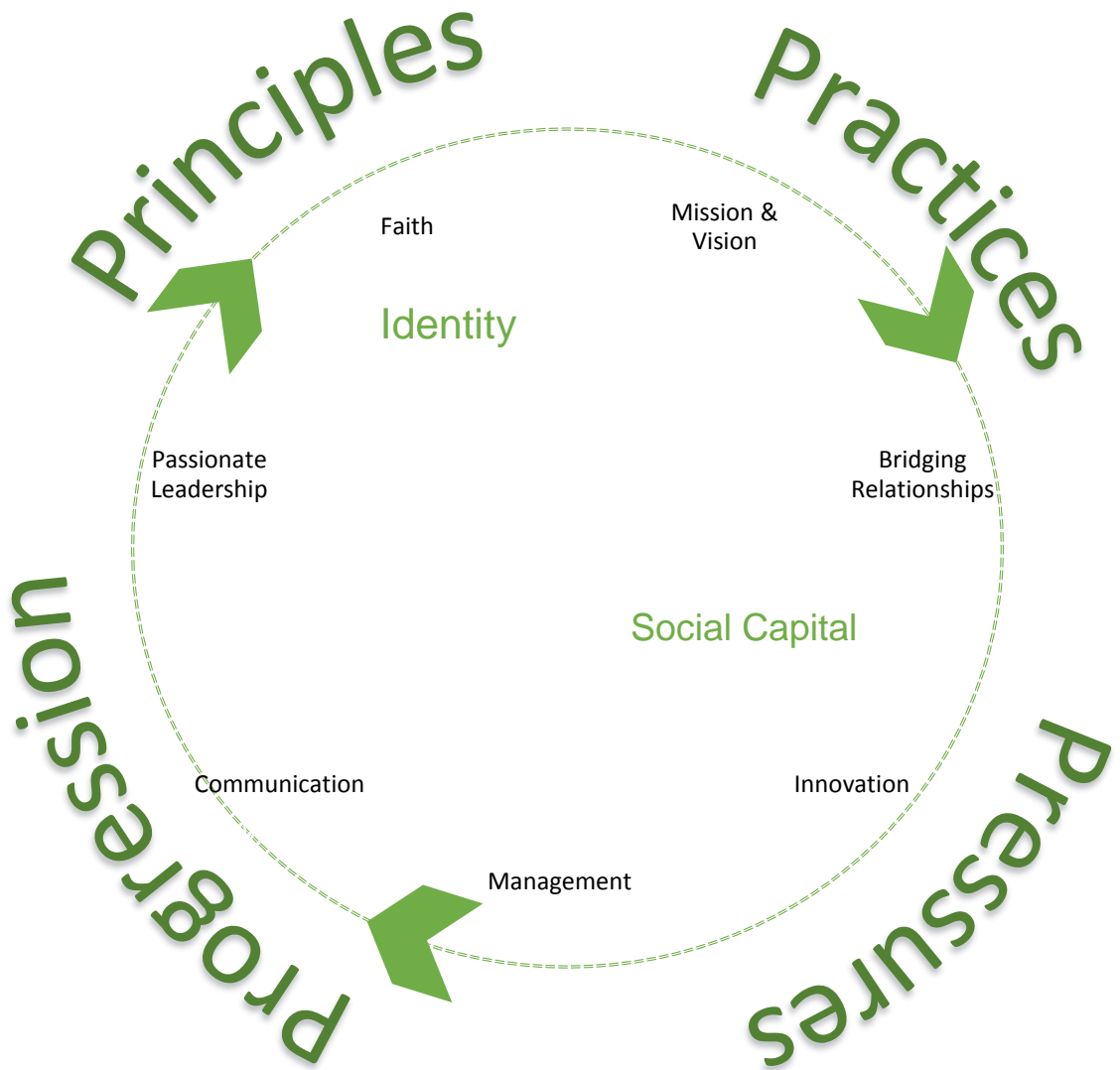
These findings and insights could be generalized and extended beyond the nonprofit and into society at large—offering a preliminary, yet cautious, theory of social process. For example, urban areas are often more condensed than suburban or rural areas, resulting in greater population density. Unfortunately, even though urban life brings individuals in closer proximity to one another spatially, it often results in individuals being less connected socially, resulting in distrust and an increase in crime (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Social Exclusion Unit, 2000). Perhaps a greater understanding of common values and principles could help bring unity among diverse individuals. Values, principles, and/or truths that are not just cognitive, they are tied to emotion and motivation. They guide actions and are often ordered by importance. Individuals may share common values, but order them differently. Therefore, value systems distinguish one individual from another, giving a sense of identity.

Our society is filled with persons who hold differing values and principles which often are reflected in their practices. When tensions and pressures arise, finding common truths and values could enable understanding, resulting in growth and development (see Figure 7).

These are social identity processes at work, but instead of the focus being on the social groups individuals are a part of, the focus is more about values and principles—the things believed to be true. I would argue that there are common values and principles that people of a given culture and society share—however the importance each individual places on a certain value differs. When values or principles collide it causes conflict,

tension, and pressure, but like social identity theory, focusing on common values and principles could help mitigate tensions and pressures, whereby affecting change in individuals, organizations, communities, and our world.

Figure 7: Four Ps of Social Process



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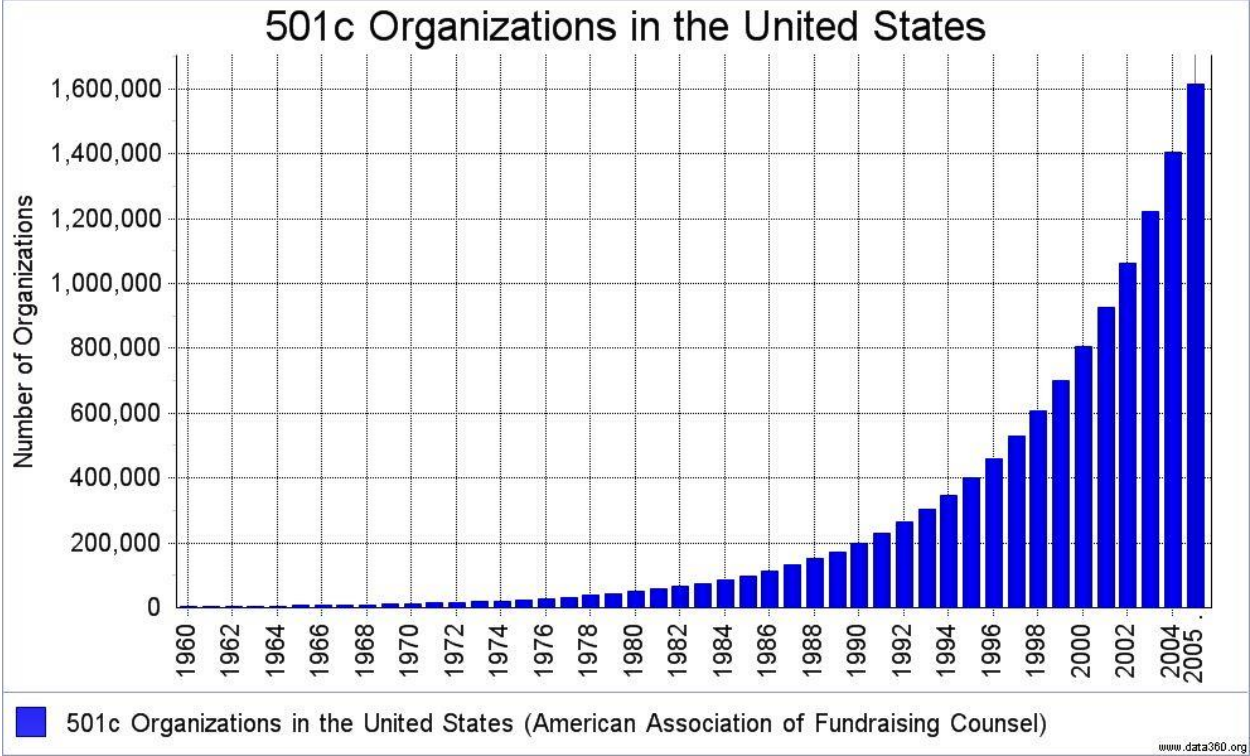
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Footnotes

¹Pseudonyms are used in this case to protect the confidentiality of the organizations and communities involved in the study and their members.

APPENDICES



(retrieved from, http://www.data360.org/dsg.aspx?Data_Set_Group_Id 691)

Executive Order 13199 - Establishment of White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

January 29, 2001

By the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to help the Federal Government coordinate a national effort to expand opportunities for faith-based and other community organizations and to strengthen their capacity to better meet social needs in America's communities, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. Faith-based and other community organizations are indispensable in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods. Government cannot be replaced by such organizations, but it can and should welcome them as partners. The paramount goal is compassionate results, and private and charitable community groups, including religious ones, should have the fullest opportunity permitted by law to compete on a level playing field, so long as they achieve valid public purposes, such as curbing crime, conquering addiction, strengthening families and neighborhoods, and overcoming poverty. This delivery of social services must be results oriented and should value the bedrock principles of pluralism, nondiscrimination, evenhandedness, and neutrality.

Sec. 2. Establishment. There is established a White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (White House OFBCI) within the Executive Office of the President that will have lead responsibility in the executive branch to establish policies, priorities, and objectives for the Federal Government's comprehensive effort to enlist, equip, enable, empower, and expand the work of faith-based and other community organizations to the extent permitted by law.

Sec. 3. Functions. The principal functions of the White House OFBCI are, to the extent permitted by law: (a) to develop, lead, and coordinate the Administration's policy agenda affecting faith-based and other community programs and initiatives, expand the role of such efforts in communities, and increase their capacity through executive action, legislation, Federal and private funding, and regulatory relief;

(b) to ensure that Administration and Federal Government policy decisions and programs are consistent with the President's stated goals with respect to faith-based and other community initiatives;

(c) to help integrate the President's policy agenda affecting faith-based and other community organizations across the Federal Government;

(d) to coordinate public education activities designed to mobilize public support for faith-based and community nonprofit initiatives through volunteerism, special projects, demonstration pilots, and public-private partnerships;

(e) to encourage private charitable giving to support faith-based and community initiatives;

- (f) to bring concerns, ideas, and policy options to the President for assisting, strengthening, and replicating successful faith-based and other community programs;
- (g) to provide policy and legal education to State, local, and community policymakers and public officials seeking ways to empower faith-based and other community organizations and to improve the opportunities, capacity, and expertise of such groups;
- (h) to develop and implement strategic initiatives under the President's agenda to strengthen the institutions of civil society and America's families and communities;
- (i) to showcase and herald innovative grassroots nonprofit organizations and civic initiatives;
- (j) to eliminate unnecessary legislative, regulatory, and other bureaucratic barriers that impede effective faith-based and other community efforts to solve social problems;
- (k) to monitor implementation of the President's agenda affecting faith-based and other community organizations; and
- (l) to ensure that the efforts of faith-based and other community organizations meet high standards of excellence and accountability.

Sec. 4. Administration. (a) The White House OFBCI may function through established or ad hoc committees, task forces, or interagency groups.

(b) The White House OFBCI shall have a staff to be headed by the Assistant to the President for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. The White House OFBCI shall have such staff and other assistance, to the extent permitted by law, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this order. The White House OFBCI operations shall begin no later than 30 days from the date of this order.

(c) The White House OFBCI shall coordinate with the liaison and point of contact designated by each executive department and agency with respect to this initiative.

(d) All executive departments and agencies (agencies) shall cooperate with the White House OFBCI and provide such information, support, and assistance to the White House OFBCI as it may request, to the extent permitted by law.

(e) The agencies' actions directed by this Executive Order shall be carried out subject to the availability of appropriations and to the extent permitted by law.

Sec. 5. Judicial Review. This order does not create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or equity by a party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person. GEORGE W. BUSH
The White House,
January 29, 2001.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:45 a.m., January 30, 2001]

Note: This Executive order was published in the Federal Register on January 31.

Citation: George W. Bush: "Executive Order 13199 - Establishment of White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives," January 29, 2001. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=61481>.

GEORGE W. BUSH
XLIII President of the United States: 2001-2009

**Executive Order 13279 - Equal Protection of the Laws for Faith-Based and
Community Organizations**
December 12, 2002

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 121(a) of title 40, United States Code, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in order to guide Federal agencies in formulating and developing policies with implications for faith-based organizations and other community organizations, to ensure equal protection of the laws for faith-based and community organizations, to further the national effort to expand opportunities for, and strengthen the capacity of, faith-based and other community organizations so that they may better meet social needs in America's communities, and to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Government contracts, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Definitions. For purposes of this order:

- (a) "Federal financial assistance" means assistance that non-Federal entities receive or administer in the form of grants, contracts, loans, loan guarantees, property, cooperative agreements, food commodities, direct appropriations, or other assistance, but does not include a tax credit, deduction, or exemption.
- (b) "Social service program" means a program that is administered by the Federal Government, or by a State or local government using Federal financial assistance, and that provides services directed at reducing poverty, improving opportunities for low-income children, revitalizing low-income communities, empowering low-income families and low-income individuals to become self-sufficient, or otherwise helping people in need. Such programs include, but are not limited to, the following:
 - (i) child care services, protective services for children and adults, services for children and adults in foster care, adoption services, services related to the management and maintenance of the home, day care services for adults, and services to meet the special needs of children, older individuals, and individuals with disabilities (including physical, mental, or emotional disabilities);
 - (ii) transportation services;
 - (iii) job training and related services, and employment services;
 - (iv) information, referral, and counseling services;

- (v) the preparation and delivery of meals and services related to soup kitchens or foodbanks;
- (vi) health support services;
- (vii) literacy and mentoring programs;
- (viii) services for the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency and substance abuse, services for the prevention of crime and the provision of assistance to the victims and the families of criminal offenders, and services related to intervention in, and prevention of, domestic violence; and
- (ix) services related to of assistance for housing under Federal law.

(c) "Policies that have implications for faith-based and community organizations" refers to all policies, programs, and regulations, including official guidance and internal agency procedures, that have significant effects on faith-based organizations participating in or seeking to participate in social service programs supported with Federal financial assistance.\

(d) "Agency" means a department or agency in the executive branch.

(e) Specified agency heads" mean the Attorney General, the Secretaries of Agriculture, Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and Labor, and the Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

Sec. 2. Fundamental Principles and Policymaking Criteria.

In formulating and implementing policies that have implications for faith-based and community organizations, agencies that administer social service programs supported with Federal financial assistance shall, to the extent permitted by law, be guided by the following fundamental principles:

- (a) Federal financial assistance for social service programs should be distributed in the most effective and efficient manner possible;
- (b) The Nation's social service capacity will benefit if all eligible organizations, including faith-based and other community organizations, are able to compete on an equal footing for Federal financial assistance used to support social service programs;
- (c) No organization should be discriminated against on the basis of religion or religious belief in the administration or distribution of Federal financial assistance under social service programs;

- (d) All organizations that receive Federal financial assistance under social services programs should be prohibited from discriminating against beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries of the social services programs on the basis of religion or religious belief.

Accordingly, organizations, in providing services supported in whole or in part with Federal financial assistance, and in their outreach activities related to such services, should not be allowed to discriminate against current or prospective program beneficiaries on the basis of religion, a religious belief, a refusal to hold a religious belief, or a refusal to actively participate in a religious practice;

- (e) The Federal Government must implement Federal programs in accordance with the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Therefore, organizations that engage in inherently religious activities, such as worship, religious instruction, and proselytization, must offer those services separately in time or location from any programs or services supported with direct Federal financial assistance, and participation in any such inherently religious activities must be voluntary for the beneficiaries of the social service program supported with such Federal financial assistance; and

- (f) Consistent with the Free Exercise Clause and the Free Speech Clause of the Constitution, faith-based organizations should be eligible to compete for Federal financial assistance used to support social service programs and to participate fully in the social service programs supported with Federal financial assistance without impairing their independence, autonomy, expression, or religious character. Accordingly, a faithbased organization that applies for or participates in a social service program supported with Federal financial assistance may retain its independence and may continue to carry out its mission, including the definition, development, practice, and expression of its religious beliefs, provided that it does not use direct Federal financial assistance to support any inherently religious activities, such as worship, religious instruction, or proselytization. Among other things, faith-based organizations that receive Federal financial assistance may use their facilities to provide social services supported with Federal financial assistance, without removing or altering religious art, icons, scriptures, or other symbols from these facilities. In addition, a faithbased organization that applies for or participates in a social service program supported

with Federal financial assistance may retain religious terms in its organization's name, select its board members on a religious basis, and include religious references in its organization's mission statements and other chartering or governing documents.

Sec. 3. Agency Implementation.

- (a) Specified agency heads shall, in coordination with the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (White House OFBCI), review and evaluate existing policies that have implications for faith-based and community organizations in order to assess the consistency of such policies with the fundamental principles and policymaking criteria articulated in section 2 of this order.
- (b) Specified agency heads shall ensure that all policies that have implications for faith-based and community organizations are consistent with the fundamental principles and policymaking criteria articulated in section 2 of this order. Therefore, specified agency heads shall, to the extent permitted by law:
 - (i) amend all such existing policies of their respective agencies to ensure that they are consistent with the fundamental principles and policymaking criteria articulated in section 2 of this order;
 - (ii) where appropriate, implement new policies for their respective agencies that are consistent with and necessary to further the fundamental principles and policymaking criteria set forth in section 2 of this order; and
 - (iii) implement new policies that are necessary to ensure that their respective agencies collect data regarding the participation of faith-based and community organizations in social service programs that receive Federal financial assistance.
- (c) Within 90 days after the date of this order, each specified agency head shall report to the President, through the Director of the White House OFBCI, the actions it proposes to undertake to accomplish the activities set forth in sections 3(a) and (b) of this order.

Sec. 4. Amendment of Executive Order 11246.

Pursuant to section 121(a) of title 40, United States Code, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in order to further the strong Federal interest in ensuring that the cost and progress of Federal procurement contracts are not adversely affected by an artificial restriction of the labor pool caused by the unwarranted exclusion of faith-based organizations from such contracts, section 204 of Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, as amended, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 204 (a) The Secretary of Labor may, when the Secretary deems that special circumstances in the national interest so require, exempt a contracting agency from the requirement of including any or all of the provisions of Section 202 of this Order in any specific contract, subcontract, or purchase order.

- (b) The Secretary of Labor may, by rule or regulation, exempt certain classes of contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders (1) whenever work is to be or has been performed outside the United States and no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved; (2) for standard commercial supplies or raw materials; (3) involving less than specified amounts of money or specified numbers of workers; or (4) to the extent that they involve subcontracts below a specified tier.
- (c) Section 202 of this Order shall not apply to a Government contractor or subcontractor that is a religious corporation, association, educational institution, or society, with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporation, association, educational institution, or society of its activities. Such contractors and subcontractors are not exempted or excused from complying with the other requirements contained in this Order.
- (d) The Secretary of Labor may also provide, by rule, regulation, or order, for the exemption of facilities of a contractor that are in all respects separate and distinct from activities of the contractor related to the performance of the contract: provided, that such an exemption will not interfere with or impede the effectuation of the purposes of this Order: and provided further, that in the absence of such an exemption all facilities shall be covered by the provisions of this Order."

Sec. 5. General Provisions.

- (a) This order supplements but does not supersede the requirements contained in Executive Orders 13198 and 13199 of January 29, 2001.
- (b) The agencies shall coordinate with the White House OFBCI concerning the implementation of this order.
- (c) Nothing in this order shall be construed to require an agency to take any action that would impair the conduct of foreign affairs or the national security.

Sec. 6. Responsibilities of Executive Departments and Agencies. All executive departments and agencies (agencies) shall:

- (a) designate an agency employee to serve as the liaison and point of contact with the White House OFBCI; and

- (b) cooperate with the White House OFBCI and provide such information, support, and assistance to the White House OFBCI as it may request, to the extent permitted by law.

Sec. 7. Judicial Review.

This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch, and it is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by a party against the United States, its agencies, or entities, its officers, employees or agents, or any person. GEORGE W.

BUSH

The White House,
December 12, 2002.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:09 p.m., December 13, 2002]

Note: This Executive order was published in the Federal Register on December 16.

Citation: George W. Bush: "Executive Order 13279 - Equal Protection of the Laws for Faith-Based and Community Organizations," December 12, 2002. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=61375>.

Dear _____:

I am writing to ask your permission to conduct research with members, staff, and donors of your organization “Building Hope in the City” for a study entitled “Developing a theoretical model for the emerging faith-based nonprofit organization”

This research is being conducted by Terri Lynne Johnson from Cleveland State University as part of her dissertation in Urban Communication.

The study will need to obtain approval by Cleveland State University’s Institutional Review Board and, as part of that approval process, I am required to obtain gatekeeper permission from sites where I recruit or test participants.

The aim and goal of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the communication and relationship processes that enable a nonprofit organization to develop and thrive.

The project will include in-depth interviews with staff, members, and volunteers; analysis of organizational documents; observations of staff and board meetings, tutoring and ESL sites, and seminars and other organizational events.

If you are willing to be involved would you please sign the form below that acknowledges that you have read the explanatory statement, you understand the nature of the study being conducted, and that you give permission for the research to be conducted.

I, _____, as Board Chair for Building Hope in the City, having been fully informed as to the nature of the research to be conducted in “Processes and Practices of the emerging, faith-based nonprofit organization” give my permission for the study to be conducted. I reserve the right to withdraw this permission at any time.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Dear Staff Member:

This email is inviting you to participate in a study entitled “Developing a theoretical model for the faith-based nonprofit organization”. This research is being conducted by Terri Lynne Johnson from Cleveland State University as part of her dissertation in Urban Communication.

The aim and goal of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the communication and relationship processes that enable a nonprofit organization to develop and thrive.

The project will include 60 to 90 minute in-depth interviews with staff, members, volunteers and donors; analysis of organizational documents.

If you are willing to be involved would you please reply to this email at _____ or you can contact me by phone (216) 337-0703. We can then set up a time and place for an interview that is most convenient for you.

Thank you,

Terri Lynne Johnson

Interview Guide

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Terri Johnson and I would like to talk to you about your experiences participating in Building Hope in the City (or other organization). The aim and goal of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the communication and relationship processes that enable a nonprofit organization to develop and thrive. The interview will be no longer than an hour and a half and I will be recording the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Also, because I am recording, please be sure to speak loudly and clearly so that I don't miss your comments. All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with research team members and we will ensure that any information included in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time. Are there any questions about what I have just explained? Are you willing to participate in this interview? If so, please sign both copies of this consent form, you may keep one for your records. Thank you.

Let's begin.

1. Tell me about how you first got involved with BH?
2. Describe for me a typical day for you here at BH?
3. What do you like about being involved here?
4. What do you think the organization does well?
5. What do you think they could do better?
6. What do you think is distinctive about this organization?
7. How would you describe the religious aspect of the organization?
8. Why do you think BH has sustained as an organization?
9. What do you know of the history of the organization?
10. How has the organization developed and changed?

11. Can you think of any particular crises that the organization has weathered?
Can you tell me about it?
12. What do you think motivates the organization to do what it does?
13. In your mind, what makes for a successful nonprofit?
14. In what ways does BH practice these? Can you provide an example?
15. Have you told others about BH? (if yes) Did they become connected with the organization in some way because of you telling them about it? How? (if no) Why not?
16. Are there other faith-based nonprofits in the Cleveland area that you would label as successful? (If yes, what makes them successful in your mind)

Administrative Level (all previous questions)

17. I can see **what** BH does, but can you elaborate a little on **why** it does what it does?
18. How do you stay focused on the **why**?
19. The organization continues to expand and develop outreach ministries. Can you describe how this happens?

Later interviews and other FBOs (previous questions using name of associated organization) More questions involving theoretical confirmation.

1. Do you ever experience tensions in the organization? Can you describe those?
2. Can you tell me about how you have developed and grown?
3. Has your identity changed over time? If so, how and why? If not, why not?

Informed Consent Statement

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is to understand the processes that contribute to the growth and development of faith-based nonprofit organizations and how this understanding might contribute to the development of a theoretical model. This research is being conducted by doctoral student, Terri Johnson and supervised by associate professor, Dr. Guowei Jian. Dr. Jian can be reached at _____.

Procedure

You are invited to take part in a research study of faith-based nonprofit organizations. This form is part of an “informed consent” process to allow you to understand this study before deciding whether to participate. Your participation in this study is voluntary. This means that your decision regarding participation will be respected and affirmed. Even after your participation in the study has begun you may change your decision at any time. If you feel stressed during the study you may stop at any time. You may choose to skip any question for any reason.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in an in-depth interview lasting a minimum of 60 minutes. This interview will be recorded and you will be asked questions about your experiences with _____. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability. You are not being judged in any way by your answers.

Risks and Benefits of Participation:

The risks from study participation are mainly those experiences that might be recalled that bring forth negative feelings. There are no immediate benefits for participating in this research study

Confidentiality:

Any information you provide will be kept confidential. The researcher will not use your information for any purposes outside of this research project. Also, the researcher will not include your name or anything else that could identify you. You may ask any questions you have by contacting the researcher via phone at _____ or email at _____. You will be asked to sign two copies of this form, one is for the researcher’s records and one is for your own records.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you can contact Cleveland State University's Review Board at (216) 687-3630

Statement of Consent:

I am over 18 years of age, have read the above information and I feel I understand the study well enough to make a decision about my involvement. By signing below, I am agreeing to the terms described above.

Thank you.

Your Name

Today's date

Your Signature

Appendix H

Dear Building Hope in the City Partner:

This email is inviting you to participate in a study entitled “Developing a theoretical model for the faith-based nonprofit organization”. This research is being conducted by Terri Lynne Johnson from Cleveland State University as part of her dissertation in Urban Communication.

The aim and goal of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the communication and relationship processes that enable a nonprofit organization to develop and thrive. You will not be asked about your financial giving or other personal information and you will be assured of confidentiality and anonymity. The project will include 60 to 90 minute in-depth interviews.

If you are willing to be involved would you please reply to this email at _____ or you can contact me by phone _____. We can then set up a time and place for an interview that is most convenient for you.

Audit Trail

October, 2013: Proposal approved

December, 2013: Received IRB approval

December, 2013: Participant Observation: Advent Tea

December, 2013: Observation: Christmas Store

January, 2014: Sent email to staff

January and February, 2014: Conducted staff interviews

February, 2014: Observation: Tutoring

March, 2014: Collected board minutes, marketing materials, newsletters, feasibility study

March, 2014: Data Analysis and writing

March, 2014: Attended Board and Staff meetings

April, 2014: Conducted second interviews with Founders

April, 2014: Conducted interviews with volunteers and board members

April 24, 2014: Virtus Training

April 26, 2014: Participant observation: Poverty Class

May, 2014: Observation: CityServe

June 25, 2014: Participant Observation: CityHope 101

July and August, 2014: Data Analysis and writing

October, 2014: Email to Executive Directors/Phase Two

January, 2015: Interview with Eastside Mission*

March, 2015: Interviews with Southside CDC* and Northside Catholic*

April, 2015: Data Analysis and writing

May, 2015: Member Check

June, 2015: Writing

Dear _____,

I am nearing the end of writing my dissertation. I am writing to you for a couple of reasons. First, I wanted to thank you for your help and insight into this dissertation. Secondly, as part of a qualitative research project it is suggested that I get feedback from those who were primary informants. What I would like to know is 1) To the best of your knowledge, did I quote you correctly? 2) Do my findings resonate with your experiences? How so? If not, how so? 3) Do you have any objections with what I chose to include from your interview in this research? I did use a pseudonym for you--

I am still working on various sections of this paper (primarily the discussion) but the findings section will probably change very little. This is a very long paper and although you are welcome to read it in its entirety, the findings section is what I would most like for you to look over pages _____

I would appreciate a response from you no later than _____

Thanks,

Terri

Dear _____:

This email is inviting you to participate in a study entitled “Developing a theoretical model for the faith-based nonprofit organization”. This research is being conducted by Terri Lynne Johnson from Cleveland State University as part of her dissertation in Urban Communication.

The aim and goal of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the communication and relationship processes that enable a nonprofit organization to develop and thrive. You will not be asked about your financial giving or other personal information and you will be assured of confidentiality and anonymity. The project will include 60 to 90 minute in-depth interviews.

If you are willing to be involved would you please reply to this email at _____ or you can contact me by phone _____. We can then set up a time and place for an interview that is most convenient for you.

Thank you,

Terri L. Johnson