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Does Faith Matter? A Comparison of Faith-Based and Secular International Nongovernmental Organizations Engaged in Humanitarian Assistance

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DOES FAITH MATTER? A COMPARISON OF RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR
INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED IN
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

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ABSTRACT

Over the past three decades, there has been a significant increase in international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) participating in humanitarian assistance, and thus, an increase in the study of these organizations. In part because of former President George W. Bush's faith-based initiative, interest in a particular subset of INGOs – religious INGOs (ROs) – has been on the rise. Among the gaps in this literature is a quantitative approach to understanding the types of activities and funding opportunities INGOs pursue based on whether they are religious and what makes an organization religious. To address these omissions, this dissertation examines the religious nature of an organization as both a dichotomous (i.e., religious, secular) and as a multinomial variable and compares these groups of INGOs based on the focus, orientation, and objective of their activities and the amount of government funding they receive.

Based on a sample of 428 INGOs, this study finds that results-oriented operational INGOs were more likely to be religious and that organizations with development objectives and foci on advocacy were more likely to be secular. Additionally, INGOs that received government funding were no more likely to belong to either group.

An analysis using variables identified in past studies as measures of organizational religiosity resulted in two distinct groups of ROs: *Faith-Integrated* and *Faith-Segmented.* When these two groups were compared to each other and the group of secular INGOs, activity differences were again found, and this time, a difference in government funding was also found. Specifically, results-oriented operational INGOs

were more likely to be Faith-Integrated, advocacy and operations oriented INGOs were more likely to be Faith-Segmented, and advocacy-oriented organizations were more likely to be secular. Finally, organizations with no government funding were more likely to be Faith-Integrated.

This study has significance for policy makers and INGOs alike. The growing presence of INGOs, and ROs in particular, with and without federal money, means that policy makers and those in the field will likely have professional contact with these organizations and form relations with them. Moreover, with the advent of the Sector/Cluster approach to humanitarian response, lead agencies are accountable to the humanitarian community for facilitating processes at the sectoral level. Part of this responsibility includes being inclusive of key humanitarian partners and establishing appropriate coordination mechanisms. Being familiar with the activities of INGOs and knowing whether there are certain categories of INGOs that are more likely to participate in certain activities and to utilize certain approaches to humanitarian response could prove useful in accomplishing these tasks.

Finally, this study has implications for ROs in particular. In an ever more competitive and results-oriented aid environment, ROs are being increasingly asked to define what distinctive value they can offer, and to be aware of associated risks. Many are also keen to ensure that their religious identity is consistently and coherently applied across the organization, particularly decentralized organizations working in many countries with numerous field offices. This study may be useful to ROs as they seek to address these concerns.

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LIST OF ANACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAA – Alliance for African Assistance
AJC – American Jewish Committee
CATPCA – Categorical Principal Components Analysis
CFBCI – Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives
CHE – Complex Humanitarian Emergency
CRS – Catholic Relief Services
CWS – Church World Service
DAC – Development Assistance Committee
DFA – Discriminant Function Analysis
DOS – Department of State
ECOSOC – United Nations Economic and Social Council
FAO – Food and Agricultural Organization
GAO – Government Accounting Office
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
IASC – Interagency Standing Committee
ICRC – International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC – International Federation of the Red Cross
IGO – International Governmental Organization
INGO – International Nongovernmental Organization
IRO – International Refugee Organization
IOM – International Organization for Migration
LWR – Lutheran World Relief
MCC – Millennium Challenge Corporation
NAE – National Association of Evangelicals
NCC – National Council of Churches of Christ
NCCB – National Council of Catholic Bishops
NGO – Nongovernmental Organization
NPA – New Policy Agenda
OCHA – Organization for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ODA – Official Development Assistance
OECD – Organization for Economic and Co-Operation and Development
OFBCI – Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives
PEPFAR – President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PVO – Private Voluntary Organization
RO – Religious International Nongovernmental Organizations
UNDP – United Nations Development Program
UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund
UNRRA – United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Agency
UNRWA – United Nations Relief and Works Agency
USAID – United States Agency for International Development

WFP – World Food Program
WHO – World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

Historically, crises have followed a similar pattern: a population made vulnerable is exposed to a new threat too great to withstand, and a struggle to survive follows. Yet, in recent history, a new element has been added – *humanitarian assistance*, which involves intervention from across the globe to help ease the suffering and possibly even to help in the rebuilding of lives and communities.

Humanitarian assistance is a term used generically to describe the aid and action designed to save lives, alleviate suffering, and maintain and protect human dignity during and in the aftermath of emergencies. Weiss and Collins (1996) defined humanitarian assistance as the range of activities designed to reduce human suffering, especially when local authorities are unable or unwilling to do so (p. 219). Relevant activities can include the provision of food, shelter, clothing, and medication through organized facilities; evacuating the innocent and vulnerable from conflict or emergency zones; and restoring and maintaining basic amenities (e.g., water, sewage, power supplies; Demurenko & Nikitin, 1997). Humanitarian assistance also encompasses long-term efforts that address issues such as governance, social services, education, and health (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2001).

Many credit the development of a system of humanitarian assistance to Eleanor Roosevelt for the role she played in initiating the instruments that would later become

integral to its growth, namely, the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the rise of citizen action to both provide services and effect policy change.[1]

Also credited with initiating the humanitarian system – especially the role of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) within the system – is Jean Henri Dunant. Dunant, a Swiss businessman, experienced firsthand the aftermath of war while in Solferino, Italy, in 1859. Dunant organized groups of women to help the large number of wounded and dying soldiers who had been left on the battlefield. As a result of his experience in Solferino, Dunant founded the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1863.

ICRC's distinctive history and unique international standing differentiate the organization from other *truly* nongovernmental international organization, the first of which did not come into being until 60 years later, in 1919. Driven by the belief that all children have the right to a healthy, happy, fulfilling life, Eglantyne Jebb and colleagues established the Save the Children Fund to raise money to send relief to children behind the blockades set up against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The year 1919 also marked the first time the Catholic Church supported a nondenominational cause. Pope Benedict XV responded to a request for support from Jebb by issuing a letter asking Catholic churches across the globe to collect for Save the Children.

By 1943, the Catholic Church had founded its own INGO – Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Indeed, growth in INGOs such as CRS accelerated around this time in response to the World Wars. Organizations such as CARE International, Christian Aid,

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[1] For more information on Eleanor Roosevelt's role in the development of the humanitarian system, see Jason Berger's *A New Deal for the World* (1981) and Allida Black's *Courage in a Dangerous World* (1999).

and Church World Service (CWS) all formed during the interwar period and grew rapidly in the years that followed.

The activities of these early organizations included advocacy and lobbying as well as relief aid. An example provided by Ferris (2005) involved the American Jewish Committee (AJC), which in 1911, lobbied the U.S. government regarding the treatment of U.S. Jews applying for Russian visas. This action forced Congress to overturn an 80-year-old treaty regulating U.S. commercial ties to Russia. Marrus (1985) credits such organizations as AJC for keeping thousands of refugees alive and forcing domestic and international action during the period immediately following the end of World War I.

INGOs have also been credited for the role they have played in the development of international governmental organizations (IGOs). INGOs advocated for the creation of the League of Nations High Commission for Refugees in 1921 and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. They were also instrumental in ensuring the inclusion of human rights references in the U.N. Charter; indeed, organizations such as the Federal Council of Churches (now the National Council of Churches of Christ [NCC]) were instrumental in drafting text for the U.N. Charter and passing it on to U.S. representatives on the drafting committee (Ferris, 2005).

From 1943 to 1947, more than 60 INGOs participated in the operations of the U.N. Relief and Reconstruction Agency (UNRRA). When UNRRA ceased operations, there were still 2 million refugees. INGOs played a key role in lobbying for the formation of the International Refugee Organization (IRO), and when it ended in 1949, in pushing for a replacement. These efforts were part of a broader movement on the part of INGOs to

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influence the development of international law and the United Nations in the immediate postwar period.

The important role of INGOs in humanitarian assistance was recognized by the U.N. General Assembly when it adopted the statute establishing a more permanent U.N. refugee body to replace the IRO – the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The General assembly called on the High Commissioner to establish contact with private organizations[2] dealing with refugee questions and to help coordinate the efforts of those organizations. UNHCR was established with a mandate to provide legal protection to and serve as spokesperson for refugees; its mandate did not allow, however, for the provision of direct assistance. Thus, UNHCR needed INGOs to accomplish its mission. The Ford Foundation helped to strengthen this relationship when in 1952 it gave $3 million to private organizations but required that UNHCR administer the funds.

The early 1960s through the early 1980s saw continued growth in both the size and range of activities provided by INGOs; however, IGOs were growing at an even faster rate. The role of UNHCR expanded during this time, particularly as a result of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which removed the geographic restrictions found in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. In the mid-1960s, UNHCR's NGO partners numbered less than 20, of which half were large INGOs (UNHCR, 2007).

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[2] Many different terms are used to describe nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), including *private organizations*, *private voluntary organizations*, and *nonprofits*. For the purposes of this dissertation, the term *NGO* is used to refer to organization working domestically as well as those in the international arena. The term *INGO* is used when referring specifically to NGOs that work internationally.

U.N. support of INGOs since that time has grown rapidly and has included funding for implementation of U.N. projects, attendance at U.N. conferences, trainings and capacity building programs, and support for INGO networking. By the late 1990s, U.N. agencies were spending more than $2 billion a year on INGO programs (Reimann, 2006). A substantial amount of the new funding for INGOs went to service, or operational, INGOs that worked as subcontractors for U.N. projects. In terms of quantity, the largest amount of U.N. direct support for INGOs has been in the area of humanitarian relief and assistance. In particular, the World Food Program (WFP), with its links to over 1,100 NGOs and an operating budget of $1.8 billion in the late 1990s, was a major multilateral source of growth in INGOs specializing in humanitarian crises.

Over the past 20 years, INGOs have also begun to be viewed by several U.N. agencies as development partners. At the World Bank, for example, efforts were made to include INGO in projects it financed. Indeed, the Bank claimed that INGOs participation in its projects increased from 6% of all projects between 1973 and 1988 to 30% of all projects in the early 1990s to 50% of all projects in the late 1990s (World Bank, 1996, 2001). These programs have benefited not only service-oriented, or operational, INGOs but also INGOs actively engaged in advocacy work.

In addition to programs at the more established U.N. agencies, new agencies and new jointly-run U.N. programs were set up in the 1990s that included collaboration with INGOs. Examples of such initiatives include the U.N. International Drug Control Program, the Popular Coalition to Eradicate Hunger and Poverty, the U.N. Joint Program on HIV/AIDS, and the Partnership for Poverty Reduction.

In sum, the international humanitarian assistance system from the 1920s until the early 1990s consisted of three primary components: (a) the establishment of international institutions (e.g., UNRRA, UNHCR), (b) the introduction of international legal instruments (e.g., the Geneva Convention, the Protocol to that Convention, the Organization of African Unity Refugee Convention), and (c) the development of international norms (e.g., the right to leave one's own country, the principle on nonrefoulement; Crisp, 2003).

PROVIDERS OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

The focus of this dissertation is on INGOs, but in order fully to understand their role within the realm of humanitarian assistance, it is important to place them within the context of other key actors. Broadly speaking, members of what Slim (2007) calls the *formal* international humanitarian system include donor governments, U.N. agencies, the Red Cross Movement, and INGOs.

Donor Governments

Most international humanitarian assistance funding flows from donor governments of Western countries. The overwhelming majority of the government funding comes from members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC).[3] Official Development Assistance (ODA) from DAC countries totaled $119.6 billion in 2009, a .7% increase in real terms over 2008. The OECD said that despite various shortfalls against commitments, ODA increased by nearly 30% in real terms

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[3] Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the European Commission, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

between 2004 and 2009, and is expected to rise by about 36% in real terms between 2004 and 2010.

The United States. The U.S. government in particular is a major contributor in the realm of humanitarian assistance. In absolute terms, the United States is the largest donor country. When ODA is measured as a percentage of gross national income, however, the Unites States traditionally places last among DAC countries (in 2008, the United States shared last place with Japan; Hudson Institute, 2010).

Amount of aid. Determining the amount of foreign assistance provided by the United States is no easy task, as approximately 50 U.S. government organizations are involved in overseas assistance (Kerlin, 2006). According to foreignassistance.gov,[4] the U.S. government spent more than $58 billion on foreign assistance in fiscal year 2010. To date, the website includes data only from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Department of State (DOS), which together managed $37 billion of total foreign assistance expenditures in 2010 (the remaining $19 billion was managed by 18 other federal entities, such as the Center for Disease Control and the Department of Defense). Figure 1 shows how these funds were spent based on a broad set of categories. By far, the largest sum went to peace and security efforts, with the majority of those funds going toward stabilization and security sector reforms in Israel, Egypt, and Iraq. The majority of the funds within the second largest sector, health, went to HIV/AIDS-related efforts within the Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator (the organization responsible for administering the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

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[4] The website foreignassistance.gov was launched in December 2010 as part of President Obama's Open Government Initiative, which seeks to bring transparency and accountability to the federal government.

[PEPFAR]). Funds to the third largest sector, humanitarian assistance (defined as activities related to protection, assistance, and solutions; disaster readiness; and migration management), went primarily to the USAID and DOS bureaus responsible for responding to crises and protecting and assisting the most vulnerable populations around the world (i.e., refugees, conflict victims, stateless persons, and vulnerable migrants).

Foreign assistance is provided, however, by a much larger group of donors within the United States than just the government. According to the Hudson Institute (2010), in 2008 (the most recent year for which data was available) U.S. outflows to developing countries totaled $160.9 billion. Of that, $26.8 billion came from federal assistance, $96.8 billion from remittances, and $37.3 billion from private philanthropy (e.g. foundations, corporations, private voluntary organizations [PVOs][5], religious organizations). Within the private philanthropy category, INGOs accounted for the largest portion of funds going overseas at $11.8 billion.

Forms of aid. There are five major categories of foreign assistance provided by the U.S. government: bilateral development aid, economic assistance supporting U.S. political and security goals, humanitarian aid, multilateral economic contributions, and military aid. Largely because of the recent implementation of two new foreign aid initiatives — the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and the Global AIDS Initiative — bilateral development assistance has become the largest category of U.S. aid. Figure 2 highlights the percentage of overall foreign aid funds distributed by category.

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[5] PVO is the term used by USAID to describe its registered partners. The term is synonymous with INGO. To qualify as a PVO, an organization must meet the following criteria: (a) U.S.-based, (b) private, (c) voluntary, and (d) conducts program activities overseas.

USAID manages the bulk of bilateral economic assistance, the Treasury Department handles most multilateral aid, and the Department of Defense and DOS administer military and other security-related programs. MCC was created in 2004 by the House International Relations and Senate Foreign Relations committees. These committees provide program authorization, and the House and Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations subcommittees manage bills appropriating most foreign assistance funds.

Role of humanitarian assistance in foreign policy. Although USAID and DOS spending on foreign assistance makes up only about 1% of the federal budget and .2% of gross domestic product, foreign assistance is increasingly being viewed as an essential instrument of U.S. foreign policy. In 2008, the United States provided foreign assistance to about 154 countries. Assistance, although provided to many nations, is concentrated heavily in certain countries, which reflects the priorities and interests of United States foreign policy at the time. In 1998, the large majority of foreign assistance went to Israel and Egypt, with Bosnia coming in at a distant third followed by Ukraine and Russia. In 2008, Israel still held the number one position – though the country did receive less funding than in 1998 – but Afghanistan overtook Egypt, which was followed by Jordan, Pakistan, and Iraq.

The impact of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, and the subsequent use of foreign aid to support other nations threatened by terrorism or helping the U.S. combat the global threat was clearly seen in the country aid allocations for 2008. Additionally, four African countries (Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, and Sudan) made the top 15 recipient

countries list in 2008 compared to only one (Ethiopia) in 1998. This is, in part, a reflection of the new emphasis on HIV/AIDS programs.

Federal funding of NGOs. In addition to humanitarian assistance playing an increasing role in U.S. policy, so too, have NGOs played an increasing role, in part as a result of policy changes at the federal level. Rooted in the post-Cold War era, the new policy directions have often been referred to comprehensively as the *New Policy Agenda* (NPA). Underlying the NPA were two core beliefs: (a) economic markets and private sector institutions are more efficient mechanisms for achieving economic growth, producing goods, and providing services; and (b) democratic governance is essential for a healthy economy (Edwards & Hulme, 1996).

Within this new agenda, NGOs held a prominent role in poverty alleviation, social welfare, and the development of civil society at home and abroad (Robinson, 1993). Indeed, USAID, which is responsible for the distribution of much of the government's foreign aid, has increasingly relied upon INGOs to provide assistance in all areas of its work. According to a U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) report, more than half of USAID's funding obligations were to INGOs (Melito & Michels, 2002). Whereas in 2000, the portion of USAID funding devoted to INGO-implemented programs totaled about $1 billion, in 2007, it was $2.7 billion. Government agencies and IGOs[6] provided INGOs with an additional $3.9 billion, which brought the total private and public support and revenue for registered U.S. INGOs to $6.6 billion (USAID, 2010).

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[6] For example, between 1994 and 2006, UNHCR funneled $5.4 billion through it is implementing partners, almost half (43.4%) of which went to INGOs (UNHCR, 2007).

Also resulting from the NPA were changes in the way the government disbursed and managed funds. Most U.S. assistance is provided in the form of a grant. Grants to countries can be in the form of cash, commodities, equipment, infrastructure development, training, and expertise. Grants are also made to U.S.-based as well as indigenous organizations to carry out humanitarian and development projects. Indeed, most development and humanitarian assistance activities are not directly implemented by U.S. government personnel but by private sector entities.

U.N. Agencies

U.N. agencies receive the largest share of government contributions for specific emergency response efforts (up to 85% of governmental aid when including contributions to the Central Emergency Response Fund and the Common Humanitarian Funds, which flow through U.N. agencies). However, since 2006, U.N. agencies have increasingly subgranted funds to INGOs and NGOs through pooled funding mechanisms. Additionally, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – independent, specialized agencies of the United Nations – also play a role in humanitarian assistance by providing financial assistance, usually in the form of loans and grants. They, too, frequently subcontract with INGOs.

Nine key U.N. agencies and offices, plus the International Organization for Migration (IOM), are engaged in humanitarian response: Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), U.N. Development Program (UNDP), U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA), UNHCR, U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), WFP, World Health Organization (WHO), and Office for the Coordination of

Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Together, these agencies make up the Inter-Agency

Standing Committee (IASC).

In 2005, in response to concerns about recent humanitarian crises[7], OCHA

commissioned a review of humanitarian response to emergencies. The review assessed

the capacities of the United Nations, INGOs, ICRC, and the IOM and concluded that a

cluster approach was needed to address gaps and strengthen the effectiveness of

humanitarian response. The IASC was designated to lead each of the 11 clusters (for

more detail on the cluster approach, see the Appendix). Indeed, most U.N. agencies

undertake humanitarian programming on a broad scale (often country-wide or region-

wide) and typically adopt coordinating as opposed to project implementation roles in the

field, although they do both in some contexts.

Red Cross Movement

Another critical player in the field of humanitarian assistance is the Red Cross

Movement. This unique category of humanitarian agencies is comprised of (a) the ICRC,

(b) the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), and (c) the 186 national

societies themselves. The ICRC is an independent, neutral organization ensuring

humanitarian protection and assistance for victims of war and other situations of violence.

The ICRC has a permanent mandate under international law to take impartial action for

prisoners, the wounded and sick, and civilians affected by conflict. Headquartered in

Geneva, Switzerland, the ICRC is based in 80 countries and has a total of more than

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[7] For more information, see D. Rieff's *A Bed for the Night* (2002) and C. Calhoun's "A World of Emergencies: Fear, Intervention, and the Limits of Cosmopolitan Order," in *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology.*

12,000 staff. In situations of conflict, the ICRC coordinates the response by national societies and the Federation.

The Federation's role is to carry out relief operations to assist victims of disasters, and combines this with development work to strengthen the capacities of its member national societies. IFRC's work focuses on four core areas: promoting humanitarian values, disaster response, disaster preparedness, and health and community care. IFRC is considered to be the world's largest humanitarian organization.[8]

In 1994, ICRC and IFRC, developed the "Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Nongovernmental Organizations in Disaster Relief " (Code of Conduct) in response to the addition of a host of new INGOs that suddenly came into existence and whose field operations were questionable, vague, or lacking in ethical standards. Amid such confusion, the Code of Conduct sought to establish common standards for disaster relief by devising a set of generally agreed upon principles that all involved in humanitarian assistance would be expected to follow. These procedures are enshrined in the Geneva Conventions (Global Development Research Center, n.d.).[9]

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[8] Information regarding ICRC and IFRC was obtained from the organizations' websites, http://www.icrc.org and http://www.ifrc.org, respectively.

[9] The Code of Conduct consists of three primary principles: (a) *humanity*, which requires that human suffering be addressed wherever it is found, with particular attention to the most vulnerable in the population; (b) *neutrality*, which holds that humanitarian assistance must be provided without engaging in hostilities or taking sides in controversies of a political, religious, or ideological nature; and (c) *impartiality,* which states that humanitarian assistance must be provided without discriminating as to ethnic origin, gender, nationality, political opinions, race, or religion.

NGOs/INGOs

Definition. The largest (in terms of sheer volume) and most diverse sector in the formal international humanitarian system is NGOs. The World Bank defines NGOs as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development" (Operational Directive 14.70). The United Nations defines these organizations as "not for profit, voluntary citizens' groups which are organized on a local, national, or international level to address issues in support of the public good" (U.N. Department of Public Information, n.d.). The term *international NGO* was first defined in 1950 in Resolution 288B (X) of the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as "any international organization that is not founded by an international treaty." The vital role of INGOs and other major groups in sustainable development was later recognized in Chapter 27 of Agenda 21 (1993), which led to arrangements for a consultative relationship between the United Nations and INGOs.

Size. Statistics regarding the number of INGOs worldwide are incomplete, but an oft-cited estimate attributable to Anheier, Glasius, and Kaider (2001) is that in 2000, there were approximately 40,000. The rapid proliferation of INGOs is seen in earlier estimates by *The Economist* (1999); in 1990, there were 6,000, and in 1996, there were 26,000. Another example of their growth is seen in the number of INGOs holding consultative status with the United Nations: whereas today 3,005 INGOs hold this status, in 1946, only 41 INGOs did (ECOSOC, n.d.).

Moreover, the *Economist* (2000) estimated that NGOs disburse more money than does the World Bank. Additionally, Harvey, Stoddard, Harmer, and Taylor (2010) estimated that on average, the humanitarian fieldworker population has increased by approximately 6% per year over the past 10 years.

Harvey et al. (2010) also found that INGOs programmed large portions of the international humanitarian system's expenditure and accounted for the majority of humanitarian staff in the field. Indeed, according to the report, the six largest INGO federations/organizations (CARE, CRS, Medicins Sans Frontieres, Oxfam, Save the Children, and World Vision International) had an estimated combined overseas operating expenditures in excess of $4 billion.

ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF INGOS

There exists within this sector a continuum of organization types, with a range of sizes, philosophies, and activities. Additionally, the form INGO efforts take varies with the mandate of the organization and the operational environment, and many INGOs provide more than one type of service, particularly as the complexity of need drives aid expansion. In general, however, lines tend to be drawn between the operational and advocacy functions of INGOs. Within the subset of INGOs that focus on operations, their work is usually described as being *relief-* or *development-focused* and *process-* or *results-oriented*.

Operations and Advocacy

The World Bank classifies INGOs as being focused on either advocacy (i.e., primarily concerned with promoting a cause) or operations (i.e., primarily concerned with administering projects and programs).

Advocacy INGOs. Advocacy INGOs attempt to provide a voice and often protection (Willetts, 2006) and typically focus on policies and institutions at the regional, national, and international levels. Robertson (2000) described these INGOs as essentially political organizations that seek to influence decisions taken by governments and IGOs. Put another way, "they see themselves as making good some of the democratic deficit that has arisen out of globalization pressures" (as cited in Johnson & Turner, 2003, p. 61). Indeed, Bird and Rowland (2003; cited by Teegen et al., 2004) argued that advocacy INGOs play a critical role in providing logical norms which can influence and guide the decision-making process when there are conflicts between "market-driven economic efficiency and ethically-bound social efficiency consideration" (p. 467).

Advocacy organizations vary in their focus (e.g., hunger, environmental protection), and the tactics they employ (i.e., lobbying Congress, participating in U.N. committee meetings, influencing the general public through media reports), but the basic theory underlying their actions is the same: local inertia is sustained by structures that centralize control of resources, keep essential services from reaching the poor, and maintain systems of corruption and exploitation. Thus, creating the necessary changes often depends on working simultaneously to build the capacity of the people to make

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demands on the system and working to build alliances with enlightened power holders in support of action that makes the system more responsive to the people (Korten, 1990).

In presenting a framework for understanding and analyzing the various roles and functions of INGOs in terms of the strategies they employ (for an overview, see Table 1), Korten (1990) described advocacy INGOs as making use of what he refers to as *third-generation strategies.* Organizations employing these strategies, according to Korten (1990), find themselves working in a "catalytic, foundation-like role," as opposed to that of an operation service provider.

Operational INGOs. Operational INGOs generally work with and for a variety of international and governmental institutions to deliver services. Willetts (2006), in an article produced for the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems,* described operational INGOs as having to mobilize resources in the form of financial donations, materials, and volunteer labor in order to sustain their projects and programs. Given the complex nature of such endeavors, these INGOs usually possess a headquarters, bureaucracy, and field staff. Examples of the activities of operational INGOs include humanitarian aid, education, and health care.

Relief and Development

Whereas advocacy INGOs attempt to achieve large-scale change indirectly through influencing the political system, the focus of operational INGOs tends to be on achieving small-scale change directly through projects (Willetts, 2006). The focus of these operations-oriented INGOs can be on relief, development, or both.

Relief and development activities are generally thought of as occurring at different stages in a humanitarian crisis (see Table 2). Early on, the focus is usually on meeting basic needs. Korten (1990) described these initial efforts as *first-generation strategies*, which focus on the direct delivery of aid, usually in response to manmade and natural emergencies though they can also be directed toward meeting the needs of the poor. Relief-focused activities can include the provision of food, shelter, and health care at the early stages of humanitarian interventions.

As time goes on, the focus switches to development, or *second-generation,* strategies, which involve rebuilding or repairing structures and systems for lasting change. Recovery and reconstruction activities, which tend to focus on more long-term and durable solutions, are often considered to fall under the development heading. Such activities may include infrastructure development, economic development, and agricultural development.

Relief and development activities (or first- and second-generation strategies) have frequently been described as standing in opposition to each other (Eade, 1995; Myrdal, 1981; Pedersen, 2001). First-generation strategies, with their focus on the physical provision of goods and services, have been criticized for fostering dependency. This dependency of recipients on donors creates long-term structural constraints to development and weakens individual and community autonomy. On the other hand, evidence suggests that development approaches seeking to promote self-reliance often bypass the poorest and instead favor stronger, better educated groups who have some asset base on which to build (Buckland, 1998).

Although not perfect, the promise of development-focused activities has led to a shift in U.S. foreign aid funding patterns. Funding rose steadily from a 38% share of foreign aid in 1990 to nearly 48% by 1995. If Iraq funding were excluded, in 2004, the proportion of development aid jumped to 47%, rather than the deep decline to 25% if Iraq is included. This share has since continued to increase, such that it reached 55% in 2008.

Though the term *generation*, as used by Korten (1990), seems to imply one-way progression in the work of INGOs, that is not the case, as there are arguments in favor of and conditions conducive to each of these strategies. Indeed, although third-generation strategies (i.e., INGO as catalyst) can be seen within the current environment in which INGOs operate as a way to move between programmatic opportunities and attempting to address structural issues, it is not necessarily a sure-fired solution to current conditions. These types of efforts have inherent risk factors, such as losing the local and the tangible; in other words, being accused of talk without action. As INGOs undertake activities at increasing distance from "the problem,'' there is a real possibility that they will advocate for solutions that are not those sought by more locally based NGOs and community organizations. Finally, as Harper (2001) illustrated, advocacy work can be complex, and a successful advocacy campaign does not necessarily translate into furthering a progressive agenda. As highlighted by scholars and practitioners from differing schools of thought on the various strategies and tactics employed by INGOs, although achievements are being made in the areas of prevention and early warning, there will always be the need for live-saving actions such as food and water aid in response to disasters.

Process and Results Orientations

Operational INGOs can also be conceptualized as taking either a process- or results-oriented approach to providing humanitarian assistance. According to Buckland (1998), the process-oriented, or facilitation, model minimizes the role of the external agent – whether national or expatriate – accenting community mobilization to overcome local development constraints (1998). In contrast, the results-oriented, or assistance, model builds partnership between the community and the development agent or agency, to overcome local, national, and international development constraints. Stated simply, results-oriented activities are equated with *giving a man a fish* and process-oriented activities with *teaching a man to fish*.

Both models involve a welfare element, although at first blush this element is greater in the results-oriented model. On the welfare-development continuum, the process-oriented model reaches farthest towards development, or *self-reliance*, purism, and the assistance model falls between this and a pure welfare approach (Buckland, 1998). Table 3 highlights some of the differences between the two models. The process-oriented model has been acclaimed by some academics (Chambers, 1983; Ewert, Clark, & Eberts, 1994; Korten, 1990) as well as by prominent development agencies. Others have argued that this approach is grounded more in ideology, and less in practice, thus suggesting a role for external assistance (Esman & Uphoff, 1983; Johnston & Clark, 1982; Krishna, Uphoff, & Esman, 1997).

Increasingly, INGOs, particularly the larger among them, employ more than one type of activity. Indeed, INGOs can pursue multiple strategies, depending on such factors

as the political, economic, and social situation of a country; the receptiveness of the target population towards outside aid; the nature of the emergency; and the amount of available resources.

INGO COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES

Because INGOs vary according to their expertise, mandate, size, activities, and quality of work, it is difficult to make generalizations about their strengths. Traditionally, characteristics of INGOs that have been thought of as advantageous fall into two broad categories: operational characteristics and independence.

Operational Characteristics

The World Bank has suggested that INGOs have superior field-based development expertise, a greater ability to adapt and innovate, more participatory methodologies and tools, and longer-term commitment than their governmental counterparts (World Bank, 2001). Additionally, INGOs have been praised for their ability to operate in politically sensitive situations, to conduct programs faster and more efficiently than contractors or government employees, and to work with governments and communities with which they have established relationships (USAID, 2002). Moreover, qualitative research supports that INGOs are able to circumvent government bureaucracy to deliver aid directly to those in need (Tyndale, 2006; U.S. Institute for Peace, 2003), which is a particularly strong asset when working in countries with high levels of corruption (Nancy & Yontcheva, 2006).

Indeed, the local partnerships and on-the-ground connections that have at times enabled INGOs to reach the neediest and to avoid problems with local governments have

long been considered strengths of INGOs. INGOs have helped create and scale up local

NGOs, provided training for these organizations, and connected them to global networks

and funding sources. Although many INGOs have long-term commitments to countries

where they work, a recognition that indigenous NGOs will be in a country long after the

INGO leaves has led some Northern INGOs to increasingly work through local

organizations. INGOs thus act as intermediaries between indigenous NGOs and donor

governments. This puts INGOs in the position of having to promote local NGOs to donor

countries but also stress the inabilities of local NGOs to carry out all the required tasks

that thus necessitate INGOs serving as intermediaries. However, many view capacity-

building activities as an important component in ensuring community well-being once the

INGOs depart. Indeed, many think tanks, advocacy groups, and governments are calling

for an increased focus on building local capacity as the best way to address root causes of

poverty and conflict (e.g., Ian, 2001; Jayawickrama & McCullagh, 2009; Sanyal, 2006).

Independence

The role of INGOs as countervailing power to the state has been recognized as

critical to effective democracy and good governance (Lewis, 2001). Accomplishing this

role requires a strong degree of independence, which is thought to enable effective

monitoring of the state as well as the ability to voice member and beneficiary concerns

(Edwards & Hulme, 1995). Moreover, globalization and the rise of *complex*

humanitarian emergencies[10] (CHEs) have created new challenges and opportunities for

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[10] CHEs are multidimensional man-made political and politicized phenomena that are not only accompanied by wars but also by other forms of human suffering such as forced migration, hunger, and disease (Klugman, 1999).

INGOs in this regard (Duffield, 2001; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Mitlin, Hickey, & Bebbington, 2007).

Advocacy. INGOs have increasingly recognized that in the face of the powerful forces of globalization and CHEs, local level project interventions cannot constitute alternatives of any significance or durability: Some INGOs have thus sought to promote changes to policy and wider norms in an effort to create viable alternatives. This change in focus can be seen in the increased weight given to national, transnational, and issue-based advocacy.

One area in which INGO advocacy has been on the rise and showing promising results is in protection. INGOs traditionally left protection activities to specifically mandated organizations (e.g., UNHCR and ICRC); however, these agencies are increasingly absent or overextended which has resulted in gaps in the protection regime. Recent experiences with internal strife in Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Angola, the Great Lakes, and several other regions have further brought about concerns that assistance is being used to prolong crises. Ignatieff (2002) expressed concern than humanitarian space is shrinking and that providing protection is becoming increasingly difficult in the face of such challenges.

INGOs continue to seek ways to provide aid and to encourage donor governments to address root causes. They do this by drawing attention to unmet protection needs in specific situations and in identifying global trends; providing assistance to people who would otherwise find themselves facing protection problems (e.g., the Middle East Council of Churches in Lebanon regularly sends people to visit detainees and migrants to

remind prison officials that there are organizations that are observing the treatment of detained migrants and refugees); raising awareness through public education campaigns; providing advocacy (e.g., launching campaigns around specific legislative issues); and addressing the fundamental causes which uproot people through activities such as conflict resolution. The recent honoring of INGOs such as Amnesty International and Doctors Without Borders with Nobel Peace Prizes has brought to the public's attention the potential of these organizations to serve as important independent vehicles in assisting with conflict resolution and in promoting human security.

Funding. Key to INGO independence is their ability to raise private funds rather than depend on the government to finance their activities. INGOs tend to derive their financial support from three sources: private sector contributions, public sector contributions, and fees for services (Salamon, 1995). Private sector funds come from private individuals, corporations, and foundations. Public sector contributions originate from government agencies and IGOs. These funds can come in the form of grants, in-kind donations, and service contracts. Fees for services include the sale of products and services to a consumer clientele.

Precisely because INGOs are valued for their independence, concerns are growing about the increasing reliance by INGOs on public funds. According to the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS), in 2003, 70% of INGO revenues came from private contributions, 20% from government grants, and 9% from program services (Kerlin & Thanasombat, 2006).

At the root of the growing relationship between the government and INGOs is the failure of direct government-to-government foreign assistance (i.e., in the vast majority of countries, development aid has not increased investment share of gross domestic product [GDP], and growth in investment share of GDP has not caused subsequent increases in GDP per capita) and the belief that INGOs were more efficient and effective (Masud & Yontcheva, 2005). Indeed, in the United States, the government has channeled upwards of 60% of its humanitarian funding through INGOs (Stoddard, 2003).

Though the amount of funding received from government sources varies widely from one INGO to the next, these statistics raise questions about whether INGOs truly are independent organizations or whether they have been co-opted by governments. Indeed, there is at least some evidence to suggest that as aid becomes far more oriented to measurable poverty reduction, it has led INGOs away from relations with social movements and toward more narrowly drawn, targeted development improvements (Bebbington, 2005).

In addition to concerns about a loss of independence are questions about whether INGOs are sacrificing the core of how they function in order to receive funds. Government funding comes with requirements, such as reporting, evaluations, and quality assurance processes, and thus, INGOs receiving federal funds have needed to become more professional and accountable. Though on the surface this may seem like a positive step, some scholars have worried that the direction of accountability is merely being shifted from recipients to donors (Edward & Hulme, 1996).

Moreover, government funding of INGOs can take away from the organization's freedom to discern which countries and/or crises it should focus. The U.S. government's concentration on security (i.e., preventing terrorist attacks) has meant that aid has been directed primarily to countries with links to terrorism. What is perhaps most relevant is the different positioning of Northern INGOs on the issue (Fowler, 2005; Lister, 2004). Whereas some INGOs have refused to work in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan, or to accept bilateral funding from their home governments to work therein, others have gone into these countries to follow what they perceive to be their mission either despite opposing the war on terror, or taking the view that their humanitarian aims are compatible with the goals of their funders (Lister, 2004).

The range of INGO positions exposes not only the extent to which the political economy of aid – and INGO dependency on official flows – limits their room for maneuver, but also the immense differences among INGOs in how they understand and approach the notion of pursuing alternatives. For those unable or unwilling to extract themselves from their host country's foreign policy agenda, the character of the nexus between security and humanitarian assistance means that the result is complicity, which has "little discernible link to a project of equity, social justice, and political inclusion" (Mitlin, Hickory, & Bebbington, 2007, p. 1710). It is also important to point out, however, that the usual concerns about maintenance of independence when money is coming from the government are effectively moot if the INGO has enough clout to manipulate government decision makers.

The review provided here of issues INGOs face is by no means exhaustive; rather, it is meant to paint a picture of the complex environment in which INGOs work and the complexity of the organizations themselves. As the environment and composition of the INGO community grows increasingly complex, scholars are seeking to obtain a greater understanding of these organizations, what they do, how they do it, and whether meaningful groupings within this vast array of organizations exist.

One distinction frequently found in the literature is whether a humanitarian assistance organization is religious or secular. The next section focuses primarily on religious organizations (ROs) providing humanitarian assistance. The potential similarities and differences between these organizations and their secular counterparts are also discussed.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

ROs have been actively engaged in every stage of the development of what has come to be thought of as the international humanitarian assistance system. Even prior to the formal system that came into being mid-20th century, religious groups were providing services abroad in the form of missionary endeavors. The missionary movement, which dates back to 1812 for Protestants and 1856 for Catholics, sought to communicate the Christian faith, win converts, and establish churches.[11] During the first century of missionary activity, many Western-style institutions, such as primary and secondary

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[11] The main focus of this section is Christian-related endeavors. In part, this is because of the large number of U.S.-based Christian INGOs involved in missionary movements and humanitarian efforts, then and today. Jewish and Islamic INGOs, although included in this study, are much smaller groups. Many of the Jewish humanitarian assistance organizations trace their roots to efforts to help Jews in the diaspora and/or to help relocate Jews to Israel after the establishment of the state in 1948. U.S.-based Islamic INGOs tend to have a short history, with most coming into being in the early 1990s. For example, Life Relief and Development came into being in 1992 in response to the Iraq War.

schools, the first colleges for Asian women, and medicine and health care services, were established alongside with houses of worship.

By the turn of the century, the missionary movement began to slow. Among the factors leading to the decline in Christian mission by the older, mainline groups were: (a) the end of colonialism, (b) the rise of nationalism, (c) the resurgence of non-Christian religions, (d) movements away from missionary paternalism to partnership with the new churches, and (e) the beginning of institutional ecumenism (Pierson, 2001). Although mainline Protestant efforts began both to decline and to redirect support to ecumenical organizations such as Church World Service (CWS), Pentecostalism and more conservative churches were growing rapidly and becoming increasingly active in the missionary movement.

As these conservative missionary communities increased in number, some began to focus more on social responsibility as a key aim of overseas endeavors. In 1974, the International Congress on World Evangelism produced the Lausanne Covenant, which had the following to say about Christian social responsibility:

> We affirm that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all men. We therefore
> should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society
> and for the liberation of men from every kind of oppression. Because mankind is
> made in the image of God, every person, regardless of race, religion, color,
> culture, class, sex or age, has an intrinsic dignity because of which he should be
> respected and served, not exploited. Here too we express penitence both for our
> neglect and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as

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mutually exclusive. Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is dead. (as cited in Stott, 1975)

The plea to keep evangelism and social responsibility together was further strengthened at Lausanne by *A Response to Lausanne* presented by the (ad hoc) Radical Discipleship Group at the end of the Congress. Almost 500 participants signed on to the response, and it was welcomed by the chairman of the drafting committee, John Stott, as an addendum to the Covenant. Its definition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the "Good News of liberation, of restoration, of wholeness, and of salvation that is personal, social, global, and cosmic" provided the strongest statement on the basis for holistic mission ever formulated by an evangelical conference up to that time (Stott, 1975). By the late 1980s, roughly nine out of 10 American Protestant missionaries were evangelical, and, by the end of the 1990s, U.S. evangelical organizations had become important partners of USAID in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Hearn, 2002).

Catholic missions followed a slightly different path than their Protestant counterparts. After receiving an initial boost following Vatican II in the 1960s, the number of U.S. Catholic missionaries began to drop by the early 1970s, a trend that has continued. From a peak of just over 9,500 missionaries, by 1996, there were just over 4,000 (Dries, 1998). In part this has to do with the theological mission reformulation that

was brought about by Vatican II, which stated: "The reason for missionary activities is the will of God, who wishes all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. Everyone, therefore, ought to be converted to Christ" (as cited in Pierod, 1990, p. 159). By the early 1970s, some Catholic theologians were advancing a very different view, one in which meeting the earthly needs of people took precedent over conversion.

Today, despite internal struggles regarding goals and strategies, the number of U.S.-based mission organizations and missionaries stationed around the globe remains high. The recently released *Mission Handbook*, produced by Billy Graham, lists more than 1,000 North American-based missionary organizations (inclusive of organizations offering short-term mission opportunities; Weber, 2010). Additionally, the total number of Protestant missionaries has steadily increased, primarily as a result of increases in missionaries who are not affiliated with any particular denomination and those affiliated with the Mission Exchange (once referred to as the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association and later the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies).

As shown from this brief overview of the history of missionary endeavors, both Roman Catholics and mainline Protestant missions have struggled with the purpose and justification for mission and the balance that should exist between evangelizing and social transformation. As these entities continued to decline, however, newer nondenominational, charismatic, and evangelical organizations continued to increase their missionary efforts. Additionally, mainline churches continue to be active in overseas efforts, though more commonly through supporting Christian humanitarian organizations,

a trend that is carrying over into the Pentecostal and nondenominational movements as well.

Religious Humanitarian Organizations

Most Christian humanitarian assistance organizations trace their roots to during or soon after World War II (the exceptions being the Salvation Army, which came to the United States in 1880, and the Mennonite Central Committee, established in 1920). The World Council of Churches was formed in 1948 as a fellowship of churches, but much of its programmatic work in its early years was concerned with responding to humanitarian need, particularly the needs of Europe's displaced millions. Similarly, the Lutheran World Federation was founded in 1947 and focused much of its early work on responding to the needs of Lutherans displaced by the war.

From the 1940s until the 1960s, religious INGOs (ROs) played a key role in the burgeoning international humanitarian system. In discussing the importance of these organizations to refugee aid during this time, Nichols (1988) cited an analysis which found that 90% of postwar relief was provided by ROs. Among them were both denominational and ecumenical agencies such as CRS (1943), CWS (1946), Lutheran World Relief (LWR; 1945), and World Vision (1950).

Another group of organizations, those with evangelical roots, came to be in the 1970s. These included Samaritan's Purse (1970), Food for the Hungry (1971), and World Concern (1973). Within the religious subgroup of INGOS are also specialized organizations that operate short-term missions, such as the Flying Doctors (1990), and those that concentrate on a particular population, such as Giving Children Hope (1993),

which focuses on children. Many ROs provide disaster relief and also promote long-term, sustainable improvements by helping to develop water resources, improve land management and agricultural techniques, develop small businesses, and so on (Pierson, 2001). In support of the critical role ROs play, many authors have cited the statistic that between 30% and 70% of the health infrastructure in Africa is currently owned by ROs. (Chand & Patterson, 2007; Green et al., 2002; UNFPA, 2008; Vitillo, 2009; WHO, 2007).

The importance of these organizations can also be seen in their numbers and revenue. Whereas during World War II, U.S.-based INGOs were predominantly secular and oriented toward ethnically based relief efforts, from the end of the war through the 1970s, ROs became relatively more important, as gauged by revenue and expenditure (McCleary & Barro, 2008). A great expansion of secular INGOs took place again from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, but ROs have expanded dramatically since that time. By 2004, there was a roughly equal division of revenue between secular and religious organizations (McCleary & Barro, 2008).

Motivations

In theory, one way in which religious humanitarian organizations differ from their secular counterparts is that they are motivated by their faith and the sacred texts that serve as their guideposts. Many ROs today such as CRS, World Vision, and Christian Aid, like missionary organizations over a century ago, have provided health and education services in the developing world as a part of their understanding of Christ's "Great Commission" to preach the gospel and make disciples of all nations (Matt. 28:19-

20), although they have often struggled with how to interpret their activity (Pierson, 2001).

ROs also point to Jesus' call for love of neighbor, parables such as the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37), and the Beatitudes (Luke 6:20-26; Matt. 5: 3-12) as justification for their service. Indeed, in the New Testament, Jesus showed special concern for those who lacked life's essentials, the poor and the oppressed. Jesus instructed His disciples to "sell your possessions and give to the poor" (Luke 12:33); affirmed the Jewish practice of almsgiving, and placed it on a level with practices of prayer and fasting (Matt. 6:1-4); and in the parable of the Good Samaritan, identified one's obligation to "go and do likewise" for a neighbor in need, irrespective of ethnicity or socioeconomic standing (Luke 10:25-37). Often cited by ROs is a parable from Matthew 25 in which Jesus says:

> Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me. (34-36)

Upon being asked when these things happened, Jesus replies, "Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me" (40).

As articulated by Pohl (1999), this particular scripture sets up a fundamental identification of Jesus with "the least of these" and personally and powerfully connects hospitality towards humankind with care for Jesus himself (p. 22). The significance of

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this passage was further articulated by Dorothy Day: "There He was, homeless. Would a church take Him in today – feed Him, clothe Him, offer Him a bed? I hope I ask myself that question on the last day of my life" (Coles, 1987, p. 69).

Jesus' teachings built on the Old Testament's call to serve the poor. The God of Israel is described as "a stronghold to the poor, a stronghold to the needy in his distress" (Isa. 25:4). The Old Testament prophets were clear about God's passion for justice:

> Is not the kind of fasting I have chosen: to loose the chains of injustice and untie
>
> the cords of the yoke, to set the oppressed free and break every yoke? Is it not to
>
> share your food with the hungry and to provide the poor wanderer with shelter –
>
> when you see the naked, to clothe them.... (Isaiah 58: 6-7)

Many Jewish humanitarian organizations cite as their inspiration the demand for social justice expressed in traditional Jewish sources. The words and concept of *tikkun olam*, which means "to heal the world," are often invoked, as well as scripture that teaches each person is made in the image of God and the *mitzvah*, or humanitarian, obligation this teaching entails.

Too, the Islamic faith considers humanitarian actions and the duty to help to be religious obligations. As emphasized by Krafess (2005), Quranic texts and hadiths sometimes have an exhortatory tone encouraging charity works: "The first to enter Paradise are those who do charitable works…" (Hadith No. 1020). At other times, the texts are articluated as an order: "Rescue prisoners, feed the hungry and look after the ill…" (Sahih Al Bukhari, *Sahih Al Jami'e*, *4*, p. 90). There are even those texts that are severe in regard to those who do not help the poor, the orphans, and the slaves. The

obligatory nature of charity in Islam does not end with the wording of texts, however, as *zakat* (a system which organizes the transfer of money from the well-off to the poor and needy) is a fundamental pillar of Islam and of the same importance as the profession of faith, praying, fasting during Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca.

Activities of Religious Organizations

The ways in which ROs act upon their faith motivations vary widely, but in many respects, their activities are similar to those of secular INGOs. Indeed, ROs can be found all along the relief-development continuum and engaging in advocacy and education initiatives. There are organizations dedicated strictly to immediate post-crisis relief, such as Feed the Children. Others, such as Hope International Development Agency, focus solely on development-oriented projects. Some, such as Compassion International, with its mission to advocate to "release children from spiritual, economic, social and physical poverty" and to enable them to become "responsible, fulfilled Christian adults," focus solely on advocacy efforts. Many offer a combination of services. For example, CWS responds to emergencies, nurtures development, and advocates for policies that are responsive to the poor.

Advocacy. Some practitioners and scholars have argued that the advocacy efforts of ROs have indeed made a contribution to U.S. foreign policy, particularly at the level of ideas (Amstutz, 2001). After seeing the toll that HIV and AIDS were taking in Africa, World Vision, for example, raised awareness among its evangelical Christian constituency and mobilized that constituency to press the U.S. government to commit major resources to an AIDS response. Also, the Jubilee 2000 campaign tapped into the

notion of debt forgiveness among the world's major religions and mobilized a constituency that effectively advocated for debt relief for the most highly indebted countries.

Pierson (2001) described three ways in which ROs articulate and publicize their ideas: (a) through policy statements and teaching documents; (b) through the preaching and teaching of the clergy, missionaries, and NGO staffs; and (c) by the individual witness of believers as they personally model religious and moral convictions. Similar to Pierson, Natsios (2001) identified four ways in which ROs share ideas and information in an effort to influence policy. The first involves producing written materials, such as newsletters and magazines, to inform donors about their work. Also, ROs actively seeking to create or change policy tend to produce policy papers to express their views (e.g., the National Conference of Catholic Bishops [NCCB] published under the title of *Peacemaking* a series of essays that applied Catholic social teaching to issues facing the post-Cold War world, and World Vision has a publishing arm called MARC that has produced a number of books on the theological justification for the organization's policies and practices).

The second strategy described by Natsios entails using the news media. Natsios used as an example of this the 6-month effort of the Stop the North Korean Famine Committee.[12] The Committee sent opinion pieces to local newspapers, mass mailings to Congress, and appeared on radio and television. In fact, a first in NGO history, the Committee used television advertisements to criticize the U.S. government's denial of

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[12] The Committee consisted of 18 members, all but four of whom were faith-based. It included the Association of Evangelical Relief and Development Organizations, NCCB, and NCC.

food aid to North Korea on the basis of geostrategic calculations. According to Natsios, their efforts appeared to have succeeded, as soon after the campaign began, President Clinton announced a large increase in food aid to North Korea. Shortly afterwards, however, Congressman Christopher Cox (R-CA) proposed an amendment to end all food aid to North Korea.

In response, a newly formed INGO called Korean American Sharing Movement, which was sponsored primarily by Korean American churches, began mobilizing people to contact their congressional representatives. In addition, World Vision worked with pastors in California to flood Congressman Cox's office and oppose the amendment. Several leaders also appeared on radio stations in the California area to explain what the amendment would do and why it had to be stopped. The Congressman backed down. Indeed, ROs were used to make the controversial policy more acceptable to conservative congressmen. For example, USAID announced that a consortium of five INGOs – CARE, CRS, World Vision, Mercy Corps International, and Amigos Internationales – all but one of which were religious, would monitor the distribution of food aid in North Korea by WFP. During floor debates, challenges from conservatives quickly came to a halt once the members of the consortium were announced (Natsios, 2001).

The third way Natsios described for ROs to influence policy is by collecting and analyzing information on conditions on the ground in a crisis or on chronic problems facing poor countries (Natsios, 2001). Unlike most government entities, ROs – especially those who work with local partners – have a relatively permanent presence on the ground. They have access to local people and so are more likely to have dependable and up-to-

date information on things such as changes in public mood toward political leaders. Sometimes RO workers will witness battles, atrocities, or population movements, or will see the onset of drought or famine, before anyone in the capital city or outside of the country.

In fact, Natsios (2001) argued that ROs are in a better position than many secular INGOs to provide early warning information because of their permanent source of information in the form of local religious institutions. The local institutions also can serve to mobilize people to address a concern. Natsios cited an example from Zambia, where it was primarily the church that monitored elections to ensure free and fair voting when longtime president Kenneth Kaunda was pressed – also by the church – into holding elections. After he lost, it was church leaders who convinced him to retire gracefully.

Finally, Natsios (2001) noted that ROs are increasingly playing a role in the design and implementation of foreign policy; however, this does not necessarily mean that ROs speak with one voice. Indeed, this is far from true. For example, Quakers and Mennonites come out of a pacifist tradition and oppose the U.S. military force in nearly all conflicts (their initial endorsement of military intervention in Somalia in the fall of 1992 is a rare exception). The Roman Catholic Church generally opposes economic sanctions as a tool of diplomacy, as it believes that sanctions harm the poor and not the elites responsible for the abuses. At times, however, allegiances have been drawn across faith and denominational lines. For instance, the Sudan Interfaith Working Group, a network of U.S-based faith organizations that work to support peace in Sudan through coordination of advocacy efforts and other initiatives that engage the faith community, is

comprised of representatives from many denominations and beliefs, including Christian, Jewish, and Muslim advocacy and humanitarian organizations.

THE CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

In recognition of the potential strengths of ROs and building on the policies and practices instituted as part of the NPA, the late 1990s witnessed an increased focus on ROs. Among the first of the policy shifts was Charitable Choice, which was incorporated into the 1996 welfare reform law – Section 104 of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, P.L. 104-193. The initiative was designed to remove barriers to the receipt of certain federal funds by ROs and to prohibit states from discriminating against ROs when choosing providers under certain federal grant programs. The legislation was grounded in four principles: (a) religious providers should be eligible to compete for funds on the same basis as any other social service providers; (b) the religious character of ROs should be protected by allowing the organizations to retain control over the definition, development, practice, and expression of their religious beliefs (i.e., government cannot require a religious social service provider to alter its internal governance or remove religious art, icons, etc.); (c) ROs receiving government money cannot discriminate against an individual on the basis of religion, a religious belief, or refusal to actively participate in a religious practice; and (d) all government funds must be used to fulfill the public social service goals and not inherently religious activities (e.g., worship, sectarian instruction, proselytization).

Despite a few criticisms, (Executive Director for Americans United for the Separation of Church and State Barry Lynn referred to it as "the worst idea in modern

political history" [2000, p. 43], and Richard Cizik, Vice President for Governmental Affairs at the National Association of Evangelicals, hailed the legislation as assisting in the recovery of America's "shared moral foundations" [Cizik, 2000, p. 44]), the increasing partnership between the government and ROs remained relatively low-profile and nonpartisan until George W. Bush took office in 2001. As his first presidential act, Bush issued an Executive Order establishing the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI; Executive Order No. 13199, 2001). Subsequently, he issued executive orders expanding the initiative by establishing Centers of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (CFBCIs) in seven federal agencies (Executive Order No. 13279, 2002; 13280, 2002; 13342, 2004; & 13397, 2006).

Bush and RO supporters held that the executive orders were needed to address a widespread bias against faith- and community-based organizations that existed in social service programs, at home and abroad. They argued that existing laws and regulations: (a) restricted some kinds of religious organizations from applying for funding; (b) restricted religious activities that are not prohibited by the Constitution; (c) did not honor rights that religious organizations have in federal law; (d) burdened small organizations with cumbersome regulations and requirements; and (e) imposed anticompetitive mandates on some programs, such as requiring applicants to demonstrate support from government agencies or others that might also be competing for the same funds (Solomon, 2003).[13]

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[13] The faith-based initiative established by President Bush outlived his presidency. President Barack Obama not only spoke frequently in support of the OFBCI during his campaign but also maintained the Office after his inauguration (though he renamed it Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships). Obama also enacted subsequent policy changes, such as an executive order issued in November 2010 saying that religious organizations receiving federal funds must conduct explicitly religious activities in a time and place different from when and where they do government-financed work. The order also states, however,

The USAID CFBCI was established by Executive Order in 2002, and, as a result, several programmatic changes were made to promote RO participation. In an article appearing in the *Boston Globe*, James Towey, former head of the OFBCI, acknowledged that he fought hard to shift international aid to religious groups: "The fact is [officials at USAID] tended to be left of center and they tended to be more of a secular perspective than a religious one…. There were instances where people had agendas that were very clearly at odds with what President Bush had laid out as his foreign policy agenda. . . . We wanted to see the new groups have a chance" (Kranish, 2006).

The same special report by the *Globe* (2006) revealed that the share of U.S. foreign aid dollars for INGOs going to ROs had doubled, from 10% to nearly 20%, and totaled more than $1.7 billion.[14] Of those funds, 98% went to Christian groups (2006). According to a USAID audit, in 2007 the agency had 512 agreements with 136 ROs (USAID, 2009).

Historic and Recent Controversies About the Missions of ROs

Ever since the advent of the faith-based initiative (and to a lesser extent, Charitable Choice legislation) the role of religion in public life has been a frequent and intense topic of discussion. One should not draw the conclusion, however, that such legislation and administrative endeavors represent a radical break with the past. For

that FBOs receiving federal dollars may use their facilities to provide government-backed social services, even if those facilities include religious art, icons, scriptures and other religious symbols. According to the executive order, religious group receiving federal money may also keep religious language in its name, select board members on a religious basis, and include religious references in its mission statements and other documents. The White House framed the order as an attempt to separate religion from politics, but advocates for strict church-state separation have said the order did not go nearly far enough in that regard.

[14] The 18-month investigation conducted by the *Globe* involved analyzing more than 50,000 government funding awards by USAID over five years of the Bush administration.

decades, religious colleges and universities, hospitals, humanitarian organization, and many other ROs have received government funding. Furthermore, a significant percentage of those organizations have been *pervasively sectarian* and indeed used religious criteria in their hiring.[15] For example, political scientist Stephen Monsma found that within a sample of child care service agencies in the United States, 28% of pervasively religious agencies received over 60% of their funds from government sources (1996).

Despite the long-term relationship the government has had with ROs, the policy changes created political, academic, and popular debate in regards to the separation of church and state, including in the international arena. Taylor (2005), who cited Kniss and Campbell (1997), Goldstein (2004), and Taylor (1995), argued that the stereotype of the missionary model may fit well with the bias of scholars, the media, and many development practitioners, but it is misinformed, and no longer reflects the practice of most religious relief and development agencies. He argued that most ROs operate along the lines of what is called the *Oxfam model*, which is supposedly distinguished from the missionary model by its reliance on local communities to determine their own development needs. Thomas cited Michael Taylor, former director of Christian Aid, who pointed out that most ROs accepted some time ago the kind of criticisms that are often still made of the missionary model of development assistance.

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[15] The term *pervasively sectarian* comes from the U.S. Supreme Court. In its 1971 case *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, the Court devised a three-part test for determining whether state aid flowing to a religious institution violated the Establishment Clause: (a) the legislation permitting the aid must have a secular purpose; (b) the primary effect of the statute cannot be the advancement of religion; and (c), the statute may not lead to excessive entanglement between government and religion. This test became known as the *pervasively sectarian test*. Though some observers believe that the test has been eroded by later Supreme Court decisions, it has never been formally overruled.

Opponents of federal funding of ROs expressed concern about the implications of faith-based aid for public accountability, specifically in terms of religious freedom and proselytizing (Sider & Unruh, 2004; Smith & Sosin, 2001). Indeed, a number of scholars have cited a desire for new adherents as an important factor fueling RO growth abroad (Anheier & Salamon, 1998; James, 1989; Rose-Ackerman, 1996). As Cameron (2005) noted, "Intrinsic to the nature of Christianity is its characteristic as a missionary religion which requires its adherents to evangelize and witness. Given this context, tensions between proselytizing and service provision seem inevitable" (p. 1).

Proselytizing. This issue of religious motivation is to a large extent at the core of the recent policy dispute in the United States regarding the faith-based initiative: Does religious motivation merely inspire organizations and individuals to do good, or does it also require them to evangelize? Jesus' commandment to go forth and make disciples of all nations (Mathew 28:19) has been interpreted by some as requiring an actions-speak-louder-than-words approach, but others rely on more coercive – and some argue, manipulative – practices. Though Christian humanitarianism has evolved out of, and largely away from, the overseas missionary work of previous centuries, with its uncomfortable association with colonialism and coerced conversion (Thaut, 2009), this attitude does not apply to all ROs. For example, Samaritan's Purse has in its mission statement: "We are an effective means of reaching hurting people in countries around the world with food, medicine, and other assistance in the Name of Jesus Christ. This, in turn, earns us a hearing for the Gospel, the Good News of eternal life through Jesus Christ."[16]

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[16] This statement can be found on the organization's website: http://www.samaritanspurse.org.

Concerns have also been expressed that some development initiatives by religious actors could be used as tools for co-opting vulnerable communities to new or more extreme religious doctrine. Additionally, some smaller organizations still have evangelism as their primary – and sometimes, sole – mission.

According to Stoddard (2003), however, there is generally no disharmony between religious and secular INGOs except for the rare occasions when a RO is accused of proselytizing while engaged in the provision of assistance. Similarly, Elizabeth Ferris, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who focuses on the international community's response to humanitarian crises, said established ROs rarely mix religion and aid, and most, she said, "are doing everything they can to avoid charges of proselytism and to keep missionary work separate from the humanitarian work" (as quoted in Neuman, 2010).

Accusations and problems persist, however. For example, following the 2004 tsunami, evangelical RO World Help sought to place 300 Muslim children in a Christian children's home (Cooperman, 2005). Not only did this plan place evangelical aims over relief goals, but it also violated domestic law (Indonesia requires that adoptive parents and children to be of the same faith). Such actions, Ferris (2005) noted, led to questioning of all Christian ROs in Indonesia.

Also, in August 2010, World Vision, Adventist Development and Relief Agency, and Sweden-based Diakonia were expelled from areas of south and central Somalia controlled by the insurgent group Al-Shabab for what it charged was missionary activities

in the guise of humanitarian work. A spokesperson for World Vision told Neuman (2010) that the charges were false, as most of their staff in Somalia were Muslim.

Doctrine. In addition to the issue of proselytizing, the discourse on ROs has focused on the extent to which religious doctrine may enter into actual service delivery (Soskis, 2001). An overarching concern is that, as ROs expand, there will be inevitable and not easily resolvable conflict between the doctrine of the organization and the social issues it confronts. Opponents of federal funding for ROs express concern about the impact these organizations have on, for example, reproductive health care, the spread of HIV/AIDS, and gender equality.

An illustration often used to describe the disconnect that can exist between religious ideology and evidence-based practice is that of the funding stream established by George W. Bush known as PEPFAR. The administration insisted that one-third of all prevention funds be used for abstinence-only education. Additional PEPFAR conditions prohibited needle exchange programs, banned family planning services in prevention of mother-to-child transmission clinics, required grantees to sign an antiprostitution loyalty pledge[17] (even if individuals receiving services were sex workers), and allowed broad refusal clauses that permitted grantees to refuse service to anyone based on moral objections. Ellen Marshall, a public policy consultant for the International Women's Health Coalition, said that some of the horror stories she had heard from efforts in Africa related to PEPFAR funds, such as workers counseling women to stay with abusive

[17] The Brazilian government refused to sign the pledge and lost a $40 million grant. In an affidavit for a lawsuit over the matter, the director of Brazil's AIDS program said his country strived to adhere to ``the established principles of the scientific method and not allow theological beliefs and dogma to interfere'' (Rohter, 2005).

husbands, paled in comparison to the overarching reality that PEPFAR grantees were allowed to refuse certain services permissible in U.S. law: "They're not horror stories when we just know point-blank that people are not getting all the services and information that they need to protect themselves against HIV. That is the horror story that is square on the shoulders of Congress" (as cited in Joyce, 2010). The results of tension between religious doctrine and best practices can also create a messy compromise where the public statements of policy that reach the faith community are subverted by the NGO staff (e.g., Catholic teaching on contraception prevents explicit public support for the use of condoms by many Catholic development INGOs, but their staff find ways to make condoms available in the communities where they work; Bakewell & Warren, 2005).

Religious conflict. Moreover, opponents of the religious initiative have raised concerns about the religious clashes that could occur or be exacerbated by the presence of ROs. With the *War on Terror* and the accompanying presence of aid workers from Christian organizations in Muslim-dominated countries, such concern has been shown to have some validity. As recently as August 2010, 10 medical aid workers were murdered by a Taliban member in Afghanistan. A spokesperson for the Taliban said the individuals were killed because they were "'spying for the Americans'" and "'preaching Christianity'" (Gannon, 2010).

Christian ROs are not the only ones to have received criticism in recent years. Islamic humanitarian organizations have faced the added burden of "witch hunts" following the September 11th terrorist attacks. Several groups, including Islamic Relief, became the focus of investigation by Western governments. Some, such as the

International Islamic Relief Organization, have been designated by the U.S. Office of

Foreign Assets Control as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist group, which allows

the U.S. government to block the assets of foreign individuals and entities that commit, or

pose a significant risk of committing, acts of terrorism (U.S. Department of Treasury,

2010). Accusations of links between Islamic aid groups and terrorist organizations,

alleged or factual, continue to plague Islamic INGOs (U.S. Institute for Peace, 2003).

Politicizing of RO-government relations. Andrew Natsios, USAID Administrator

at the time of the creation of the CFBCI within USAID, was one of the people most

against the establishment of the Center. He felt it would make his job more difficult and

more political. It was not that he was opposed to USAID-RO alliances; rather, he

believed that establishing a Center would actually hurt the ability of USAID to work with

ROs because of the attention that would be drawn to the issue. Natsios noted that since

the Agency's inception in 1961, it had worked extensively with relief organizations

affiliated with religious institutions. For example, CRS and LWR have partnered with

USAID since 1977 on projects ranging from food security to health issues. As stated by

Natsios, "Because such organizations are able to address the deepest and most profound

needs of human society, these partnerships help USAID to improve the lives of citizens

in developing nations" (2003).

Natsios painted an ideal picture of government and ROs working together;

however, warnings have been issued about the effect taking government money could

have on religious groups who become dependent on government policies and preferences

(De Vita & Wilson, 2001; Glenn, 2000). After an exhaustive study of government

funding of religious international development and relief organizations, Bruce Nichols (1988) sounded a cautionary note: "Financial cooperation between religious bodies and the government inevitably results in a loss of religious freedom…. Religious institutions are allowed to expand through such funding arrangements, but their specifically and distinctively religious functions are restricted by law" (p. 187). Similarly, Jeavons (1994) wrote, "in most cases, accepting government funds to support the work of Christian service organizations requires compromising the character of that work" (p. 128).

Thomas (2005) asserted that the international aid community, including ROs, acts as if religion's only role in humanitarian assistance is to provide religious people with the motives for development work of love, charity, and compassion. This role is accepted as long as religion does not interfere in the "secular development agenda, with its own understandings of what constitutes rationality, progress, social justice, and modern economic development" (p. 135). Thomas' argument is that society – and ROs themselves – compartmentalizes religion to the point where many ROs are no more than "Oxfam with hymns" (2005, p. 135).

Assumptions Guiding Public Policy

Despite the paucity of research, proponents of Charitable Choice and its expansion by President George W. Bush held that these legislative and executive acts would better and more affordably serve the poor and needy, end religious discrimination in a manner that protects ROs' religious identity, and benefit religious freedom. The optimism of some policy makers that ROs might take on a greater role had multiple sources, most of which mirrored the beliefs underpinning the broader NPA. These beliefs

included: the desire to reduce the role of the public sector; the existence of a small number of high-profile successes in housing and economic development sponsored by large churches; the perceived scarcity of other strong institutions in many disinvested neighborhoods; the view that ROs have a community's trust; the notion that ROs are more familiar and better able to deal with the complexity of individual and family situations; the access ROs have to human and financial capital in the form of volunteers and donations; the theory that solutions conceived at the local level by community-based groups are more effective and efficient; the belief that ROs are typically more readily holistic in nature; the idea that these organizations have a higher calling as a motivator; and expectations about the potential of faith communities to address problems that others have found intractable (Bane, Coffin, & Thiemann, 2000; Bridgeland, 2001; Calhoun-Brown, 1998; Cisneros, 1996; Galston, 2001; Kramer, Finegold, De Vita, & Wherry, 2005; Loconte & Fantuzzo, 2002; Vidal, 2001). Indeed, President Bush believed that ROs took a more holistic approach to working with people and saw this as the lifeblood of effective and lasting social services which promote enduring change.

Proponents of ROs made many of the same arguments as those arguing in favor of domestic religious service provision. Leban (2003) and Smock (2001) point to the credibility of ROs on the ground, their strong negotiating position with local authorities (when their faith is shared), and their core values that sustain the organizations' visions and motivate their staff. These core values include not only charity and mercy, but also the belief in the absolute value of the human person, who is created in the image of God (Ferris, 2005; Kurti, Whelan, & Zwi, 2004). Researchers have argued that religious

groups are the most equipped to work in difficult environments and have a unique capacity to deliver services to those most in need (Dicklitch & Rice, 2004; Van de Veen, 2002).

   Resources. Underlying many of the assumptions guiding recent public policy decisions regarding ROs is the idea that they are able to mobilize resources that enable their own and partner organizations to deliver services they would not otherwise have the capacity to provide (Green, 2003; Smith and Sosin, 2001; Wood, 1999). ROs can mobilize energy and resources from their extensive networks of people, as well as institutions and infrastructure that are geographically diverse (Berger, 2003; Foster, Levine, & Williamson, 2005; Green, 2003; Leibowitz, 2002). In this sense, ROs suffer far less from philanthropic insufficiency than their secular NGO counterparts.

   Of particular importance are monetary resources. ROs are able to tap into nontraditional funding sources and can receive funds from local, national, and international religious communities instead of relying on government or international agency funding (Berger, 2003; Gill & Carlough, 2008; Green, 2003). ROs receive funds from their religious affiliation's membership and have an increased capacity to raise and disburse discretionary funds (Cnaan, Wineburg, & Boddie, 1999; Berger, 2003; Foster et al., 2005). In addition, ROs function despite budget shortfalls because their commitment to the cause is rooted in faith (Olivier, Cochrane, Schmid, & Graham, 2006). ROs may be able to secure funding even in times of conflict, when other NGO funding sources may dry up (Berger, 2003; Reinikka & Svensson, 2003).

Having access to alternative funding streams renders ROs less vulnerable to losing their organizational identity, a risk to all organizations that seek funding from organizations with other agendas (Brinkerhoff, 2002a, 2002b). Most ROs receive the majority of their funding from private citizens, their congregations, or other like-minded donors. Therefore, they are less likely to change their priorities to better suit their funding partners' agendas (Berger, 2003).

ROs may also have a comparative advantage in securing human resources, both paid and volunteer. They are able to hire qualified staff at below market wages (Reinikka & Svensson, 2003). In addition, some scholars have argued that, because of their faith, RO staff members may show more commitment to their work than staff at other organizations (Bornstein, 2002; Ferris, 2005; Leibowitz, 2002). This can result in financial savings, both through lower wages and longer hours that can be redirected to service provision.

Additionally, ROs can serve as an important source of social capital (Wood, 1999; Steinitz, 2006). Social capital represents the value in relationships between individuals due to the productivity these relationships generate (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). ROs develop a specific kind of social capital, one based on faith, which can result in a deeper level of commitment to the activity at hand and greater trust between actors, which can in turn have a positive impact on program quality and beneficiary satisfaction (Cnaan et al., 1999).

Reaching the poorest of the poor. A second assumption guiding the recent policy changes is that ROs are better equipped to reach those most in need of assistance. ROs

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have historically served as prominent voices for the disenfranchised (Berger, 2003).

Christian Medical Commission, for instance, made significant contributions to the

establishment of primary health care as a priority for WHO in the 1970s (Cochrane, 2006;

Kaseje, 2006). More recently, ROs have been particularly vocal in shining light on the

care of orphans and vulnerable children. For example, the CORE Initiative, a multi-

country HIV/AIDS program, is one in which ROs partner with international donor

agencies and national and local governments to improve access to resources for people

living with HIV/AIDS in rural areas in developing countries (USAID, 2007).

According to Longman (1998), ROs in Africa – despite a history of being more

conservative and preserving the interests of the powerful – have recently engaged in

raising neglected issues and fostering public debate in the developing country context

(Longman, 1998; Cnaan et al., 1999). Moreover, the religious community was on the

forefront of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (Longman, 1998).

Indeed, over the past decade, acknowledgment of religious and associated

organizations in the lives of the poor has reached an unprecedented level of discourse,

and major donor agencies such as the World Bank have signaled a significant shift in

thinking. The acknowledgment, however, has been far from uncritical or insensitive to

some of the more negative connotations of faith in the lives of the poor:

> The role that religious or faith-based organizations play in poor people's lives
>
> varies from being a balm for the body and soul to being a divisive force in the
>
> community. In ratings of effectiveness in both urban and rural settings, religious
>
> organizations feature more prominently than any single type of state institution,

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but they do not disappear when ineffective institutions are mentioned. (Narayan, Chambers, Shah, & Petesch, 2000, p. 222)

ROs, the World Bank suggested, can be a potent force in the lives of the poor where they focus on spiritual as well as material poverty, avoid divisive or sectarian agendas, and become more involved in the daily struggles of the faithful. In *Voices of the Poor*, the authors called on faith groups in wealthy countries to "embrace higher ambitions, to convince those countries to back the right policies, to spend money well." In another World Bank report, Short (2003) wrote that the challenge must fall at least partly on faith groups in rich countries "to embrace higher ambitions, to convince those countries to back the right policies, to spend money well" (p. 9).

The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Swiss Development Agency have conducted substantial research and policy reviews on the role of religion and ROs in development. One of DFID's eight strands for research is faith in development:

> For many people in developing countries in the South, their faith is central to their understanding of the world, their place in it and is central to the decisions they make about their own and their communities' development. While DFID does not have a corporate view on the role of faiths and beliefs, there is growing interest among DFID departments for a more systematic understanding of the role that faiths play in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Faiths, beliefs, and value systems (in terms of both formalized religions and so-called "traditional" beliefs), as "ideas that motivate individual and collective human action," affect development processes and outcomes in a variety of ways. (DFID, 2005)

Grassroots presence. Part of the reason why ROs are able to reach the poorest of the poor has to do with their strong grassroots presence. ROs are found even in the most inaccessible areas where government services do not reach. According to Kumi Naidoo of CIVICUS, "ROs probably provide the best social and physical infrastructure in the poorest communities… because churches, temples, mosques, and other places of worship are the focal points for the communities they serve" (2000). Moreover, in many parts of the world, ROs have on-the-ground connections that allow them to carry out services expeditiously. For example, CRS utilized the Catholic Church's existing infrastructure in East Timor to support peace building and reconciliation efforts (CRS, 2002).

ROs have a built-in, ready-made constituency consisting of their coreligious (Cnaan et al., 1999; Dicklitch & Rice, 2004; Green, 2003; Steinitz, 2006). This can be particularly beneficial in conflict situations, where the religious network is often the only remaining semblance of civil society. This asset allows church-based organizations to "play a significant role in organizing negotiations, a role governments mostly can't play" (Van de Veen, 2002, p. 171). Tyndale (2006) noted that religious groups often gather for weekly services, which provides a consistent way to reach local peoples and deliver a message for programming.

Cultural congruency. Cultural congruency between ROs and many of the countries most in need of humanitarian assistance is another factor proponents of ROs consider. Indeed, one religious belief or another is a daily part of life for most of the world's population. The World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* study found that the most trusted people in developing countries were religious leaders (Narayan et al., 2000), and

Hilary Benn, former U.K. Secretary of State for International Development, credited ROs for being among the most accessible and trusted institutions of the poor (DFID, 2005). Thus, a holistic approach to services that recognizes spiritual as well as material needs is required (Myers, Whaites, & Wilkenson, 2000).

ROs are appealing partners for international relief and development agencies such as USAID, the United Nations, and the World Bank because their people and their infrastructure can be found in almost all communities around the world, and they "can be viewed as the largest, most stable and most extensively dispersed nongovernmental organization in any country" (Green, 2003, p. 4).

WHAT WE NEED TO KNOW

What remains particularly striking about this topic is that so little academic attention has been placed on ROs, particularly in how they compare to their secular counterparts. According to Berger (2003), these organizations have been overlooked because of the lack of a definition of *faith-based*, the hesitation of the organizations themselves to acknowledge and embrace their religious character due to public stigma, and the possible impact such an acknowledgement could have on receiving government funds. The lack of data about ROs emphasizes a "long-standing trend in the social and political science literature to overlook the role of religious actors in the public sphere" (2003, p. 17). Indeed, Hearn (2002) referred to ROs as *invisible* in comprehensive discussions of foreign assistance.

The few studies that have addressed the characteristics of religious and secular organizations have primarily been conducted domestically and have produced

contradictory conclusions. In a study of religious welfare reform in Mississippi, Bartkowski and Regis (1999) found that pastors normally perceive religiously based assistance as a holistic form of aid that addresses both material and nonmaterial needs. Similarly, Branch (2002) reported that the services provided by religious and secular programs for at-risk youth were similar, but that ROs developed services that focused more strongly on interpersonal relationships. In studying congregations' social service activities, Chaves and Tsitsos (2001) failed to find support for the common claim made by supporters of President Bush's faith-based initiative that religious organizations provide more *holistic* and personalized services that are focused on long-term solutions to individuals' problems.

Despite the historically significant role ROs have played in providing humanitarian assistance and despite recent domestic and international policy debates about the relationship between ROs and governments, the roles of ROs remain underspecified, under-researched, and generally neglected by mainstream NGO and civil society research. Indeed, neither secular nor religious researchers have addressed if and how faith influences the activities of INGOs, much less the extraordinary diversity among ROs. A comparison of INGO types and their relative strengths and contributions in humanitarian assistance is nearly nonexistent; yet, a focus on ROs alone – diverse as these are – is too narrow. They need to be analyzed not only in the context of the respective faiths, but also in the context of the various other ideologies and motivations that drive NGOs, especially INGOs (Benthall, 2006).

At the core of these concerns is the notion that closeness to the poor, organizational independence, participatory structures, and a willingness to spend large amounts of time on dialogue and learning are critical to successful, sustainable assistance. The increased focus on output, as opposed to process, may be placing many INGOs in a role more similar to a government agency than that of an independent, flexible voice and provider for those in need.

Defining Faith

As already alluded to, the mere use of the terms *faith-based* or *religious* is fraught with challenges. Thus far, the terms have been used as if to indicate an important and obvious distinction. Prior to Charitable Choice and the establishment of the OFBCI, the religious-secular opposition was drawn based on the belief that faith is a personal and private matter, not under the jurisdiction of the state beyond the needs of public order. This belief became enshrined in laws, and most Western governments established that religious freedom required detailing what states cannot do with regards to religion, and, reciprocally though sometimes implicitly, what religion cannot do with regard to the state and public space. As stated by Cavanaugh (2005): "One senses that religion in public is to be treated like a paroled convict in the workplace; he should be given a second chance to be a productive citizen, but the letter openers should be kept in locked drawers" (p. 1).

Scholars have recognized that an inherent challenge besets any study of any religious organization: no one definition describes ROs adequately, but numerous organizations display some form of faith affiliation. Indeed, underlying some of the

disagreement as to whether a clear cut division between religious and secular exists and the effectiveness and merit of ROs is a debate on the definition and identification of ROs.

The terms *religious* or *faith-based organization* historically suggested a religious congregation, whose primary mission was worship and religious education (Chaves, 2004). Regardless of how they vary in creed, activity, organizational structure, size, and geography, congregations are, by definition, religious. Since the inclusion of the Charitable Choice provision in Welfare Reform and the establishment of the OFBCI, however, discussions about ROs have moved beyond congregations to include a diverse set of organizations, including those without congregational affiliations. In this arena, what constitutes religious is less clear. De Vita & Wilson (2001) noted, "Research is under way on the capacity and effectiveness of religious programs, but this new area of research will entail a sharp learning curve. How do you measure 'faith'?" (p. 4). As articulated by Ebaugh, Pipes, Saltzman Chafetz, and Daniels (2003), knowing an organization's name, purpose, or public persona may not be adequate when identifying it as religious. Indeed, a review of the literature shows that the term *RO* is applied indiscriminately to a broad array of institutions, from storefront churches to international networks such as CRS and World Vision. It has been applied to organizations of explicitly religious character and programming as well as those that are religious in affiliation only.

In addition to differences in opinion about the salient characteristics that make an organization religious, there is also evidence that some ROs transform over time and become secularized (Ebaugh et al., 2003; McCleary, 2004). As researchers have

attempted to define ROs, they have concluded that thinking of degree of religiosity as a

dimension is a more useful strategy (Green & Sherman, 2002; Jeavons, 1998; Monsma &

Mounts, 2002; Smith & Sosin, 2001; Working Group on Human Needs, 2003).

Efforts have been made to expand the vocabulary used to describe these

organizations. Jeavons (1994) used the term *religious service organizations* and

described them as organizations that "intend to combine a commitment to specific and

stable concrete goals in service with harder to measure goals in nurturing and sharing

faith" (p. 57). Elsewhere, Jeavons refers to religious organizations as those which act on a

particular system of faith and worship that is connected to a religion (1998). Some

scholars have added *social service* to the title – *faith-based social service organizations* –

to distinguish between congregations and organizations in terms of their purpose and

function (Smith & Sosin, 2001; Vanderwoerd, 2003; Wuthnow, 2004). Bielefeld,

Littlepage, and Thelin (2003) used the term *faith-influenced organizations*. Ebaugh,

Chafetz, and Pipes (2006) used the term *faith-based social service coalitions* to refer to

organizations that meet all four of the following criteria: (a) organization defines itself as

faith-based, (b) it delivers at least one social service, (c) religious congregations are in

some manner affiliated with the organization, and (d) it has its own board of directors.

Smith and Sosin (2001) further stipulated that *faith-related agencies* are social service

organizations that have any of the following: (a) a formal funding or administrative

arrangement with a religious authority or authorities, (b) historical ties of this kind, (c) a

specific commitment to act within the dictates of a particular established faith, or (d) a

commitment to work together that stems from a common religion.

In one of the earliest known attempts to classify ROs, Netting (1982) suggested five ways in which organizations were tied to religion: public written acknowledgment of relationship with a parent religious body; board of directors composed either entirely or predominantly (at least over half) of denominational clergy and/or lay members; some financial contribution from the parent religious body; establishment by either clergy or laypersons affiliated with a religious group; a specific constituency composed of religious members from whom the organization can solicit support. These variables have continued to be used by researchers who have added significantly to Netting's work by looking at the faith character of the programs offered by the organization as well as characteristics of the organization itself. For instance, Jeavon's (1998) oft-cited strategy for measuring faith infusion in an organization consists of seven criteria (i.e., self-identity; participants; material resources; definition and distribution of power; goals, products, or services; decision-making processes; and organizational fields). For each of Jeavon's dimensions, an organization may be placed along a spectrum from *least* to *most* religious.

In a study of welfare-to-work programs, Monsma (1996) distinguished between *faith-integrated* and *faith-segmented* organizations. The former consisted of ROs that integrated religious elements into the social services they supplied, and the latter consisted of ROs that kept their religious elements largely separate from the social services they provided.

The Working Group on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (Working Group; 2003) defined a RO as "any entity that is self-identified as motivated by or founded on religious conviction" and uses the term in a broad sense to

include corporations, unincorporated associations, churches, trusts, foundations, and educational institutions (p. 2). The Working Group (2003) further attempted to determine the *degree* to which faith is integrated into an RO's identity and selected organizational and programmatic indicators to distinguish among organizations. They proposed a typology, adapted from Sider and Unruh (2004), that included five categories: (a) faith-permeated, (b) faith-centered, (c) faith-affiliated, (d) faith-background, and (e) faith-secular partnerships. They also proposed a typology with five categories of faith-based *programs*: (a) faith-saturated, which consists of programs where faith is integrated at all levels within the organization and the programs they deliver; (b) faith-centered, which applies to organizations that have structures focused on faith as well as programs that contain a component that has its basis in their faith (however, the component can be removed without detrimental outcome effects); (c) faith-related, which includes those organizations that were established by people sharing a faith and possibly displaying religious symbols, but the organizations do not necessarily have staff that share the same commitment to the faith; (d) faith-background, which is made up of organizations whose structure and programs appear secular in nature; however, the organization itself has some sort of background connection to faith; and faith-secular partnerships, which consist of organizations that are secular in nature but the faith of those delivering the programs is expected to make positive contributions.

The Working Group included in their report an addendum to the typologies discussed that provided definitions for the terms used for describing the integration of religious content in the program. The terms, taken from the work of Sider and Unruh

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(2001), ranged from *passive* (not explicitly verbal, part of the program design, or mandatory) to *integrated/mandatory* (explicitly verbal, part of the program design, and mandatory).

In sum, the majority of existing research fails to draw a distinction between religious and secular organizations, instead assuming that these groups work in the same manner and have similar motivations. Studies that do draw a distinction tend to lump all organizations that appear to have some faith connection into one group. In recent years, however, efforts have been made to distinguish not only between secular and religious organizations, but also among ROs themselves. As researchers have attempted to define the term *RO*, they have concluded that thinking of degree of religiosity as a dimension is a more useful strategy (Green and Sherman, 2002; Jeavons, 1998; Monsma & Mounts, 2002; Smith & Sosin, 2001; Working Group, 2003).

Measuring Faith

Indicators used to measure faith integration are numerous. In a review of past research on the topic, Goggin and Ortho (2002) identified five factors on which most attempts to classify organizations have focused: organizational, administrative, environmental, funding, and programmatic.

Organizational factor. The organizational factor includes variables related to the structural characteristics of the RO itself. Smith and Sosin (2001) suggested that ROs directly sponsored by a denomination or other religious organizations are more closely connected to faith. Examples of organizational characteristics identified in the literature include: prayer, teaching of religious values, studying religious texts, and worship

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services. Another key component of the organization of a RO is to which religious

tradition an organization is affiliated. This can speak not only to the capacity of an

organization but also to its mission and practices.

Administrative factor. The administrative factor focuses on the purpose,

management, and staffing practices of the organization. Some scholars suggest that the

integration of faith into RO programs is greater when board members and staff reflect and

share the religious values of the organization (Jeavons, 1998; Smith & Sosin, 2001;

Working Group, 2003). Examples of administrative factors include the religious character

of the board of directors, the extent to which staff members share the same religious

values, and the degree to which religious values influence administrative decisions. These

elements have been included in typologies developed by Jeavons (1998), Monsma (1996,

1998, 2002), Sider and Unruh (1999), and the Working Group (2003).

Also sometimes included is whether faith played a fundamental role in the

foundation of the organization. For example, Canon T. R. Milford of the University

Church was a founding member of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, which met

for the first time in 1942. It is likely that his Christian principles played a fundamental

part in his decision to create Oxfam. Oxfam, however, is now considered a secular

organization because faith is not part of its collective identity and cannot be seen as a

dimension in its practice.

Finally, a key indicator within the administrative heading is the mission statement.

A central feature of many RO mission statements is recognition of the spiritual nature of

the individual and of a divine source of guidance, which provides a "blueprint" for the

development of the individual and of society. As shown in Table 4, mission statements of ROs vary widely as to how much emphasis they place on the faith character and motivation of their organization.

Funding factor. The funding factor explores the source and distribution of financial resources. For example, relying on institutional theory, Smith and Sosin (2001) argued that the resource dependence of ROs often determines their connection to religion: ROs that receive the majority of their monetary resources from religious institutions should be more tightly coupled to faith. Similarly, the Working Group (2003) typology rated ROs that receive the majority of their funding from private religious groups as being higher in religious integration. Jeavons (1998) also considered the extent to which an RO makes appeals for funding based on the religious mission of the organization. Finally, some ROs exhibit higher levels of religious integration by protecting the religious content of program elements when making funding decisions (e.g. deciding not to apply for federal funding for fear of compromising religious principles).

Environmental factor. The environmental factor encompasses indicators related to the physical characteristics of the facilities in which programs are administered. For example, the typologies developed by Monsma (1996, 1998), Monsma and Mounts (2002), and Sider and Unruh (2004) have identified religious objects, paintings, and artifacts as important symbols that contribute to the religious intensity of an organization. Additionally, researchers have looked at whether religious tracts are in the lobby or program area and whether services are provided within facilities designed for religious worship.

Programmatic factor. Lastly, the programmatic factor focuses on specific religious components of RO activities/services, and the extent to which these components are mandatory or explicit in nature. Examples of religious activities could include worship services, prayer during meetings, and the use of religious-based teaching (Bielefeld et al., 2003; Jeavons, 1998; Monsma, 1996, 1998, 2002; Sider & Unruh, 2004).

Methodologies. Some of the studies that have attempted to classify organizations by their degree of faith integration have been large in scope (Ebaugh et al., 2006; Monsma & Mounts, 2002; Montiel & Wright, 2006; Sherman & Green, 2002), and others have involved more in-depth examinations of a smaller group of organizations, most of which range from 2 to 30 in sample size (Bielefeld et al., 2003; Goggin & Orth, 2002; McLeod, 2003; Neff, Shorkey & Windsor; 2006; Smith & Sosin, 2001; Vanderwoerd, 2003). Many scholars have focused on ROs receiving federal funds, but some studies have concentrated on organizations that provided particular types of services, such as child welfare agencies or congregations.

Methodologies have included mailed surveys, in-person interviews, detailed case studies, focus groups, participant observation, and reviews of archival data. Most of the studies used some combination of the above, such as surveys and interviews. Also, the majority of these studies involved the development of an instrument and then its distribution to the organizations.

A weakness in most of these conceptualizations of faith and its relation to NGOs to date has been the lack of operationalized indicators of the continuum, followed by the application to actual organizations. Ebaugh et al. (2006) recognized this gap and

attempted to address it by performing a factor analysis on 21 variables typically used to assess faith integration in organizational identity. Three significant factors emerged from their analysis – service, staff, and formal organizational religiosity. Ebaugh and colleagues then tested hypotheses using OLS regressions relating organizational religiosity to other organizational variables.

Another weakness in attempts thus far is the lack of focus on INGOs (for a notable exception, see Jeavons, 1999). Most of the studies described in this section focused on domestic NGOs providing social services (e.g., child care, welfare-to-work programs, shelter for the homeless), usually within urban communities.

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Organizations differ. They differ in size, location, mission, and structure. They differ in the activities they undertake and how they carry out their activities. Another distinguishing factor that has gained interest over the past two decades is whether organizations are religious or secular. Yet, despite the rapid growth in the number and scope of INGOs, little scholarship has addressed this difference.

Indeed, despite the many claims that have been made regarding ROs, rarely have researchers (a) tested theories regarding the potential strengths of these organizations or examined the activities they undertake (a few exceptions exist, but they tend to be case studies of one or a small number of ROs), (b) compared ROs with their secular counterparts, (c) examined these organizations within an international context, or (d) attempted to define ROs based on the degree to which faith is integrated into the organizations and their programs.

The research that has focused on the religious/secular divide – particularly within the international context – has tended to concentrate on the issue of federal funding (e.g., Cameron, 2005; McCleary, 2008) and to use samples of organizations predisposed to working with the government (i.e., USAID PVO registry), which can result in biased findings. Additionally, such studies have relied almost exclusively on organizational self-selection (i.e., organizations identifying themselves as religious in their name or mission statement; e.g., Clarke, 2009; Stoddard, 2003).

In particular, a review of the literature finds no previous attempts to discern whether religious and secular organizations differ in the types of activities they undertake (i.e., relief, development, advocacy), despite the many claims that have been made about the potential strengths of ROs to tackle particular endeavors. Further, no studies have addressed the activities of religious and secular INGOs based on the degree of faith integration.

To address the issue of defining *RO*, a review of the literature suggests that it is necessary to recognize the multidimensional nature of faith (e.g., Jeavons, 1998; Sider & Unruh, 2001; Working Group, 2003). Several methodologies have been used in an attempt to accomplish this task, but few go beyond a simple counting of attributes. Missing from the literature is a quantitative approach that uses a significant sample size to examine the activities undertaken by INGOs and that compares INGO activity based on whether the organizations are religious or secular as well as by the degree to with faith is integrated in the organization and its programs.

A further necessary step of applying the findings regarding faith and faith integration to actual organizations is indeed a significant gap in the literature (for a notable exception, see Ebaugh et al., 2006). Such practical application is needed to discern the validity of the many theories that abound regarding the potential strengths of ROs and to verify the typologies created by past efforts to distinguish organizations by degree of faith integration.

Thus, the question remains as to whether the potential strengths and motivations of ROs lead them to select particular activities or combination of activities. For example, ROs are credited with having more independence (as measured by percentage of funding from sources other than governments), which can result in greater flexibility and the ability to monitor states' actions. This trait is particularly important given the recent increase in focus by funders on output, as opposed to process.

Such a theory could lead one to venture that ROs are more likely than their secular counterparts to undertake advocacy activities. However, when viewed in combination with their motivations, such activities may not be the primary focus of ROs. Indeed, many ROs cite scriptures from their sacred texts that focus more on the provision of basic necessities (i.e., feed the hungry) than on what might be deemed social justice concerns (e.g., advocating for particular agricultural-related development policies). Furthermore, given the reliance of many ROs on high levels of private support, the desires of donors can sway the activities of an organization just as much as government funding. Indeed, it is conceivable that individual donors prefer that their money go to meeting the basic needs (e.g., water, food, shelter) of the poorest of the poor than to more

abstract and long-term projects that seek to empower communities or advocate for policy changes.

Figure 3 provides an overview of the framework described, whereby INGOs can be distinguished by whether they are religious and that religious and secular organizations possess unique motivations, attributes, and external pressures that lead them to undertake particular activities or combinations of activities.

A second piece of the framework aims to recognize that faith is a matter of degree, and thus, the degree to which faith is integrated in an organization determines the motivations and attributes of the organization, which in turn results in a unique set of activities (see Figure 4).

The next section addresses the research questions and hypotheses that ensue from these frameworks.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on a review of the literature on INGOs in general, ROs in particular, and efforts to define *faith-based* or *religious*, the present study sought to address six research questions:

1. Are there significant differences in the activities undertaken by secular and religious INGOs?

2. Are secular or religious INGOs more likely to receive government funding?

3. Are the numerous variables suggested by a review of the literature to be measures of the degree to which faith is integrated within an organization correlated such that underlying dimensions can be identified and used to categorize INGOs?

4. How many categories of INGOs are there based on the degree to which faith is integrated in the organizations?

5. Do INGOs differ in the activities they undertake based on the degree to which faith is integrated in the organization?

6. Do INGOs differ in the amount of government funding they receive based on the degree to which faith is integrated in the organization?

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses corresponding to the research questions were:

1. Organizations that undertake operational activities and that are results- and relief-oriented are more likely to be religious. Organizations that are

advocacy-oriented as well as operational organizations with development
objectives are more likely to be secular.

2. INGOs that receive government funding are more likely to be secular..
    Additionally, of INGOs that do receive government funding, those with a
    greater portion of their budgets coming from government sources are more
    likely to be secular.

3. There are four latent constructs that can be used to measure faith
    integration, based on the factors identified by Goggin and Orth (2002):
    administrative, organizational, programmatic, and funding.[18]

4. There will be three categories of INGOs based on degree of faith
    integration: a group with no faith infusion whatsoever; a group with low-
    to-moderate faith integration, primarily seen in the administrative
    variables (what Monsma [1996] referred to as *faith-segmented
    organizations)*; and a group that could be referred to as *faith-integrated*
    (i.e., faith permeates all factors).

5. INGOs that undertake operational activities that are relief- and results-
    oriented are likely to belong to the group with the greatest degree of faith
    infusion. INGOs that undertake advocacy activities are more likely to be
    in the group with moderate levels of faith infusion, and INGOs that

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[18] Given the logistical challenges associated with data collection related to environmental factors (e.g., whether religious symbols are present in the place where services are provided), no such indicators were used. Also, the three factors identified by Ebaugh et al. (2006) do not correspond with the factors hypothesized in this study namely because the indicators they used focus more on staff-client interactions. Identifying such information requires conducting a survey or in-depth interviews with staff, which was not within the scope of this study. Instead, this study focused on indicators that could be readily addressed using archival data.

undertake operational activities that are development- and process-

oriented are most likely to belong to the group with little or no faith

infusion.

6.   Organizations that receive government funds are more likely to belong to

the group with little or no faith integration, and INGOs that receive larger

portions of their budgets from government funds are also more likely to be

in the group with little or no faith integration. Organizations with the

highest level of faith integration will be unlikely to take any government

funds. Finally, organizations are more likely to fall into the group with

moderate levels of faith integration when they receive a small portion of

their budgets from government funding.

VARIABLES

Part One

This study can be conceptualized as consisting of three parts, each addressing two

research questions (Table 5 lists all variables used in the present study). The first part of

the study explores possible differences in the activities and funding sources of religious

and secular INGOs (i.e., Research Questions 1 and 2). Thus, the dependent variable is

whether the organization is religious or secular (RELBAS). All organizations were coded

on a dichotomous variable indicating whether they are religious. This dissertation used

the same strategy employed by Melito and Michels (2002) to define faith-based: an

organization was considered faith-based if its website, mission statement, objectives, or

priorities directly mentioned an affiliation with a religious organization or referenced

God, Allah, another deity, prayer, faith, or other overtly religious terms (organizations that were founded by a religious person [e.g. priest, rabbi] but did not meet any of the listed qualifications were not considered faith-based).

Organizations considered to be religious are further classified as Christian or non-Christian and were subdivided by denomination/affiliation (i.e., Catholic, Ecumenical, Evangelical/Nondenominational, Jewish, Mainline Protestant, Muslim, Orthodox, Other religion, Interfaith). These categories derived from the 16 used by McCleary and Barro (2008; the categories were collapsed into nine because of the small number of organizations that fit into several of the categories). Where it was unclear whether an organization was secular or religious or to which denomination it belonged, the organization was contacted for clarification.

Activities. The independent variables related to the activities undertaken by the INGOs. Three categorical variables were used to address INGO activity: focus, objective, and orientation (FOCUS, OBJECT, ORIENT). INGO activities can be focused on operations, advocacy, or both. Operational INGOs are categorized by whether they have has their primary objective providing relief, development, or both. The activities of operational INGOs were further categorized as results- or process-oriented (see Table 3). Additionally, information was collected on the specific types of activities or concerns an organization undertook (e.g., education, health). For all the independent variables,

information was collected from organizations' websites, annual reports, and 990s[19], as

well as from information provided by GuideStar and NCCS.

Funding sources. To address the question of government funding, two

independent variables are included. The first answers whether a portion of 2009 revenue

came from the federal government (GOVFUND).[20] The second variable looks at the

percentage of 2009 revenue that came from the government (<10%, 10-29%, 30+%;

GOVREV) for those organizations receiving government funds. The data for these

variables were found in the organizations' 990s.

For both questions, there is a strong possibility that overall revenue will confound

the results, and thus, revenue will be included as a control variable in the analysis.

Revenue, however, varies widely among organizations: whereas World Vision, the

largest U.S.-based INGO, had over $1 billion in revenue in 2009, many INGOs had

budgets in the hundreds of thousands. Because of the skewered distribution of revenue,

the log of total annual revenue (LOGREV) was used.

Part Two

This part of the study addressed Research Questions 3 and 4. Fifteen variables

were used to determine if there were underlying factors for measuring the degree to

which faith is integrated within an organization. The variables are listed in Table 5. These

variables were derived from a review of past attempts to categorize ROs. The factors

derived from the analysis were then used as the variables for the cluster analysis.

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[19] Form 990 is an annual reporting return that certain federally tax-exempt organizations must file with the Internal Revenue Service. It provides information on the filing organization's mission, programs, and finances.

[20] Form 990s for all but eight of the INGOs were available for 2009. Form 990s from previous years were used for those eight organizations.

The information needed for this portion of the analysis was gathered from organizations' websites, annual reports, 990s, GuideStar, and NCCS. Where information could not be obtained from any of these sources, the organizations were contacted directly.

Part Three

The final part of the study, which focused on Research Questions 5 and 6, used the same independent variables as those used to address the first and second research questions, but instead of using the dichotomous RELBAS as the dependent variable, the multinomial variable resulting from the cluster analysis was used.

SAMPLE

This study focused on U.S.-based NGOs that work internationally. The pool of organizations is limited to those based in the United States for practical reasons as well as to avoid confusing religious differences for cultural ones.[21] Additionally, one of the primary concerns addressed is the relationship between the U.S. government and INGOs given recent policy developments.

Another consideration in selecting a sample was to avoid lists that would, by their nature, omit some INGOs. For example, using the USAID PVO registry excludes organizations that refuse to accept government funding and/or to work in partnership with the U.S. government. The list of INGOs with consultative status at the Union Nations, too, would have limited the sample, as organizations that desire such status generally tend to be interested in advocacy work.

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[21] Many scholars have written about the differences in approach between European and North American INGOs. See Rieff (2002), Stoddard (2003), and Walker and Maxwell (2009) for further discussion.

It was also important to avoid limiting the sample to organizations that belong to umbrella groups, such as Interaction. Using such a list would restrict the sample to organizations open to partnering with other organizations (secular and religious) and willing to abide by certain humanitarian guidelines. Also, many umbrella organizations such as Interaction have an advocacy component, which may serve as a deterrent to some INGOs.

This study makes use of the database produced by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) for the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC). CFC serves as a resource for federal employees to help them select organizations to which they would like to make contributions. The CFC is the only authorized solicitation of Federal employees in their workplaces on behalf of approved charitable organizations.

OPM regulates the campaign and is accountable for assuring Federal employees that their designations are honored and distributed to the charitable organizations of their choice. Organizations that provided services in a foreign country can apply to be listed in the international section of the CFC Charity List.[22] The CFC defines an organization as being international if it has provided or conducted real services, benefits, assistance, or program activities in a foreign country over the 3-year period immediately preceding the start of the campaign application year. The CFC requires a list of the countries where program activities have been provided over the last three years and a detailed description of program activities, including the year in which those services were provided in each country listed.

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[22] The application can be accessed at http://www.opm.gov/cfc/Charities/ModelCharityApp.asp.

To be eligible, an organization must also be designated as tax-exempt nonprofit under the Internal Revenue Code and must provide specific information about the organization's auditing, governance, and program functions. Applicants must also provide a completed and signed copy of their IRS Form 990 for the most recent fiscal year. Organizations may apply to participate in the CFC individually (as an *independent organization*), or they may be represented by a *federation* (i.e., a coalition of individual charities with similar missions that align to minimize administrative costs and coordinate activities).

There are currently 438 INGOs in the CFC Overseas database. The database provides the following information: federation name (if applicable), employer identification number, organization name, brief description of the organization, service categories (up to three NTEE codes), percent of revenue spent on overhead, and organization website and phone number.

Limitations

A limitation of this dataset is its association with the U.S. government. Though the registry is not associated with funding from or working with the government, as all funds come from government employees and not the government itself, organizations weary of the government may choose not to participate. In a review of the list of INGOs included in the dataset, no Islamic organizations, such as Islamic Relief, were found. Given the potential for some organizations to self-exclude, organizations in the CFC database were compared to the Interaction membership directory (180 organizations) and the USAID PVO registry (592 organizations). A total of 49 organizations were listed in

both the Interaction directory and PVO registry but not in the CFC database. These organizations were added to the sample in an effort to be as inclusive as possible. Additionally, the 61 organizations unique to the Interaction directory (including Islamic Relief, a few ROs, and many advocacy organizations) were also added to the dataset in an effort to ensure the inclusion of advocacy organizations that may choose not to have any involvement with the U.S. government. Thus, the total number of organizations included in the data set at the outset was 548.

PROCEDURES

Statistical analyses were performed using PASW v18. Organizations were removed from the data set under the following conditions: (a) the organization was operations-oriented, but the objective was neither relief nor development ($n = 56$); (b) the organization was not international or only worked in countries with advanced economies[23] ($n = 50$); (c) the organization had ceased to exist ($n = 3$); (d) the organization existed for the sole purpose of helping INGOs raise funds ($n = 4$); (e) the organization was listed twice ($n = 3$; e.g., Phelps Stokes and Trustees for Phelp Stokes); and (f) one organization, the International Catholic Migration Commission, was excluded because it is not required to complete IRS Form 990 and has no decision making authority (information is only available regarding the organization's parent organization in Switzerland). Finally, three ROs were removed from the analysis as a result of findings from the CATPCA (the three organizations are described in the Results section). Thus, a

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[23] A country was defined as having an advanced economy using the International Monetary Fund's World Economic Outlook database, April 2011, which was retrieved from http://www.imf.org. The majority of the excluded organizations ($n = 25$) focused exclusively on Israel.

total of 120 organizations were excluded from the analysis. Within the final data set, 80.0%

of the organizations participated in the CFC ($n = 341$), 35.7% were members of

Interaction ($n = 154$), and 39.2% were registered with USAID ($n = 169$).

All data were cleaned and examined for outliers and missing variables.

Descriptive statistics were generated and frequency distributions of study variables were

examined. Specifically, descriptive statistics were run on whether an organization was

religious or secular, and for ROs, on the different faiths and denominations represented

(e.g., mainline Protestant, Muslim). Also, Chi-square tests were run on the types of

activities carried out by operational INGOs.[24] Because an organization can undertake

more than one type of activity, the overall number of activities was greater than the

number of organizations.

Next, a Generalized Linear Model (GENLIN) was conducted to determine

associations between the dependent variable (RELBAS) and the independent (FOCUS,

ORIENT, OBJECT) and control (LOGREV) variables. Controlling for revenue is critical

given the skewed nature of the revenue variable and the reality that organizations with

more money may be more likely to engage in certain types of activities (Dicklitch & Rice,

2004; Kaseje, 2006; Smith & Sosin, 2001).

The primary advantage of GENLIN, a semiparametric method of analysis, is its

flexibility. In particular, the procedure allows for the use of categorical and continuous

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[24] The 13 categories for activities were: agriculture and food; business development, cooperative, microfinance, and credit; capacity building and training; education; health care; human rights (e.g., gender issues); infrastructure; logistical support; peace and conflict resolution; rural development; shelter; water and sanitation; and spirituality. The first 12 categories were derived from InterAction member reports. Spirituality was added in an attempt to look at which organizations considered addressing individuals' spiritual needs to be a part of their mission.

variables and covariates. Additionally, GENLIN does not have the general linear model requirements of normality, linearity, and constant variance.

To address the first research question, a binary logistic model with a binomial probability distribution and using a cumulative logit link function was employed. All tests of statistical significance for the analyses were computed with an alpha level of $p = .05$. The second research question was addressed using a similar procedure. The dependent variable was the same, but the independent variables used were whether an organization received government funding (GOVFUND), and for those organizations receiving government funds, the percentage of revenue from government sources (GOVREV). In addition to controlling for revenue (LOGREV), this analysis also controlled for organizational focus (FOCUS), as operational INGOs are more likely to seek government funding than those focused on advocacy work.

For the third research question, categorical principal components analysis (CATPCA) was used. The 15 variables used to determine the level of faith integration within organizations were all categorical (e.g., gender, ethnicity) rather than interval (e.g., annual income, temperature) in nature. With interval data, it can be assumed that the intervals between the categories are equal, but the same is not true of categorical variables. Also, whereas interval data can be assumed to have a linear relationship, such an assumption cannot be made among categorical variables. As a result, using standard (linear) principal component analysis (PCA) is inappropriate; rather, experts suggest using CATPCA in order to avoid the limitations of linear PCA (Gifi, 1990; Linting, Meulman, Groenen, & Van der Kooij, 2006).

CATPCA is a data reduction method belonging to the nonlinear multivariate analysis techniques. The rationale for using this particular procedure is that many of the 15 variables are highly correlated, and they can be grouped together to form a reduced number of *factors* or *components*. Such components would contain most of the information inherent in the original variables. Indeed, the components found can be seen as *averages* of the closely related variables (Lijphart, 1999).

The results of the CATPCA were used to address the fourth research question. The components formed by the 15 original variables allowed for the summarizing of where the INGOs in the sample were situated in terms of their level of faith infusion. To accomplish this, a hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted. In cluster analysis, groups are constructed to be as different as statistically possible and as internally homogeneous as statistically possible. All cluster solutions from three to five clusters were examined in terms of bridging indices and cluster content.

There are limitations to cluster analysis. Cluster analysis is noninferential and cannot be generalized, and the technique will always form clusters regardless of whether clusters actually exist in the data. Thus, careful interpretation of the clusters is critical to access the validity of the solution.

To answer the fifth research question, the dependent variable was the categories of INGOs resulting from the cluster analysis; the independent variables were FOCUS, ORIENT, and OBJECT; and the control variable was LOGREV. Because the dependent variable is no longer dichotomous, GENLIN with a multinomial distribution and cumulative-logit link function was used.

The same procedure was performed using whether an organization received government funding (GOVFUND) and the percentage of revenue from government sources (GOVREV) as the independent variables. In addition to controlling for the revenue (LOGREV) of the INGOs, this analysis also controlled for organizational focus (FOCUS), as operational INGOs are much more likely to seek government funding than those focused on advocacy work.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

For policy makers and practitioners in humanitarian assistance, understanding the evolving role and responsibilities of INGOs is critical. Both policy makers and practitioners are involved in humanitarian efforts with a variety of organizations and are working to facilitate information exchanges, build networks, and strengthen collaboration. The growing presence of INGOs, and ROs in particular, with and without federal money, means that policy makers and those in the field will likely have professional contact with these organizations and form relations with them. Having a familiarity with their background, understanding their distinct organizational identity, and recognizing their strengths and weaknesses will likely help in developing more fruitful working relationships and avoiding potential pitfalls. Also, given the evolving nature of humanitarian crises and the contexts in which they occur, it is imperative that an analysis of these key players in the international humanitarian assistance system be performed so as to promote and protect human rights, strengthen international relations, and inform foreign policy.

Moreover, with the advent of the Sector/Cluster approach to humanitarian response, lead agencies are accountable to the humanitarian community for facilitating processes at the sectoral level. Part of this responsible includes being inclusive of key humanitarian partners and establishing appropriate coordination mechanisms. Being familiar with the activities of INGOs and knowing whether there are certain categories of INGOs that are more likely to participate in certain activities and to utilize certain approaches to humanitarian response could prove useful in accomplishing these tasks. Thus, this study could help in promoting greater inclusion, reaching a broad audience of potential partners, and developing coordination processes and procedures that create more efficient and effective responses.

Finally, this study has implications for the RO community in particular. In an ever more competitive and results-oriented aid environment, ROs are being increasingly asked to define what distinctive value they can offer, and to be aware of associated risks. As a result, they are beginning to explore the difference their faith base makes. Many are also keen to ensure that their religious identity is consistently and coherently applied across the organization, particularly decentralized organizations working in many countries with numerous field offices. This study may be useful to ROs as they seek to address these concerns.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study, as this exploratory empirical analysis of U.S.-based INGOs is by no means exhaustive. Indeed, the analysis is only as good as the data available, and the data used in this study are limited in terms of both the sample

and the method. There is no universal directory of U.S.-based INGOs; thus, an effort was made to use a data set representing a population of INGOs that provide a cross section of types of humanitarian assistance so a fair interpretation of the study's results could be made.

Although organizations participating in the CFC are not trying to attain government funding – rather, they are looking for donations from government employees – the analysis could still be biased towards organizations who select to have a relationship with the federal government.

Additionally, this study made use of archival data. As is characteristic of archival studies, this study was limited to information the organizations chose to provide about themselves. Thus, if an organization's website said that the INGO worked with local communities to provide development assistance, it was taken at face value that the INGO did indeed operate in this manner. This could be particularly problematic for the faith measures, as this study did not include participant observation, which would allow for ensuring that what was on the website or what was said over the phone or via e-mail was indeed true.

In an effort to address the latter, 16 interviews were conducted with organizations within each of the religious clusters in an attempt to verify the findings (see Table 6 for a list of organizations interviewed). This was a purposive sample meant to represent the range of organizations within each of the clusters. It included people at various levels of responsibility within the organizations (e.g., board chair, director of programs, president) and who had been with their respective organizations for various lengths of time (range:

1-17 years). The length of these semistructured interviews ranged from 30 minutes to one hour. Though varying from organization to organization, questions generally focused on the importance of religion in the selection of staff, funding, partners, projects, and countries of operation; how other NGOs and recipients of services viewed the religious nature of the organization; and how being religious helps and hinders organizational efforts.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Of the 428 organizations in the sample, 25.5% ($n=109$) were religious. Of the religious organizations, 94 (86.2%) were Christian. The breakdown of Christian ROs by denomination is shown in Table 7. Of the non-Christian organizations, there were four Jewish, four Muslim, four interfaith, two Buddhist, and one Latter-Day Saints.

Bivariate associations between various characteristics of religious and secular organizations were calculated using Chi-square tests.[25] The difference in number of volunteers was found to be significant, with ROs having more volunteers (see Table 8). The organizations did not differ significantly in revenue, number of employees and countries served, and year founded.

The subgroups were also compared in terms of the types of activities they undertook. The subgroups differed significantly on agriculture/food, education, health, shelter, spirituality, and water. Specifically, a greater percentage of ROs undertook all of these activities.

GENERALILZED LINEAR MODEL 1

RELBAS was fitted to a binary logistic GENLIN using FOCUS as the only predictor and LOGREV as the covariate. The omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi2$ (3) = 11.721, $p < .008$, indicating that the fitted model was a better fit to the data than the intercept-only model. Additionally, the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom was close to 1 (1.013), indicating a good fit of the model. As

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[25] Fisher's exact test was used instead of chi-square because the values in some of the cells of the contingency table were below 5.

expressed in Hypothesis 1, organizations that focused on advocacy were more likely to be secular, $B = 1.097$, $p = .016$. Organizations focused on operations, however, were not more likely to be religious.

The next model used FOCUS, ORIENT, and OBJECT (with organizations that focused on advocacy set as missing) as the predictors and LOGREV as a covariate. The model inclusive of all three predictors was a good fit, as indicated by the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom, 1.026. The omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi^2 (5) = 51.618$, $p = .001$, indicating that the fitted model was a better fit to the data than the intercept-only model. Organizations with a development objective were more likely to be secular, $B = 1.292$, $p = .002$. Additionally, organizations that were results-oriented were more likely to be religious, $B = -.723$, $p = .026$.

To address the second research question, another GENLIN was run, this time using GOVFUND as the predictor and LOGREV as the covariate. The model was a good fit, as indicated by the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom, 1.007. The omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi^2 (2) = 7.303$, $p = .026$, indicating that the fitted model was a better fit to the data than the intercept-only model. However, organizations that received government funding were no more likely to be religious than secular.

Then, the GOVREV variable was added to the model, and organizations that did not receive any government funding were set to missing. The model was a good fit, as indicated by the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom, 1.278 The omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi^2 (3) = 27.171$, $p = .001$, indicating that

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the fitted model was a better fit to the data than the intercept-only model. The results indicated that organizations receiving more government funding (30% or more) were more likely to be secular, as seen by the negative coefficients for less than 10%, $B = -1.798$, $p = .001$, and 10 to 29%, $B = -1.441$, $p = .012$.

CATPCA

The initial plan was to run the CATPCA and cluster analysis on all the organizations in the sample; however, after running several analyses, it became obvious that the secular organizations ($n = 319$) were always going to cluster into one group. Thus, only the ROs were included in the final CATPCA and subsequent cluster analysis, as using the small number of organizations ($n = 112$) allowed for more meaningful distinctions among the ROs. When secular organizations were included, so much of the variance was explained by the self-identify variable that other distinctions were missed.

Religious self-identification, resources, founding, and appeals did not contribute significantly to the explained variance and so were excluded from further analyses. Also, three organizations appeared as outliers in the biplots and so were removed from the analysis. These three organizations are discussed in greater detail in the next section. Thus, 109 ROs were included in the final CATPCA.

It was determined that a three-dimension solution was the most meaningful, based on Eigenvalues and the percentage of variance explained by each dimension (see Table 9). Table 10 shows that all variables correlated >=0.50 with at least one of the three components. Following a rule of thumb for standard PCA this means all contributed well

to the description of the characteristics of the sample and all are sufficiently correlated (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson, & Tatham, 2006, p. 128).

The total amount of variance accounted for by the three-dimensional solution (62.7%) implies that after the optimal quantification of the variables, the analysis gave a good description of both the total variability present in the data and the characterization of the organizations (see Table 9).

Figures 5 and 6 show the two-dimensional plots of the loadings of the transformed variables given in Table 10, with the variables represented by vectors or arrows and the origin of the plot representing the mean for each variable. In addition to illustrating what is shown in Table 10 (i.e., that Dimension 1 groups variables related to religious programming and administration; Dimension 2 groups the variables signifying whether the RO focuses on individuals of the same religion and whether it works in a specific area for religious reasons; and that Dimension 3 groups whether an RO is accountability to a religious body and whether it works with local partners), the figures also provide a visual of which variables play larger roles in explaining the variance. Given that Dimension 1 is measuring the degree to which faith is practiced and shared among coworkers and with participants, I refer to it as *Avowal*. This term is defined as "an open declaration or acknowledgement" and is often use with the term faith – *avowal of faith* – to express a heartfelt declaration of belief in God and of an intention to take some action in God's name. Because the second dimension focuses on with whom an INGO works, and thus, where the INGO works, I refer to it as geolocation. Finally, Dimension 3, which

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examines connections to religious bodies and local partners, I refer to it as measuring connectedness.

The figures also provide insight into the relationships among the grouped variables. The angles between the vectors represent to a reasonable degree the correlations between the transformed variables (Linting, Meulman, Groenen, & Van der Kooij, 2007). Thus, the plot can be seen as a reduced representation of the correlation matrix of the variables. Vectors with small angles between them have high correlations, and vectors at an angle of 90 degrees show the variables are uncorrelated. Thus, the plots provide an overview of the structure of the characteristics of ROs as far as it is contained in these variables. For example, organizations that work among people of the same religion and in a region they chose based on religious preference appear lack religious accountability. Similarly, as one might expect, organizations lacking in religious accountability have the strongest funding preferences and incorporate religious values into their programming to a greater degree. Additionally, ROs that evangelize work less with and through local partners.

Outliers

An important feature of CATPCA is that individual organizations and their relationships with the variables can be represented in a two-dimensional plot through a point, and its position is determined by its category scores on all variables. As mentioned in the previous section, three outlying organizations were seen in the original plots. Details regarding these three ROs and thoughts as to why they appeared as outliers follow.

Alliance for African Assistance. Alliance for African Assistance (AAA) appeared in the upper right quadrant of both plots, which indicated that it neither focused on individuals of the same religion nor did it incorporate religion into its programming or administration. Also, the organization was not accountable to a religious body, but it did work with local partners. The combination of loadings indicated that religion is a very small part of who the organization is and what it does. Indeed, in reviewing the organization's website, some of its partners are churches, but the only mention of anything that could be construed as *religious* is found in the mission statement: "Guided by Christian values, our mission is to assist refugees, immigrants, the economically challenged, and underserved to become self-sufficient, productive members of their communities."

Malawi Project. The Malawi Project is a small organization with no staff and 25 volunteers. In the *Questions and Answers* portion of the website there is a question regarding the relationship between the evangelistic efforts of the organization and the hospital it supports. The answer says that **e**vangelism is handled through a different organization, Malawi Ministries, sponsored by a Church of Christ in Indiana. Thus, the organization does not have religious staff, evangelize, or seek conversion, but it has a sister organization working in the same communities that does. In particular, along with only one other RO, the Malawi Project does not make religious appeals (i.e., use religious elements in their fundraising efforts). Indeed, were it not for the cross in the logo; the list of partners, which consists primarily of religious organizations; and two lines in its 2008 annual report ("Thousands of correspondence courses, and other pieces of literature were

shipped into all three regions of the nation, with the purpose of building strong, moral

Christian character," [p. 12] and, "As one watches large numbers of old and young

walking along a relatively empty stretch of road, a long time missionary observed, 'It's a

nation walking…'" [p. 16]) one would not know the organization was religious. The

organization considers itself to be nondenominational; this information was obtained

from a phone call, not from the website.

International Center for Religion and Diplomacy. The Center's mission is to

address identity-based conflicts that exceed the reach of traditional diplomacy by

incorporating religion as part of the solution. The organization works, in part, through its

representative networks, which includes World Vision, the Prayer Breakfast Network,

Advocates International, and the World Conference of Religions for Peace. Similar to the

Malawi Project, what seems to stand out about this organization is that it does not use

religious appeals in its fundraising efforts.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

The objects scores for the three dimensions were saved in the data set for each of

the 109 ROs and were then standardized. Based on a review of the descriptives,

Dimension 2 was reflected and then, due to its skewness, was transformed using a square

root transformation. Then, the standardized Dimension 1 and 3 variables and the

standardized and transformed Dimension 2 were used to run a hierarchical cluster

analysis. Two- and three- solutions were conducted using Ward's method.[26] The two-

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[26] Because secular organizations were removed for the cluster analysis due to the fact that they always formed a single cluster, a five-cluster solution was not conducted. Also, a four-cluster solution was not tested because of the tendency of Ward's method to create clusters of small size. Ward's method, which is

cluster solution was chosen, primarily because the small number of organizations in one of the clusters would have inhibited further analyses.

Characteristics of the Clusters

Table 11 provides descriptive statistics for the three clusters. Similar to the comparison between religious and secular organizations in Table 8, a significant difference was found in the age of the organizations. In particular, Cluster 2 had a significantly larger number of organizations founded prior to 1941. Additionally, the number of volunteers an organization had still differed significantly, with a greater percentage of organizations in Clusters 1 and 2 appearing in the 50+ category. Also, a smaller percentage of organizations in Cluster 1 used no volunteers (13.0%, vs. 20.6% and 27.9%).

Similar to when organizations were compared on two dimensions (religious and secular), agriculture, shelter, and water are significant at the .001 level. Education and health are also still significant, but not quite as significant as when the comparison was just between religious and secular INGOs.

<div align="center">GENERALIZED LINEAR MODEL 2</div>

The three-cluster solution was then fitted to a GENLIN using FOCUS, ORIENT, and OBJECT as the predictors and LOGREV as a covariate. The analyses were run using a custom model with a multinomial probability distribution. A cumulative logit link function was selected for each analysis.

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distinct from all other methods because it uses an analysis of variance approach to evaluate the distances between clusters (see Ward [1963] for details concerning this method) is regarded as very efficient.

The influence of the independent variables on cluster membership was assessed first. In the model using FOCUS as the only predictor and LOGREV as a covariate, the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom was .992, and the omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi2$ (3) = 12.336, p = .006. As found in the analysis using the dichotomous dependent variable, organizations that were advocacy-focused were more likely to be secular (Cluster 3), B = 1.169, p = .010. With the additional breakdown of ROs, however, an additional significant finding was found: organizations that focused on advocacy *and* operations were more likely to fall into Cluster 2, B =.2765, p = .009.

Next, the model was tested adding OBJECT and ORIENT as independent variables and setting advocacy-only organizations to missing. The omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi2$ (5) = 51.086, p = .001, indicating that the fitted model was a better fit to the data than the intercept-only model. Additionally, the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom was close to 1 (1.008), indicating a good fit of the model. Consistent with Hypothesis 5, organizations were more likely to belong to Cluster 1 if they undertook results-oriented activities, B = .726, p = .009. Also, organizations were more likely to be secular when they sought development objectives, B = 1.257, p = .002. Organizations that focused on advocacy and operations were again found to be more likely to belong to Cluster 2, B =.2765, p = .009.

To address the sixth research question, two final GENLINs were run, this time using GOVFUND as the predictor and LOGREV as the covariate. The model was a good fit, as indicated by the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom, 0.995. The omnibus test for the model fit was significant, $\chi2$ (2) = 7.653, p = .022, indicating that the

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fitted model was a better fit to the data than the intercept-only model. Unlike in the GENLIN model performed on the bivariate RELBAS variable, GOVFUND is now significant. Indeed organizations that received government funds were least likely to belong to Cluster 1, $B = -.544$, $p = .041$.

Then, the GOVREV variable was added to the model, and organizations that did not receive any government funding were set to missing. Though the model was found to be a good fit, as indicated by the ratio of Pearson's chi-square to the degrees of freedom, 1.278, the findings were determined to be inconclusive due to the small number of organizations found in each cell of the contingency table (i.e., in Cluster 1, only one organization received 30% or more of its funds from government sources and only four received 1-29%). In looking at the organizations by percentage of funding from the government, however, it is clear that Cluster 3 has the greatest percentage of organizations receiving 30% or more of funds from the government (23.2%), and organizations in Cluster 1 have the least (2.2%; see Table 12).

<div align="center">SUMMARY OF FINDINGS</div>

In sum, most of the hypotheses were found to be correct, but there were some unexpected findings. Hypothesis 1 was partially correct: Operations-oriented organizations that were results-oriented were more likely to be religious, and organizations with development objectives and that were focused on advocacy were more likely to be secular. Organizations that focused on operations, however, were *no more* likely to be religious.

Hypothesis 2 was also found to be partially correct. Although it was hypothesized that organizations receiving government funds were more likely to be secular, that was not found to be the case. However, in looking just at organizations receiving government funds, those receiving 30% or more of their revenue from government funds were more likely to be secular.

In the third hypothesis, it was expected that there would be four constructs, or dimensions, would result from the CATPCA and those four would fall under the headings of administration, organization, programming, and funding. This did not prove to be the case, as only three dimensions were identified and all but one of them contained correlated variables that belonged to more than one of the hypothesized dimensions. Indeed, the first dimensions clustered four primary variables that are considered programmatic, administrative, and organizational. Rather than measuring any of the four proposed dimensions, Dimension 1 appears to be measuring *avowal*. Both of the variables loading on Dimension 2 address geolocation. Finally, Dimension 3 measures connectedness.

In Hypothesis 4, it was predicted that there would be three clusters of organizations, and there were found to be three. There is a caveat to this finding, however, in that it is possible that had the sample of ROs been larger, there may have been a fourth cluster. In reviewing the four-cluster solution, there did appear to be some meaningful differences between all four clusters, but adding a fourth cluster resulted in a group that was too small for further statistical analysis.

Hypotheses 5 held that organizations that were relief- and results-oriented were more likely to belong to the Faith-Integrated Cluster. Relief organizations were not found to be more likely to belong to the Faith-Integrated group, but results-oriented organizations were. Hypotheses 5 also stated that organizations in the Faith-Segmented Cluster were more likely to be advocacy focused. This was found to be partially correct in that organizations focused on advocacy *and* operations were more likely to belong to the Faith-Segmented Cluster. Finally, Hypothesis 5 stated that organizations with development objectives and that were process-oriented were more likely to belong to the third cluster. It was found that organizations with development objectives were more likely to be in the third cluster, but process-oriented organizations were no more likely to belong to this group.

The last hypotheses predicted that organizations with government funding were more likely to belong to the third cluster and that organizations receiving no government funding were more likely to belong to the Faith-Integrated Cluster. The results showed that, indeed, organizations that did not receive government funding were more likely to belong to the Faith-Integrated Cluster, but it was not found that organizations receiving government funding were more likely to belong to the secular cluster. Analyses on the latter section of the hypothesis could not be run because of the small number of organizations in the Faith-Integrated Cluster receiving government funds.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

DISCUSSION

This study examined the relationship between religious integration within INGOs and the activities and funding sources pursued by the organizations. Faith integration was examined using a bivariate religious-secular variable, with an organization being defined as religious if its website, mission statement, objective, or priorities directly mentioned an affiliation with a religious organization or referenced God, Allah, another deity, prayer, faith, or other overtly religious terms (Melito & Michels, 2002). In later analyses, organizations classified as *religious* were further divided based on an examination of variables included in the literature as indicators of degree of religious integration. Loosely modeled after the efforts of Ebaugh et al. (2006), this portion of the study sought to provide operationalized indices for measuring dimensions of faith. Organizations were then clustered based on the three dimensions identified.

For both the bivariate and multivariate dependent variables, activities were examined in terms of their focus (i.e., advocacy, operations, both), and for organizations that focused on operations or both operations and advocacy, in terms of their orientation (i.e., process, results), and objective (i.e., development, relief, both). Funding resources were examined, with a specific focus on whether the organization received government funds, and if so, how much of the organization's overall revenue came from government sources (i.e., less than 10%, 10-29%, 30+%).

The findings indicated that some differences exist between religious and secular INGOs, although not as many as expected; that there are distinct differences in level of

faith integration among ROs; and that differences in activities and funding exist among the two religious clusters and the secular clusters. What follows is a discussion about these findings, with a particular focus on the clusters, their characteristics, and what those characteristics say about the organizations.

Faith-Integrated Cluster

Interviewees from Faith-Integrated ROs consistently described their religious nature as a strength for the organization in that it motivated staff, opened doors – both in the developing world and to funding networks in the developed world, and created instant trust in the communities in which they worked. The overarching theme emanating from both the data and the seven interviews (15.2% of the Faith-Integrated ROs), as the cluster's name suggests, was that for these organizations, faith is all-encompassing (e.g., "Faith infiltrates the culture of our organization." "Faith isn't just a part of who we are or what we do. It is *who* we are." "It's what we're all about. The Lord says we are to support the poor, to meet their spiritual needs and their physical and material needs. You cannot separate the needs."). Indeed, it is seen in the makeup and practices of the organizations themselves, their programming, and their partnerships.

Makeup and practices of the organizations. All of the organizations within this cluster had religious leaders on staff and/or on the board of directors and had a policy or practice in place of hiring people who shared their faith. The interviewees confirmed that their respective organizations either had a written policy or unwritten practice of requiring employees to share their faith, although one person qualified this statement by adding that not all of their staff shared the organization's views on evangelism. He said

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that those individuals were placed in positions that did not relate to the evangelical work of the organization. Another interviewee described religious-based hiring as an unofficial practice: "We are very upfront with job applicants that we are Christian; frequently, we pray…. If they are offended by such things, it may not be a good fit."

Additionally, all but five of the 46 ROs offered religious services (e.g., prayer group, worship service, devotional) to their employees and/or volunteers. All of the interviewees described the religious services offered to employees as being optional, but most also said that meetings were always opened with prayer.

The importance of religious staffing also came through during the interviews when participants were asked about the strengths of their respective organizations. All cited the commitment and shared sense of purpose of the staff. One interviewee said that the religious nature of the organization and its people kept them going and kept them humble. He described their religious motivation as being beyond altruism and individual selflessness or ability and said that his personal motto exemplified that of the staff: "I am one beggar showing other beggars where to find bread."

Another characteristic of ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster was the use of large numbers of volunteers (50+). Two possible explanations for this involve the mission trip concept and the possibility that organizations in this cluster tended to provide services that lend themselves to U.S.-based volunteer opportunities. Indeed, several ROs, such as International Children's Care and Teams for Medical Missions, send groups of volunteers on mission trips to their overseas projects, and several ROs, such as International Aid and

Convoy of Hope, primarily ship supplies (i.e., in-kind contributions) overseas, work that lends itself well to having volunteers sort and load.

Funding. Organizations in the Faith-Integrated Cluster also tended to lack or have very small amounts of government funding. Seven of the 46 ROs had received government funding. Of those organizations, only two (World Relief and World Vision) received more than 10% of their overall revenue from government funds, and less than 2% of overall revenue came from government funding for the other five.

Of the seven organizations interviewed, two received government funds. Neither had a policy limiting the amount of government funds they would take, but both said they pay attention to the ratio of public versus private funds. The five that did not have government funding either had a policy in place against it ($n = 2$) or said they might consider government funding at some point but were wary of the strings that would come with the money ($n = 3$).

Interviewees were also asked how their religious nature affected their fundraising efforts. One organization described being an RO as both a strength and a weakness when it came to fundraising. He said that it was helpful in that it allowed for targeted marketing among a generous group of people but that it hurt when trying to seek funding from corporations and some foundations, as they usually do not want to fund religious groups. "We have to explain that being a person of faith is not a requirement of receiving services. We don't help only Christians. In these cases [trying to get corporate funding], we go 'Christian-lite.'" He went on to explain that being "Christian-lite" meant focusing on the

fact that they serve all people, not just Christians, and downplaying the organization's religious activities.

One of the organizations interviewed is a child sponsorship organization. The interviewee said funding was never an issue, as people were very generous. Their primary method of fundraising was word-of-mouth among churches within the denomination.

In sum, the organizations in this cluster are made up of religious individuals and those individuals are given opportunities within their work environments to practice their faith. From interviews, it appears that organizations in this cluster are also characterized by individuals who are motivated by their faith to serve others. Finally, these organizations rarely rely on government funding, and when they do, it is on a limited basis. The next section examines the role of religion in the programming of Faith-Integrated organizations.

Programming. All the organizations in this cluster incorporated religious values in their programming. For some, this involved prayer, Bible classes, or worship services; for others, it involved incorporating Biblical principles into the services provided by the organization.

Evangelism. A fundamental program component in all but two of the 46 ROs in this cluster was evangelism, followed closely by seeking conversion ($n = 38$).[27] Not surprisingly, the majority of the ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster were

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[27] The two organizations that did not evangelize worked with people of the same faith; thus, evangelism is not relevant for those organizations.

evangelical/nondenominational ($n = 33$). Of the remaining organizations, seven were Catholic, three Protestant, two Ecumenical, and one Orthodox.

Although evangelizing was common among the ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster, interviews revealed that the ways in which organizations practice and understand evangelism are far from uniform. Indeed, the board chair for one of the organizations said that if you asked each of the board members whether the organization was evangelical, you would probably get different answers. He went on to explain that some of their partners in the field were very evangelical – "In the Philippines, they evangelize like tanks" – and that some of the board members tend to align themselves with that particular mode of operation. Other board members, however, focused on organizational efforts such as those underway in Egypt, a country where evangelizing is not permitted. In each country, the organization focuses on microlending, but in some, it also focuses on evangelizing; it depends on the policies of that particular country and the focus of their partners in those countries.

Another interviewee described his organization as evangelical but said not all of the staff considered themselves evangelical. "Some of us are Protestant, and some of us are Catholic. That doesn't really seem to be a problem. Our biggest challenge is differences in views on evangelizing." Another person said, "We work alongside the local church. We seek to live out the faith, but conversion is not our goal and is not up to us. God can do what God wants with His people." Despite this statement, he described the organization as "unapologetically evangelistic."

Yet another interviewee gave the following description when asked about the role of evangelism in the organization's work:

In the countries where we have an office and when we visit projects that we fund in other countries, we often visit people in the community in their homes. We always start discussion with prayer. We're not shy in talking with people about Jesus and our faith…. We're not trying to convert people, but we are open about who we are, that we are Christians.

Another commonality among the organizations interviewed was having a policy of nondiscrimination (i.e., someone did not need to be of the same faith to receive services, although some did say that primary outreach was to people of their faith).

Activities. ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster primarily focused on operations, though not significantly more so than organization in the other two clusters. Indeed, only one organization focuses exclusively on advocacy, and only three focused on advocacy and operations. Of the ROs focused on operations or operations and advocacy ($n = 45$), 38 were results-oriented, and six focused exclusively on development.

In terms of specific activities, it is interesting to note that the types of activities for which there were significant differences among the three clusters and where the Faith-Integrated Cluster had high percentages of organizations undertaking the activity were all specifically referred to in Matthew 25: 34-35 (i.e., feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, and shelter the homeless). Indeed, even in the area of education, another activity-type for which ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster stood out, most conducted this activity

as part of a broader effort to shelter children, usually orphans. Education activities typically included Bible study and sometimes worship services.

Partnerships. Much of the literature on ROs cites having networks in the developing world as a strength of this particular group of INGOs, and this study supports this claim. Indeed, 39 of the 46 ROs in this cluster work through indigenous partners. Only one of the Faith-Integrated ROs interviewed did not work through local partners. When that particular interviewee was asked about the organization's relationship with the local community, he described the organization as one that "keeps to itself." He said that they did not partner much and tended to focus solely on the children they served. He did add, however, that the organization is beginning to host mission trips to their project site and are arranging for those groups to serve in the broader community (e.g., replace a roof on a home located near the orphanage) in an effort to be "a lighthouse to the larger community."

Additionally, interviewees working with local partners expressed the importance of not dictating how partners "do religion," instead allowing for the partner's knowledge of the culture of the community to determine how faith was incorporated and shared. This finding is consistent with Pierson's (2001) statement that part of the reason behind the decline in Christian mission is that there has been a movement away from missionary paternalism to partnership with new churches. One interviewee, however, described partnering with local ROs as follows: "Partners being faith-based is very important. We do not prescribe how partners express their Christian identity, but in the few cases where agencies downplay the religious element, we will coach them to be more upfront."

Partners played a key role in deciding where an organization worked. The issue of how organizations decided where they worked and what they decided to do was handled similarly across the interviewed organizations. Most said they went into a country based on a request from an individual or small group within a country (usually a missionary or pastor/priest). One interviewee, himself a pastor, said, "We go with the going," meaning they do not try to go into a country where their efforts will not be welcomed. He said their criteria for choosing a country and a project were that the denomination had a presence in the area and that the project was short-term. Indeed, their efforts had a dual purpose: serve people in need and help the local church to gain visibility and grow. Thus, they wanted their role in a project to be "fairly invisible" so that the local church takes responsibility and credit for the project. To that end, a project must have been conceived by local church leadership, and there must be an exit strategy (i.e., the effort must not foster foreign dependency).

The large amount of partnership-based work within the cluster led to another question: How important is it that a partner be religious? The Faith-Integrated ROs that were interviewed all described the faith basis of an organization as a critical criterion, but several noted that they sometimes made exceptions. One interviewee said that although having religious partners was extremely important to them, "sometimes it's just not possible." The interviewee said that the organization is not going to stay out of a country because they cannot find a religious partners – "[In these situations] we live our faith and hope others come along." He provided the example of a recent effort in Libya, where they could not find a religious partner. Some of their funders wanted a Christian partner

and did not help finance the project because there was not one. The RO did, however, go ahead with the project.

Another interviewee described his organization as a bit of a hybrid in that some activities were discipleship-oriented and others were more humanitarian-oriented. In some situations, he said, they work with the Red Cross, and in such situations, they cannot evangelize. He also described a partnership in Kenya where they have funded the efforts of a church that is going into a large and well-known prison in very poor condition to hold Bible studies. His organization supported the Kenyan church's effort to establish a library and small seminary inside the prison. The same organization has a project in Argentina that is focused solely on church growth and pastor training.

Mission and service. Another theme that arose from the interviews was the notion of *mission* and *service*. Few of the staff whom I interviewed referred to their work using the language of humanitarian assistance. Rather, they referred to what they did as their *mission* and their organizations as *missional*. Indeed, in many respects, these organizations resemble the missionaries of the early 1800s who sought to communicate the Christian faith, win converts, and establish churches. During this time, missionaries also often established Western-style institutions alongside houses of worship. The manner in which several of the interviewees described their work resembled these early efforts, only now ROs are more likely to partner with existing churches to carry out humanitarian assistance projects and to "spread the word," as opposed to starting churches and providing humanitarian assistance simultaneously (although some do have a focus on church planting). For instance, one organization's website described its goal as

"reach[ing] the poor with both material aid (food, medicines, shelter, clothing, job training, etc.) and the hope of the Gospel." One interviewee said, "[We] never separate humanitarian work from sharing the Gospel. They are both part of our mission."

As with the use of the term mission, so, too, the term *service* was seen on websites and was used by interviewees. One of the larger organizations uses the motto "serving the servants" to describe the way in which they operate, which involves partnering with grassroots organizations. The terms tended to be used in the context of serving Christ and serving God's people.

Faith-Segmented Cluster

If the Faith-Integrated Cluster is characterized by the fact that faith was seen as *all-encompassing,* this cluster of ROs is characterized by the tendency of organizations to downplay their religious nature. Indeed, religion was not consistently seen as central to the makeup and practices of the organization, the programming, or the partnerships.

Makeup and practices of the organizations. The Faith-Segmented Cluster ($n = 63$) is similar to the Faith-Integrated Cluster in terms of having religious leaders on the staff and/or board ($n = 62$; see Table 12). Only about half ($n = 30$) of these ROs, however, have requirements that staff and/or board members practice a particular faith. A much smaller percentage of Faith-Segmented ROs offered religious services to their staff (33.3%). For example, the person interviewed from one of the Jewish ROs said they were probably about two-thirds Jewish and that they did not have any structured religious services: "We have one kitchen that is kosher and two that are not…. During Passover,

we try to keep a respectful food policy, like not having bread lying around. During

Hanukah, we have an optional candle lighting ceremony."

Organizations falling into the Faith-Segmented Cluster also differ from the Faith-Integrated Cluster in their religious affiliation/denomination. Overall, 31.7% ($n = 20$) of the ROs were ecumenical, 22.2% ($n = 14$) were evangelical/nondenominational, 12.7% ($n = 8$) were mainline Protestant, and 1.6% ($n = 1$) were Orthodox. Additionally, all of the Buddhist, Jewish, Interfaith, Latter-Day Saints, and Muslim organizations in the sample belonged to this cluster.

Finding that 14 of the ROs in the Faith-Segmented /Cluster are evangelical/ nondenominational is somewhat surprising given that evangelism appears to play a major role in distinguishing the two religious clusters. In reviewing information on those 14 organizations, it became apparent that one of the underlying issues relates to the combining of the evangelical and nondenominational categories. Often these two terms get used interchangeably, in part because the evangelical nondenominational movement is growing rapidly. Because of this fact, and because only six INGOs were coded as nondenominational, the two were combined. In actuality, however, not all nondenominational churches are evangelical, and indeed some organizations that might be affiliated with mainline Protestantism or Catholicism may be evangelical in nature.

In reviewing the 14 organizations that were coded as evangelical/nondenominational, it appears that four ROs using the term *nondenominational* (either on their website or in a phone conversation) to describe their organizations have characteristics more in keeping with ecumenical organizations. For

two of the 10 organizations describing themselves as evangelical, the organization does not work in another country (i.e., they ship food and supplies to schools, hospitals, etc. in other countries), and thus does not practice evangelism in the developing world. For two organizations, the website or person spoken to within the organization described the organization as evangelical, but nowhere on the website or in related materials was there mention of evangelizing. Also, three of the 10 evangelical ROs are affiliated with evangelical denominations, but their websites and related materials do not specifically mention spreading the Gospel, spirituality, preaching, evangelizing, or spreading the word. Indeed, these organizations described their work as "demonstrating Jesus' love," "reaching out in God's name," and "caring for God's children." The remaining three organizations do, according to their websites, evangelize.

Another characteristic of the Faith-Segmented Cluster that sets it apart from the other two is the year in which organizations were founded. This cluster contained the greatest percentage of organizations founded prior to 1941 ($n = 8$) and the smallest percentage of organizations (14.3%; $n = 9$) founded in 2000 or later.

Another consistency among the Faith-Segmented ROs was the way in which the organizations described their religious nature. Whereas ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster tended to quote scripture in describing what they did and why they did it, Faith-Segmented organizations used religious language that was less scripture-based and more concept-based. On websites and in interviews, these ROs tended to describe themselves using phrases such as *motivated by our love for God, motivated by Judaism's imperative to pursue justice, rooted in the healing ministry of Jesus,* and *inspired by Jesus' example*.

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Funding. In terms of funding, several of the interviewees talked about *targeted* fundraising. All used religious elements in their funding appeals at least some of the time, but several of the interviewees said it depended on the audience.

Organizations in this cluster were also receptive to government funding. Though only one of the interviewed organizations received government funds, 44.4% ($n = 28$) of the organizations within the cluster had received such funds. Of the eight interviewees who did not have government funds, all said that should the right funding stream become available, they would consider applying.

Programming. Faith-Segmented organizations were split on whether religious values were incorporated into the organization's programming (*yes* = 35, *no* = 28). Indeed, three of the interviewees described their organizations as "more humanitarian than religious." One director said, "Even though the organization spun off from an evangelical Protestant tradition, it is very secular in its programs."

Though not consistent in the use of religious values in programming, the group was consistent in their lack of evangelizing (9.5%) and seeking conversion (1.6%). This information stands in sharp contrast to the Faith-Integrated Cluster, where 95.7% of the ROs evangelized and 84.8% sought conversion. The one organization belonging to the Faith-Segmented Cluster that did seek conversion seemed to teeter between being Faith-Integrated and being Faith-Segmented. I thus chose to interview this organization, and from the conversation, I believe it was grouped correctly. The website says, "We work closely with national and local churches in the countries where we work. Through those local churches, our missionary organizations provide spiritual guidance to people in need,"

and, "We believe that the local church is best placed to know how to evangelize and preach the word." These quotes suggest that evangelizing is important to the organization and that the organization partners with churches that evangelize. In the interview, however, the role of evangelism was downplayed. The organization, which has its international headquarters in Germany, works collaboratively with the UN and WHO to identify the countries in which it works. The interviewee said that probably only half of their local partners are ROs. The impression was given that over time, evangelism and conversion have played a much smaller role in the organization.

Several organizations in this cluster even stated on their websites that they did not evangelize. Indeed, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency has a section in their website called, "Why ADRA does not proselytize."

Noteworthy is that two of the interviewed organizations had spun off from evangelical organizations. The representative of one of the two organizations talked in depth about why the organizations split, and he described it as being a fundamental difference in opinion about the purpose of the organization. Whereas the original organization had two warehouses and did not want to expand for fear of losing control of the religious dimension of the organization and the importance of religious partners, the new organization now has over 90 warehouses, or *satellites,* across the country. Indeed, the newer organization wanted to expand beyond churches in seeking volunteers. In fact, the interviewee said the organization was not religious. Nonetheless, the first paragraph on the organization's homepage says that the organization:

…is not affiliated with or restricted to a particular religious group and does not discriminate on any basis when distributing its meals. Some of the organization's volunteers and affiliates are driven by their love of God and helping to feed all of His children, but all religions and nonreligious groups are welcome to volunteer, donate, and help in any way.

Most of the organization's partners are religious. On the website, the organization refers to its partners as "churches and other nonprofit organizations." Indeed, of the 40 partner organizations listed, 30 are religious (e.g., Nazarene Compassionate Ministries, With God's Little Ones).

Activities. There was a significant difference among the clusters in the number of organizations engaged in health- and spirituality-related activities. The Faith-Segmented Cluster had the highest percentage (71.4% vs. 58.7% and 52.0%) of organizations engaged in health-related activities. Also, fewer Faith-Segmented ROs listed spirituality as one of their activities (19.0% vs. 78.2%).

Though not significant, this cluster had the highest percentage of organizations doing business development, cooperatives, microfinance, and credit activities (34.9% vs. 19.6% and 24.8%) and capacity building (65.1% vs. 54.3% and 61.8%).

Finally, though not significant, this cluster had a greater percentage of organizations involved in peace and conflict resolution work (20.6% vs. 6.5% and 11.6%).

In describing the role of faith in their activities, interviewees from the Faith-Segmented Cluster gave a variety of responses. One interviewee described the benefits of a faith basis for advocacy as follows:

Particularly when we're working in the United States on advocacy efforts, for better or for worse, we have two advantages in being faith-based. As a religious community, we have certain clout because we represent a bloc of the electorate. Religious organizations also have a moral authority that we can claim and bring to bear on developing world issues.

Interviewees also described the religious nature of their organizations as sometimes giving them credibility and sometimes fostering skepticism. One interviewee said, "Sometimes people are not convinced that we're doing what we're doing for the people. They think that we are more concerned with meeting the perspective of the religious community we represent." As an example, he mentioned the challenges that CRS faces in the field around reproductive health issues. He said that his organization faced similar challenges – "Even though we do not work in or near Israel, because of the complexity of the human rights issues there, our relationship with Israel gets questioned a lot." Indeed, they have had organizations not want to partner with them, not because of anti-Semitism but because of security concerns for their staff if they did partner with a Jewish organization. He added that they have honored requests from organizations that funds be given anonymously.

Another finding regarding the activities of organizations in this cluster is that they focused on both operations and advocacy significantly more so than organizations belonging to the other clusters. As expressed in the framework, the Faith-Segmented Cluster's focus on advocacy may have to do with their ready-made constituencies for such efforts in combination with their ability to raise funds, an advantage in relation to

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many advocacy only organizations. Indeed, Faith-Segmented organizations seem to be more connected to a religious base than Faith-Integrated organizations. Whereas most of the Faith-Integrated organizations are part of a tradition that does not have a national structure, Faith-Segmented organizations were more likely to be connected to a network via denominations (e.g., Catholic, Presbyterian, Jewish movements) or a set of denominations (e.g., ecumenical organizations). These organizations were also older and thus have had time to build a strong funding base. As one interviewee whose organization undertook advocacy and operations said, once a large group of people know about and trust an organization, they give funds without restrictions; those unrestricted funds often enable an organization to undertake advocacy efforts. Another interviewee from an advocacy and operations organization said that, like many ROs, the organization initially performed only operations-related activities, but that as time went on and as the organization grew, they saw the need to address the policy and structural issues that often times created situations where relief and development activities were needed.

Another of the organizations interviewed started as a grantmaker, added a volunteer component, and after 2000, began to undertake concerted advocacy efforts:

It was not until after 2000 that we began to realize the impact of U.S. policy in many of the countries and projects. We realized that it was incomplete to be an INGO based in the United States and not address these issues.

As an example of how the two focal areas can complement each other, he described recent efforts in Uganda to address antihomosexuality policies.

We were already working with some groups there [on operational activities], and those groups – on their own – began to form a coalition to fight the agenda. We immediately began to channel funds to support them. We simultaneously began to advocate in both Uganda and the United States as best we could.

Partnerships. Similar to Faith-Integrated ROs, Faith-Segmented ROs tended to work with local partners ($n = 50$; see Table 12). All the organizations interviewed said they partnered with indigenous groups, and none of them partnered exclusively with religious organizations. Indeed, religion was described as a "secondary criteria" in the interviews. A person interviewed from one of the larger ROs said that religion was not a factor for them in selecting partners, but that the religious nature of their own organization could sometimes be an issue for the grassroots organizations with whom they would like to partner.

In talking about their partners in the developing world, the terminology used by those affiliated with Faith-Segmented organizations differed from that of the Faith-Integrated organizations. Relationships with local partners were described by interviewees from the Faith-Segmented Cluster as "eye-to-eye," "horizontal," and "following their lead."

CONCLUSION

In the rationale for the study (p. 58), a framework was provided which suggested that the selection of activities by ROs and their subgroups as well as secular organizations is influenced by organizational motivations, attributes, and external pressures. Some of these influences are the same across groups (e.g., economic climate, host government's

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foreign aid level), but some are unique to each group. This dissertation concludes with thoughts on the possible roles these factors play in the activity-related decisions of the INGOs in this sample, followed by suggested directions for future research.

Motivation. One of the biggest distinguishers between religious organizations was faith avowal, and contributing significantly to this factor was evangelism. ROs that evangelize have a different worldview motivating their actions than do ROs that have a policy and/or practice of not evangelizing. Indeed, for ROs, the strategies employed and the types of activities pursued says something about how the organization interprets its religious tradition.

An outpouring of Christian theological work that features the kingdom of God as its central theme has emerged during the past decade (Gushee, 2010). Generally speaking and at the risk of oversimplifying, there are two distinct ways in which the kingdom of God is viewed: otherworldly and this-worldly. Those who have an otherworldly focus tend to be future-focused and see life on earth as something to endure until one enters the heavenly realm (Greenberg, 2000; Smith, 2000). In this line of thinking, a premium is placed on saving souls and making sure that people know about Jesus so that when the time comes, they, too, can enter the heavenly realm. Thus, people get divided into those who are *saved* and those who are *unsaved,* or those who are *born again* and those who are *lost.* Matthew 25 recounts a similar division, whereby God called those on the right blessed because:

> I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me
>
> something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and

you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came

to visit me. (35-36)

To those on the left, God said:

Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil

and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me nothing to eat, I was thirsty and

you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not invite me in, I

needed clothes and you did not clothe me, I was sick and in prison and you did

not look after me. (41-43)

This particular scripture is referenced frequently by ROs engaged in humanitarian

assistance, particularly by Faith-Integrated ROs. As discussed in the literature, social

actions such as feeding the hungry have increasingly been viewed by evangelicals as part

of Christian duty just as much as sharing the Good News. Thus, organizations that

subscribe to an otherworldy viewpoint may be somewhat divided as to how strongly

social action is tied to salvation and whether conversion should be an explicit aim (and

thus the finding that had there been more ROs in the sample, there may have been yet

another cluster).

Those who subscribe to a this-worldly outlook are more present-focused, as they

tend to view God's kingdom as existing now. This line of thinking stems from Jesus'

proclamation that the kingdom of God is at hand (Matthew 3:2). This viewpoint sees the

kingdom as central to Jesus' entire ministry—affecting not just his preaching, but

everything he did (Gushee, 2010). Jesus came to embody God's reign and to create a

community that would make as its mission the continued embodiment of God's reign

until Christ returns. Thus, the kingdom theology that is this-worldly motivates ROs to seek justice and help others *in this world.*

Taking into account these fundamentally different views on the kingdom, a Faith-Integrated organization could be viewed as otherworldly, and a Faith-Segmented Organization as this-worldly. These different approaches to humanitarian assistance can help to explain to some degree the different approaches and activities of these organizations.

If what really matters is the soul, then thinking about the way socioeconomic factors and social institutions shape people is hardly important. These findings call into question Taylor's (2005) argument that the stereotype of the missionary model is misinformed and no longer reflects the practice of most religious relief and development agencies as well as arguments that all ROs – especially Christian ROs – have as their primary motivations a goal of increasing the number of adherents to the faith (Anheier & Salamon, 1998; James, 1989; Rose-Ackerman, 1996). Indeed, a question commonly raised in the literatures is whether religious motivation inspires organizations to do good, or if it requires evangelizing. The answer is, it depends. Such sweeping generalizations are not grounded in research. Indeed, from this study, it is clear that the role of religion, and evangelism in particular, in an organization varies widely. Indeed, there are still organizations adhering to a more traditional missionary, or charity, model, but there are also ROs practicing community development, advocacy, and other, more participatory practices aimed at long-term solutions.

Reaching the poorest of the poor. As hypothesized, organizations that were results-oriented were more likely to be religious. This results orientation may be related to an organization's religious aims. Most INGOs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster emphasized reaching the poorest of the poor, especially in areas of the world where other INGOs were not present. Such an emphasis by its nature involves meeting people's most basic needs (e.g., feeding starving people). This point was made by Buckland (1998) in his description of what critics say about the development approach, that it bypasses the poorest of the poor.

Causality, however, cannot be determined from this study, so whether a results orientation is due solely, or even primarily, to an INGO's religious orientation cannot be said with confidence. Indeed, given that Faith-Integrated organizations depend less on private funds, it could be that they need to undertake activities for which it easier to solicit funds. As previously discussed, in general people are more likely to give immediately following a disaster or emergency situation. Additionally, one of the interviewees from the Faith-Integration Cluster discussed having conducted a fundraising analysis, whereby it was determined that donors most want to provide the basics, especially housing and water, and they want to help orphans and vulnerable children. Thus, there are some practicalities in undertaking results-oriented activities, as well as child-centered, services. The fundraising analysis, however, does not tell us what motivates donors to want to provide such life-sustaining services, and they, too, could be motivated by their religious beliefs in choosing activities and organizations to support.

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Attributes. Another dimension distinguishing among ROs was connectedness, which encompassed religious accountability. The majority of the Mainline Protestant, Catholic (with official affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church), and ecumenical ROs as well as all of the Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, and Interfaith ROs belonged to the Faith-Segmented Cluster. It was within this cluster that organizations were most likely to undertake both advocacy and operations activities. It may be that the connectedness of these ROs to networks of congregations and/or denominations, as suggested by Natsios (2001), provides a mechanism through which these ROs can share what they have learned from their experiences in the field not only to help fundraise but also to inform people as to how policy decisions within the United States and on the part of IGOs contribute to problems in the developing world.

In addition to having networks of denominations and congregations, ROs also potentially have connections to policy makers. As expressed by one interviewee from the Faith-Segmented Cluster whose RO participated in operations and advocacy, being religious and having a large constituency opens up doors in Washington, D.C. Thus, conducting advocacy efforts both among a portion of the electorate and among those elected or appointed to serve in the government is a viable task.

Unlike many of the ROs in the Faith-Segmented Cluster, those in the Faith-Integrated Cluster tended to lack such networks. Where networks do exist, rarely is there a focus on advocacy (e.g., Mission Exchange, Accord). As described in the literature review, the issue of social responsibility is quite contested within evangelical circles and so it is not too surprising to find a lack of emphasis on advocacy among these groups or

to see the development of networks specifically geared toward education people en masse regarding issues significant to the developing world.

An exception to this void of networks among Faith-Integrated ROs is found in the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), which advocates at the federal level for its priority issues: "NAE provides a forum where evangelicals can work together to preserve religious liberty, nurture families and children, protect the sanctity of human life, seek justice for the poor, promote human rights, work for peace, and care for God's creation." NAE is directly affiliated with World Relief, a Faith-Integrated RO. NAE's website describes World Relief as follows: "the compassionate service arm of the NAE, World Relief's mission is empowering the local church to serve the most vulnerable."

Thus, World Relief stands as a bit of an anomaly to the other ROs in the Faith-Integrated Cluster, as does World Vision, which is currently the largest U.S.-based international relief and development organization. World Vision defines advocacy as "a ministry of influence using persuasion, dialogue, and reason to affect change," and describes it as a "critical component of World Vision's work to tackle the causes of poverty, protect children, and promote justice." Both ROs cite Proverbs 31:8 as justification for their work: "Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and needy."

Age. Another potential attribute contributing to the activities of INGOs may be the age of the organization. A comparison across clusters found that Faith-Segmented INGOs had significantly more organizations founded prior to 1941 and significantly

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fewer organizations founded since 2000. It is conceivable that organizations that have had more time to build a steady funding stream have more unrestricted funds with which to conduct advocacy efforts. It is also conceivable that older ROs started as relief organization, but have evolved over time to incorporate development and advocacy work as well, as described by the interviewee of the Jewish ROs. It is interesting to note that World Relief and World Vision are among the older of the Faith-Integrated organizations, and both began as relief organizations.

External pressures. External pressures related to religion also influence what activities ROs undertake. Government policies and actions (e.g., laws regarding proselytizing) can affect the actions of ROs, and how ROs respond to such outside pressures vary. One interviewee, when asked how the organization chooses where it works, replied, "We go with the going." He explained that they only go where they are wanted and where there is leadership supportive of the project. Another interviewee described how his organization worked in Egypt, and because the country does not allow proselytizing, they do not partner with groups that have such practices. Another interviewee provided a similar description of their work in Libya. He said not everyone wanted the project because of the lack of a religious partner; the RO, however, decided to pursue the project and prayed that people served would come to know Jesus because of the actions of the organization.

Host countries' decisions regarding which countries they will engage and support (or, conversely, which countries they go to war with) also affects the actions of some INGOs. For instance, the United States has a significant presence in Iraq and Afghanistan

right now. There are INGOs choosing not to work in those countries because of the religious orientation of the people there. Similarly, there are organizations that began working in particular parts of Africa or to offer particular services because of the introduction of PEPFAR funds, which where inclusive of funding for abstinence education.

Individual donors, too, impact the activities of INGOs. Some donors, like some organizations, are influenced by their religious beliefs, and like organizations, they can hold this-world and otherworldly views about the kingdom of God. Thus, whether an individual wants to sponsor a child, make a microloan, supply food following an earthquake, or donate livestock can in fact say something about their religious beliefs. As noted by one interviewee from a relatively new Faith-Integrated RO who had conducted research on their donors to identify the concerns they were most interested in, activities aimed at providing life-saving services to individuals (especially children) was what donors were most interested in supporting.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the empirical findings and personal interviews conducted for this study, I propose three broad areas for future research: (a) a further examination of the diversity among ROs, particularly as it pertains to evangelism, and how this division plays out in the field (e.g., interview recipients of the INGOs' services regarding their experiences); (b) an examination of the diverse partnerships that exist between INGOs and local partners as well as between INGOs and their affiliates and between INGOs and their

donors; and (c) a replication of this study utilizing a sample of INGOs that are not U.S.-based and that compares the findings with those of the current study.

I recommend that researchers analyze ROs along the dimensions of avowal, geolocation, and connectedness, while taking into account total revenue. Indeed, the findings from this study call into question the utility of comparing INGOs along a dichotomous religious-secular divide or even using denominational labels. Dual growth in ecumenical and evangelical organizations, as described in the literature review, raises issues regarding the usefulness of such labels, and of the organizations in the sample that were Christian, half (50.0%) were evangelical and a quarter (23.4%) were ecumenical. In both cases, there is a movement away from formal doctrine and ritual and movement toward less hierarchy and the more core tenets of the faith. However, how this plays out in practice can be very different. As seen in Table 13, all of the Christian denominations are split between the two religious clusters, though the majority of ecumenical organizations fall into the Faith-Segmented Cluster, and the majority of evangelical organizations fall into the Faith-Integrated Cluster. We need a better understanding of what this means in practice as well as the tensions that exist within the evangelical community in particular regarding the role of evangelism, desire for conversion, and advocacy.

There are two possible approaches to addressing the latter concern. A study similar to this one could be conducted that incorporates a larger sample of organizations that are considered evangelical or nondenominational. This could be accomplished by

supplementing the sample with members of ECFA and Accord.[28] From the findings of this study, it is possible that a larger RO sample would have resulted in at least one additional cluster. Indeed, there seemed to be a divide in the Faith-Integrated Cluster in terms of how evangelism is carried out and how central it is to the overall mission of the organization. In this sense, it is possible that this group could be further subdivided such that there is also, borrowing a term from Sider and Unruh (2004), a Faith-Saturated cluster.

In addition to further quantitative work, qualitative endeavors consisting of field work would enhance our understanding of how the tensions around evangelism and conversion play out in practice. Not only could field work provide valuable insight into recipient perceptions of INGO activities, but it could also be beneficial in addressing the second area of proposed research: partnerships. From both the quantitative analysis and the interviews, it is clear that local partners play a significant role in the work of U.S.-based INGOs. Taylor (2005) described ROs as moving to an Oxfam model of relying on local partners. In theory, such an approach stands in sharp contrast to the missionary model. However, supporting churches, as one interviewee said, "We do not prescribe how partners express their Christian identity, but in the few cases where agencies downplay the religious element, we will coach them to be more upfront." Yet, other

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[28] ECFA is an accreditation agency dedicated to helping Christian ministries earn the public's trust through adherence to Seven Standards of Responsible Stewardship .The first of the seven standards holds that "every member shall subscribe to a written statement of faith clearly affirming a commitment to the evangelical Christian faith or shall otherwise demonstrate such commitment and shall operate in accordance with biblical truths and practices." Accord describes itself as "a catalyst for learning, collaboration and building Christ-centered unity around the shared vision of eliminating poverty. In the organization's "Principles of Practice," it states "We affirm our identity as evangelicals."

interviewees from the Faith-Integrated Cluster talked about partnering with non-Christian organizations.

Determining how this plays out in practice requires field work. Indeed, it is one thing for an INGO to say they do not evangelize or seek conversion, but there remains the possibility that the organization funnels money to local organization that do. Much more information is needed regarding the relationship between local partners and INGOs. Similarly, a network analysis could contribute greatly to our understanding of how much religious beliefs influence who an organization works with while taking into account other influencers, such as practical concerns and availability of religious partners.

Another area for research within the partnership theme is that of internal partnerships. Examining organizational structures was beyond the scope of this study, but it would be helpful to have a better understanding of if and how the role of religion within an organization varies among ROs with differing structures. For example, World Vision has a federated structure that allows for a great deal of autonomy among its affiliates. In the United States, the organization has a religious hiring policy and provides opportunities for its employees to participate in Christian worship. Not all World Vision offices, however, are staffed by Christians. When its office in Pakistan was attacked in March 2010, it was reported that all 36 of the organization's staff were Muslim. Thus, you have an evangelical Christian RO working in a majority Muslim area of the world with an all-Muslim staff. How this affects the relationships between and within affiliates and how the organization reconciles its evangelical nature with the realities of the communities in which it works is an interesting question.

Though World Vision is somewhat of an outlier because of its enormous size, many smaller INGOs are affiliates or are struggling with issues of franchising and so struggle with some of the same challenges. This issue of how organizational structure influences and is influenced by religious aspects of an organization was discussed by some of those who were interviewed. For example, one interviewee from a Faith-Segmented RO described how his organization spun off from a Faith-Integrated RO due to a difference in opinion over organizational structure: Whereas the Faith-Integrated RO wanted to maintain a Unitary Corporate structure (in part to maintain control over the religious nature of the organization), those who left wanted a more expansive organization so that more humanitarian needs could be met.

There is also the issue raised by some of those interviewed regarding the balance between the desires of the donors and the desires of the staff. Though such challenges exist for all organizations, it could be that such challenges are particularly pronounced for ROs with high levels of faith infusion. Given the otherworldy focus of evangelical theology and the related debate regarding the role of social responsibility, convincing the evangelical constituency to help fund humanitarian work – particularly development and advocacy efforts or more process-oriented endeavors – could prove challenging. This concern becomes even more relevant when taking into account the rapid growth of evangelicals in America and across the globe.

For some Faith-Integrated ROs, the response to such concerns seems to be to provide life-sustaining services to the poorest of the poor while proclaiming the gospel of Christ in countries where laws allow for evangelizing or to focus on providing services to

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Christians in the developing world. For others, however, the response is not quite so black-and-white. For these organizations, we need a better understanding of how such decisions are made, particularly given donor demands, and how it is that it becomes acceptable to compromise their religious ideals. Along these lines, how messages regarding such activities are framed to donors and how donors respond to these messages could have implications for the larger INGO community.

Finally, this study limited the sample to INGOs based in the United States. A study using INGOs headquartered in a European country may produce different results. The United States and Europe have different political histories, philosophical traditions, and public giving patterns. It would be interesting to compare the results from this study to those of a similar study conducted in, for example, Norway, which is heavily secular but which has ROs. Such a comparison could result in a better understanding of the role context plays in shaping the religious nature of an organization.

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Table 1

Four Generations of INGO Strategies

	Generation			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
	Relief and Welfare	Community Development	Sustainable Systems Development	People's Movements
Problem Definition	Shortage	Local inertia	Institutional and policy constraints	Inadequate mobilizing vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project life	10-20 years	Indefinite future
Scope	Individual or family	Neighborhood or village	Region or nation	National or global
Chief Actors	INGO	INGO plus community	All relevant public and private institutions	Loosely defined networks of people and organizations
INGO Role	Doer	Mobilizer	Catalyst	Activist/educator
Management Orientation	Logistics management	Project management	Strategic management	Coalescing and energizing self-managing networks

Source: Adapted from "Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary action and the global agenda," by D. C. Korten, 1990, West Hartford, CT, Kumarian Press, p. 117.

Table 2

Phases of Disaster/Emergency Response

Disaster/Emergency Response Phase	Relief	Transition	Recovery & Reconstruction
Primary Actors	Humanitarian	Humanitarian & Development	Development
Activities	Immediate life-saving assistance • Search and rescue • Evacuation • Distribution of food and water • Temporary sanitation • Emergency health care • Emergency shelter • Restoration of the access to transport	Early recovery of basic facilities and services • Psychosocial assistance • Education • Livelihood restoration • Construction of housing or water systems • Establishment of primary health care centers or school staffed by local people	Restoring or improving pre-disaster living conditions • Livelihoods and income generation • Heavy infrastructure restoration • Business and market rehabilitation

Source: Adapted from "Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance Annual Report, 2008," by the U.S. Agency for International Development, p. 18.

Table 3

Process- and Results-Oriented Approaches to Humanitarian Assistance

	Process Oriented	Results Oriented
Ideology	*Socio-political transformation* Household or community is marginalized from mainstream society, requiring enhanced self-reliance to become more whole.	*Socio-economic improvement* The physical nature of poverty is highlighted, as is the need for new resources, technologies, and services to achieve an adequate living standard.
Principal Constraint to Development	Principal constraint is within the community; outside resources and technologies only reinforce dependency and dualism. Community lacks awareness as to why they are poor, or the ability to work together for solution.	External resources and technologies are required to overcome poverty that results from external and internal constraints.
Attitude Towards Participation	Participation is seen as the *end*; improved income, power, and status seen as a by-product.	Participation is seen mainly as a *means* to the achievement of enhanced livelihoods.
Attitude Towards the Poor	The community can and must be the source of their own solutions. While they are intelligent and hard-working, they are unconscious of social and political forces that constrain them.	The community understands the socio-political constraints they face, are hard-working and intelligent but lack resources, organization, and power to overcome poverty.
Role of External Agent or Agency	Facilitator encourages critical thought and collaborative action.	Agency undertakes a number of roles including training and allocating external resources and technologies.

Types of Activities	Awareness building, empowerment, social organizing for claim-making, and cooperative projects.	Income generation schemes plus provision of social services, in conjunction with conscientization and social organizing.

Note. Adapted from "From relief and development to assisted self-reliance: Nongovernmental organizations in Bangladesh," by J. Buckland, 1998, *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance,* http://jha.ac

Table 4

Exerts from RO Mission Statements

Religious orientation	Organization Name	Exert from mission statement
Christian-Catholic	Catholic Relief Services	"... carries out the commitment of the Bishops of the United States to assist the poor and vulnerable overseas. We are motivated by the Gospel of Jesus Christ to cherish, preserve and uphold the sacredness and dignity of all human life, foster charity and justice, and embody Catholic social and moral teaching.... As part of the universal mission of the Catholic Church, we work with local, national and international Catholic institutions and structures...."
Christian-Evangelical	World Vision	"... a Christian humanitarian organization dedicated to working with children, families, and their communities worldwide to reach their full potential by tackling the causes of poverty and injustice…. Motivated by our faith in Jesus Christ, we serve alongside the poor and oppressed as a demonstration of God's unconditional love for all people."
Jewish	American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee	"JDC is the overseas arm of the American Jewish community, focused on its 3Rs...: rescue of Jews at risk, relief for Jews in need, and renewal of Jewish community life…."
Christian-Mainline Protestant	Lutheran World Relief	"Affirming God's love for all people, we work with Lutherans and partners around the world to end poverty, injustice and human suffering…. Empowered by God's unconditional love in Jesus Christ, we envision a world in which each person, every community, and all generations live in justice, dignity, and peace."
Interfaith	Witness for Peace	"Witness for Peace (WFP) is a politically independent, nationwide grassroots organization of people committed to nonviolence and led by faith and conscience."

Muslim	Islamic Relief USA	"...strives to alleviate suffering, hunger, illiteracy, and diseases worldwide regardless of color, race, religion, or creed, and to provide aid in a compassionate and dignified manner. Islamic Relief aims to provide rapid relief in the event of human and natural disasters and to establish sustainable local development projects allowing communities to better help themselves."

Note: Mission statements found on the organizations' websites.

Table 5

Variables Used in CATPCA

Variable Name	Description	Response Options
RELBAS	Whether the organization is religious or secular	0 = secular; 1 = religious
CHRIST	Whether a religious organization is Christian	1 = yes; 2 = no
DENOM	Specific denomination/religion of the organization	1 = Catholic; 2 = Ecumenical; 3 = Evangelical/Nondenominaitonal; 4 = Interfaith; 5 = Jewish; 6 = Mainline Protestant; 7 = Muslim; 8 = Orthodox; 9 = Other religion[a]
AGFOOD	Participates in activities related to agriculture and food	1 = yes; 2 = no
BUSDEV	Participates in activities related to business development, cooperatives, microfinance, credit	1 = yes; 2 = no
CAPBLD	Participates in activities related to capacity building, training	1 = yes; 2 = no
EDUC	Participates in activities related to education	1 = yes; 2 = no
HEALTH	Participates in activities related to health care	1 = yes; 2 = no
HRTS	Participates in activities related to human rights (e.g., gender issues)	1 = yes; 2 = no
INFRA	Participates in activities related to infrastructure	1 = yes; 2 = no
LOGSUP	Participates in activities related to logistical support	1 = yes; 2 = no

PEACE	Participates in activities related to peace and conflict resolution	1 = yes; 2 = no
RURDEV	Participates in activities related to rural development	1 = yes; 2 = no
SHELTER	Participates in activities related to shelter	1 = yes; 2 = no
WATER	Participates in activities related to water and sanitation	1 = yes; 2 = no
SPIRIT	Participates in activities that address spiritual needs	1 = yes; 2 = no
FOCUS	Focus	1 = both; 2 = advocacy; 3 = operations
ORIENT	Process- or results-oriented	Where *Focus* is 1 or 3, 1 = results-oriented and 2 = process-oriented
OBJECT	Relief- or development-oriented objectives	Where *Focus* is 1 or 3, 1 = both; 2 = development; 3 = relief
REV	Total revenue for 2009	
LOGREV	Log of total revenue for 2009	
SIZE	Size of the organization, based on revenue	1 = small (<$500,000); 2 = medium ($500,000-1,999,999); 3 = large ($2,000,000+)[b]
GOVFUND	Does a portion of 2009 revenue comes from federal government	1 = yes; 2 = no
GOVREV	% of 2009 revenue from government funds	1 = 0; 2 = 1-29%; 3 = 30+%)
RELSERV	Offer religious services to staff (e.g., chapel, Bible study, prayer)	1 = yes; 2 = no
SELFID	Self-identify as religious in organization name or mission statement, or elsewhere on website or in annual reports	1 = yes; 2 = no

RELFND	Founded by religious individual(s)	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELLDR	Religious leadership (i.e., staff, board of directors)	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELACCT	Accountable to a religious body	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELHIR	Religious hiring policy in place	1 = yes; 2 = no
EVANG	Specifically refer to evangelism in organizational documents	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELRES	Receive resources from religious organizations	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELAPP	Use religious elements in funding appeals	1 = yes; 2 = no
FUNDPREF	Preference given to funding that won't jeopardize religious nature	1 = yes; 2 = no
CONVER	Explicitly state that religion or faith is a part of the services provided and/or conversation is a goal of services	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELVAL	Use religious values to encourage change in beneficiaries	1 = yes; 2 = no
SAME	Target beneficiaries of the same faith	1 = yes; 2 = no
LOCAL	Work through local religious entities, such as congregations	1 = yes; 2 = no
RELAREA	Focus on a particular region of the world for a religious reason	1 = yes; 2 = no

[a]Categories derived from McCleary (2008). McCleary used 16 categories, but given the small number of organizations that fit into several of the categories, the number was reduced to nine.

[b]These categories were used in "The International Charitable Nonprofit Sector: Scope, Size, and Revenue," by J. A. Kerlin and S. Thabasombat, 2006, Urban Institute, http://www.urban.org

Table 6

Interviewed Organizations

Cluster 1 (Faith-Integrated)

Cross International Aid, Inc.
Enterprise Development International, Inc.
Human Life International, Inc.
International Children's Care, Inc.
MAP International
Orthodox Christian Mission Center, Inc.
Star of Hope International, America

Cluster 2 (Faith-Segmented)

American Jewish World Service
Beyond Borders
Christian Blind Mission
International Orthodox Christian Charities
Kids Against Hunger
Peacemaker Ministries
Presbyterian Disaster Assistance/Hunger
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
Witness for Peace

Table 7

Denominations of Christian Organizations

Denomination	#	%
Catholic	12	12.8
Ecumenical	22	23.4
Evangelical/Nondenominational	47	50.0
Mainline Protestant	11	11.7
Orthodox	2	2.1
Total	94	100.0

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics on the Sample Organizations by Religious Basis

Variable	Religious		Secular		χ^2	p
	#	%	#	%		
Countries Served						
1-10	50	45.9%	167	52.4%	4.345	.114
11-29	32	29.4%	63	19.7%		
30+	27	24.8%	89	27.9%		
Year Founded						
Pre-1941	10	9.2%	11	3.4%	6.65	0.084
1941-1969	15	13.8%	36	11.3%		
1970-1999	60	55.0%	193	60.5%		
2000-2009	24	22.0%	81	25.4%		
Activities						
Agriculture/Food	58	53.2%	81	25.4%	28.671	.001**
Business Development	31	28.4%	79	24.8%	0.575	.448
Capacity Building	66	60.6%	197	61.8%	0.05	.823
Education	58	53.2%	120	37.6%	8.132	.004**
Health	72	66.1%	166	52.0%	6.466	.011*
Human Rights	16	14.7%	67	21.0%	2.079	.149
Infrastructure	22	20.2%	49	15.4%	1.366	.243
Logistics	6	5.5%	8	2.5%	2.306	.129
Peace	16	14.7%	37	11.6%	0.710	.399
Rural Development	14	12.8%	33	10.3%	0.519	.471
Shelter	46	42.2%	30	9.4%	60.742	.001**
Water	38	34.9%	54	16.9%	15.485	.001**
Transportation	2	1.8%	7	2.2%	0.051[a]	.821
Umbrella	2	1.8%	4	1.3%	.198[a]	.656
Grants	29	26.6%	77	24.1%	0.265	.606
Spirituality	48	44.0%	0	0.0%	158.22	.001**
Revenue Category						
Less than $500,000	20	18.3%	68	21.3%	0.721	.697
$500,000-$1,999,999	25	22.9%	78	24.5%		
$2 million and above	64	58.7%	173	54.2%		

Employees						
Less than 10	46	42.2%	157	49.2%	2.166	.339
10-49	32	29.4%	91	28.5%		
50+	31	28.4%	71	22.3%		
Volunteers						
None	19	17.4%	89	27.9%	9.219	.010**
1-49	43	39.4%	139	43.6%		
50+	47	43.1%	91	28.5%		

[a]At least one cell has an expected count less than 5, so Pearson's Exact test was used.

[*] $p < .05$. [**] $p < .01$.

Table 9

Variance Accounted for and Eigenvalues for the Three-Dimensional Model

Dimension	Cronbach's Alpha	% of Variance	Eigen Value
1	.771	32.640	3.264
2	.434	16.410	1.641
3	.297	13.653	1.365
Total	.934	62.703	6.270

Table 10

Component Loadings in the Categorical Variables

	Dimension		
Variable	1	2	3
Religious hiring	**.739**	-.243	.046
Religious services	**.623**	-.270	.324
Evangelize[a]	**.823**	-.229	-.148
Conversion	**.794**	-.238	-.151
Funding preference	**.619**	.464	-.088
Religious values	**.723**	.191	-.222
Same religion	.245	**.677**	.336
Religious area	.211	**.770**	.136
Local partners	.055	.014	**.689**
Religious accountability	.096	-.310	**.742**

[a]In addition to organizations having staff members who evangelize, organizations that partner with local organizations and specifically state that those organizations evangelize were coded as 1.

Table 11

Descriptive Statistics on the Sample Organizations by Religious Basis

Variable	Faith-Integrated		Faith-Segmented		Secular		χ^2	p
	#	%	#	%	#	%		
Countries Served								
1-10	26	56.5%	24	38.1%	167	52.4%	8.849	.065
11-29	13	28.3%	19	30.2%	63	19.7%		
30+	7	15.2%	20	31.7%	89	27.9%		
Year Founded								
Pre-1941	2	4.3%	8	12.7%	11	3.4%	16.050	.013*
1941-1969	8	17.4%	7	11.1%	36	11.3%		
1970-1999	21	45.7%	39	61.9%	192	60.2%		
2000-2009	15	32.6%	9	14.3%	80	25.1%		
Activities								
Agriculture/Food	27	58.7%	31	49.2%	81	25.4%	29.762	.001**
Business Development	9	19.6%	22	34.9%	79	24.8%	3.858	.145
Capacity Building	25	54.3%	41	65.1%	197	61.8%	1.342	.511
Education	26	56.5%	32	50.8%	120	37.6%	8.491	.014*
Health	27	58.7%	45	71.4%	166	52.0%	8.213	.016*
Human Rights	3	6.5%	13	20.6%	67	21.0%	5.466	.065
Infrastructure	9	19.6%	13	20.6%	49	15.4%	1.388	.500
Logistics	3	6.5%	3	4.8%	8	2.5%	2.566	.277
Peace	3	6.5%	13	20.6%	37	11.6%	5.591	0.061
Rural Development	4	8.7%	10	15.9%	33	10.3%	1.92	.383
Shelter	23	50.0%	23	36.5%	30	9.4%	64.568	.001**
Water	15	32.6%	23	36.5%	54	16.9%	15.725	.001**
Transportation	1	2.2%	1	1.6%	7	2.2%	0.095	.953
Umbrella	0	0.0%	2	3.2%	4	1.3%	2.137	.344
Grants	14	30.4%	15	23.8%	77	24.1%	0.892	.640
Spirituality	36	78.3%	12	19.0%	0	0.0%	251.84	.001**

Revenue Category								
Less than $500,000	7	15.2%	13	20.6%	68	21.3%	6.833	.145
$500,000- $1,999,999	16	34.8%	9	14.3%	78	24.5%		
$2 million and above	23	50.0%	41	65.1%	173	54.2%		
Employees								
Less than 10	20	43.5%	26	41.3%	157	49.2%	3.170	.530
10-49	15	32.6%	17	27.0%	91	28.5%		
50+	11	23.9%	20	31.7%	71	22.3%		
Volunteers								
None	6	13.0%	13	20.6%	89	27.9%	10.133	.038*
1-49	20	43.5%	23	36.5%	139	43.6%		
50+	20	43.5%	27	42.9%	91	28.5%		

[a]At least one cell has an expected count less than 5, so Pearson's Exact test was used.

* $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Table 12

Percentage of Funding From Government Sources by Cluster

	Government Funding					
Cluster	Less Than 10%	%	10-29%	%	30+%	%
1	41	89.1%	4	8.7%	1	2.2%
2	40	63.5%	14	22.2%	9	14.3%
3	211	66.1%	34	10.7%	74	23.2%

Table 13

Religious Characteristics of the Clusters

Characteristics	Clusters					
	1	%	2	%	3	%
Religious						
Staff/Board	46	100.0%	62	98.4%	10	3.1%
Hiring	46	100.0%	30	47.6%	0	0.0%
Services	41	89.1%	21	33.3%	0	0.0%
Funding preference	38	82.6%	22	34.9%	0	0.0%
Accountability	17	37.0%	20	31.7%	0	0.0%
Values in programming	46	100.0%	35	55.6%	1[a]	0.3%
Area	13	28.3%	12	19.0%	0	0.0%
Serve people of same faith	10	21.7%	6	9.5%	0	0.0%
Evangelism	44	95.7%	6	9.5%	0	0.0%
Conversion	39	84.8%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
Local religious partners	37	80.4%	50	79.4%	1[b]	0.3%
Denomination/Religion						
Buddhist	0	0.0%	2	3.2%		
Catholic	7	15.2%	5	7.9%		
Ecumenical	2	4.3%	20	31.7%		
Evangelical	33	71.7%	14	22.2%		
Interfaith	0	0.0%	4	6.3%		
Jewish	0	0.0%	4	6.3%		
Latter-Day Saints	0	0.0%	1	1.6%		
Mainline Protestant	3	6.5%	8	12.7%		
Muslim	0	0.0%	4	6.3%		
Orthodox	1	2.2%	1	1.6%		

[a]Alliance to End Hunger is a hybrid. The organization considers itself to be secular and clusters with the secular group, but unlike any of the other secular organizations, they have religious values in their programming. Indeed, the Alliance counts among its 75 members corporations, nonprofit groups, universities, individuals, and Christian, Jewish and Muslim religious bodies. Indeed, the organization is a spinoff of Bread for the World, which is a religious organization. The organization was created to bring into the advocacy effort secular organizations alongside ROs to build the network advocating against hunger.

[b]Teresa Charities is another organization that describes itself as being secular; however, many of the staff and volunteers are religious, and the organization works, in part, through Catholic nuns in the local community.

Table 14

Characteristics of Religious Clusters

| Organization Type	Faith-Integrated	Faith-Segmented
Mission	Meeting religious goals, which sometimes overlap with secular ones, and seeking spiritual transformation	Balances secular goals with religious character
Affiliation	Unlikely to be tied to a denomination; justify work using religious terms such as witness, serve/servanthood, furthering the Gospel, bringing salvation	More likely to be tied to a denomination or a religious affiliation; justify work in religious terms such as embody or demonstrate the love of Christ, motivated by our faith, following Christ's example
Staffing	Sharing the same faith a requirement; Working environment conducive to practicing faith	Not required to share religious beliefs of the organization
Funding	Seek funding from religious base (individuals and institutions)	Seek funding from religious base (individuals and institutions) as well as government and nonreligious private institutions
Key Findings	More likely to be results-oriented and less likely to receive government funding	More likely to focus on advocacy *and* operations
Examples	Agape Flights Cross International World Vision	Aga Khan Catholic Relief Services Church World Service
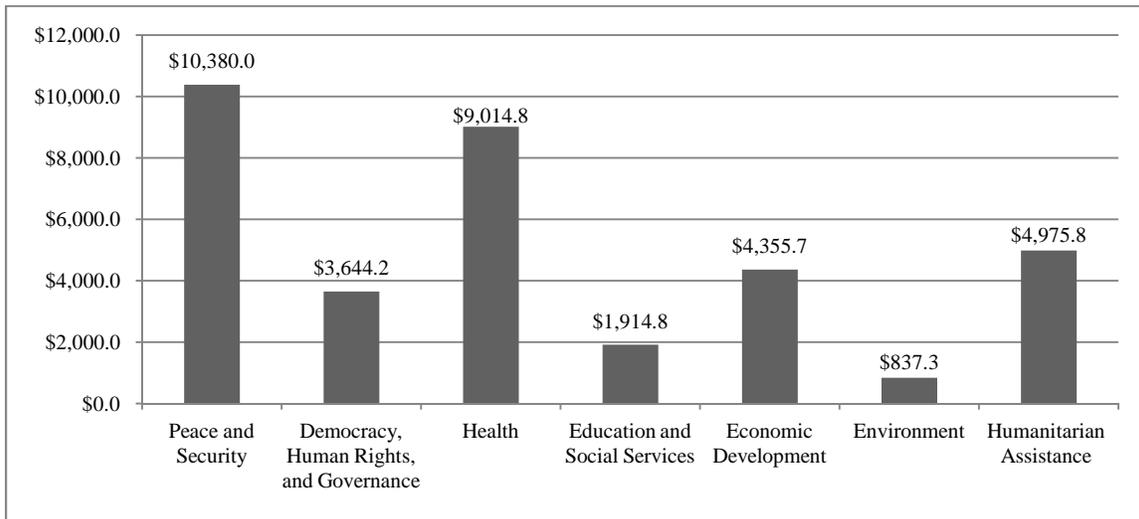
Figure 1. Foreign assistance (in millions) by category, 2010. Data obtained from
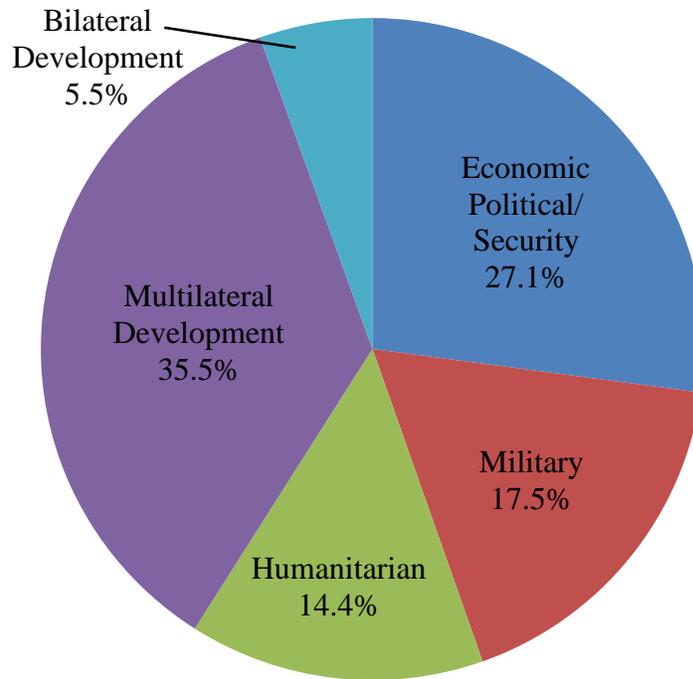http://www.foreignassistance.gov.

Figure 2. Aid program composition, 2008. Data obtained from "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Foreign Policy and Programs," by C. Turnoff and M. L. Lawson, 2009, Washington, DC, Congressional Research Service.
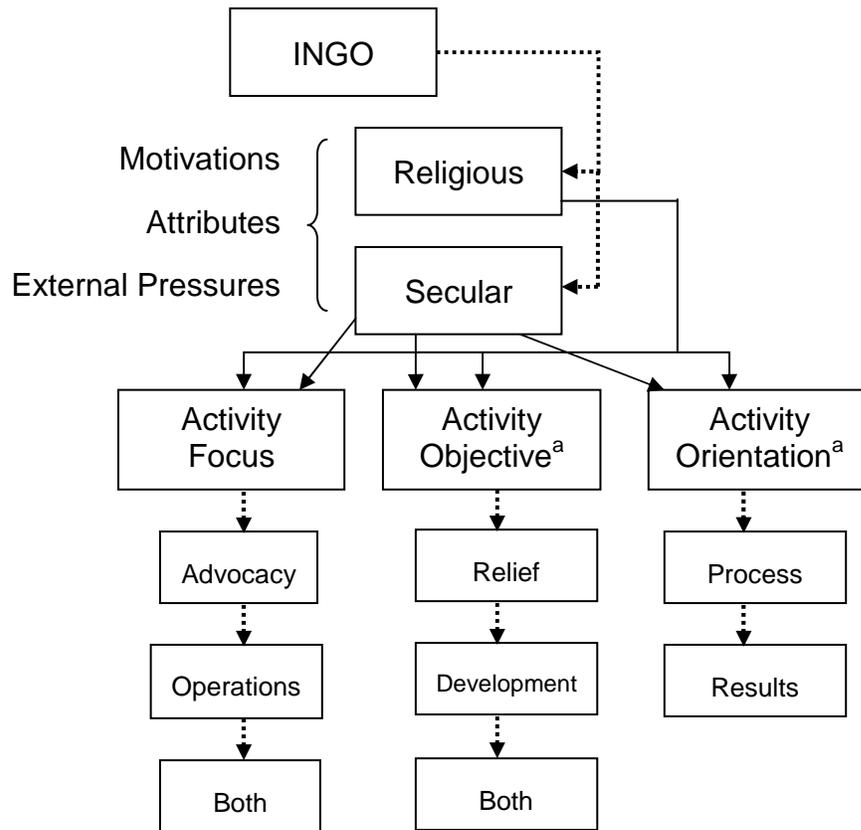
Figure 3. Theoretical framework for understanding the activities undertaken by INGOs.
[a]Activity objective and orientation only apply to INGOs that focus on operations or a combination of operations and advocacy.
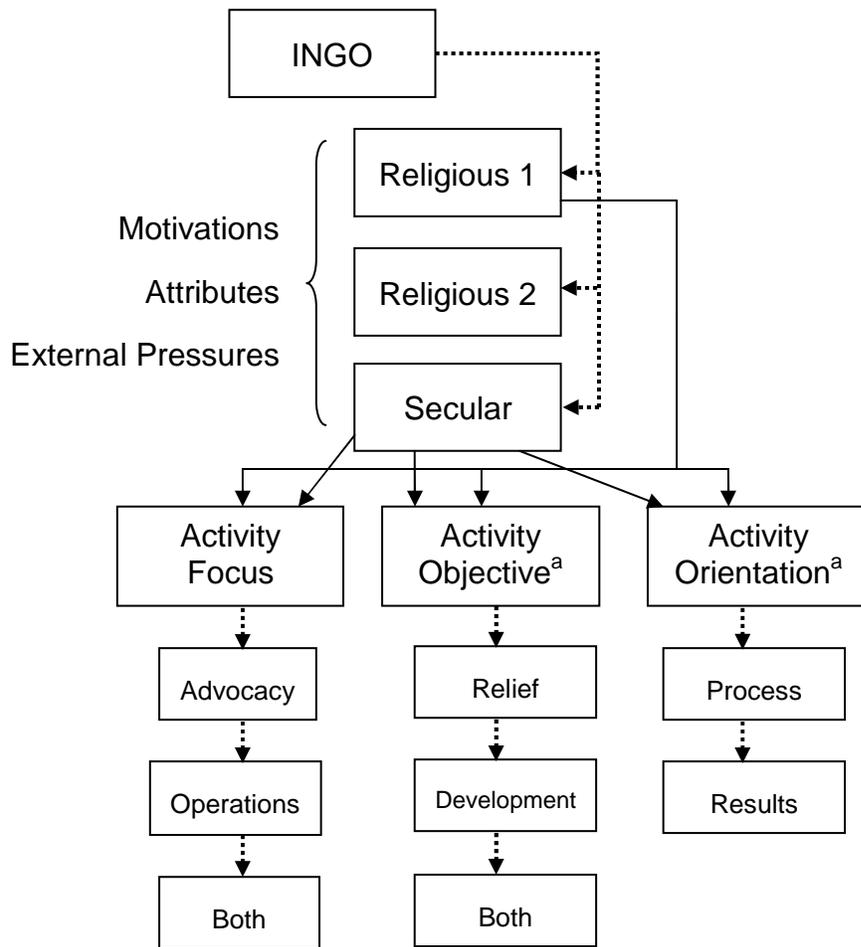
Figure 4. Theoretical framework for understanding the activities undertaken by INGOs, inclusive of a recognition that organizations differ based on the degree to which faith is integrated in an organization and its programs.
[a]Activity objective and orientation only apply to INGOs that focus on operations or a combination of operations and advocacy.
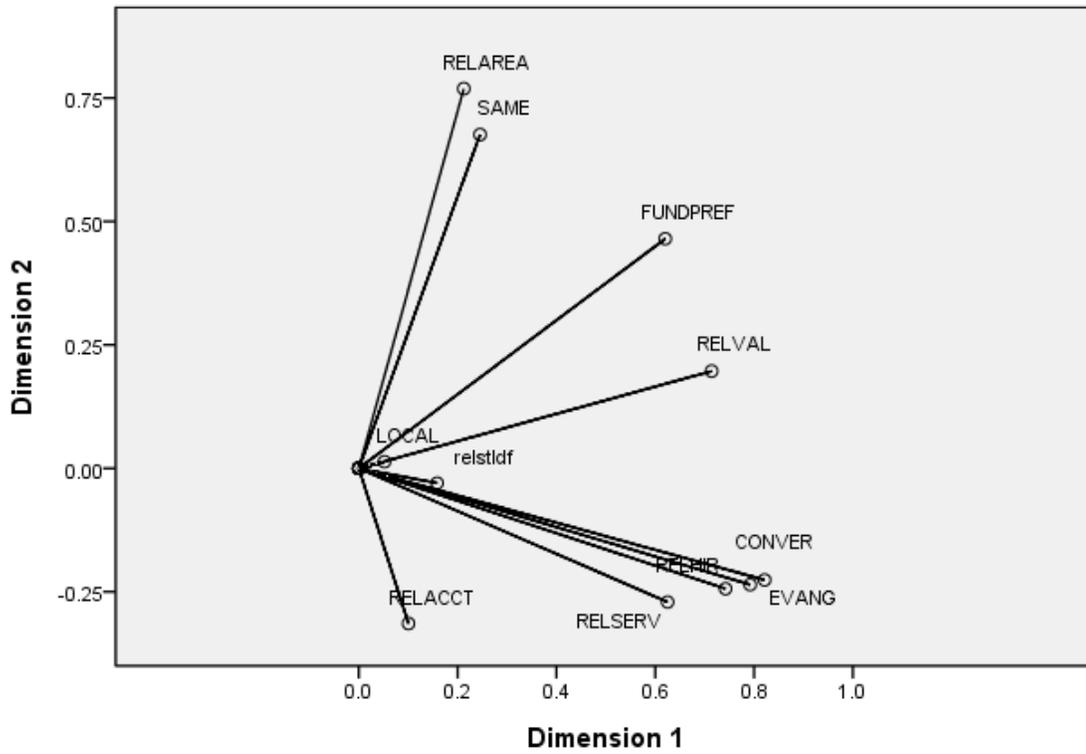
Figure 5. Component loadings biplot for Dimensions 1 and 2. Produced by CATPCA using PASW v.18.
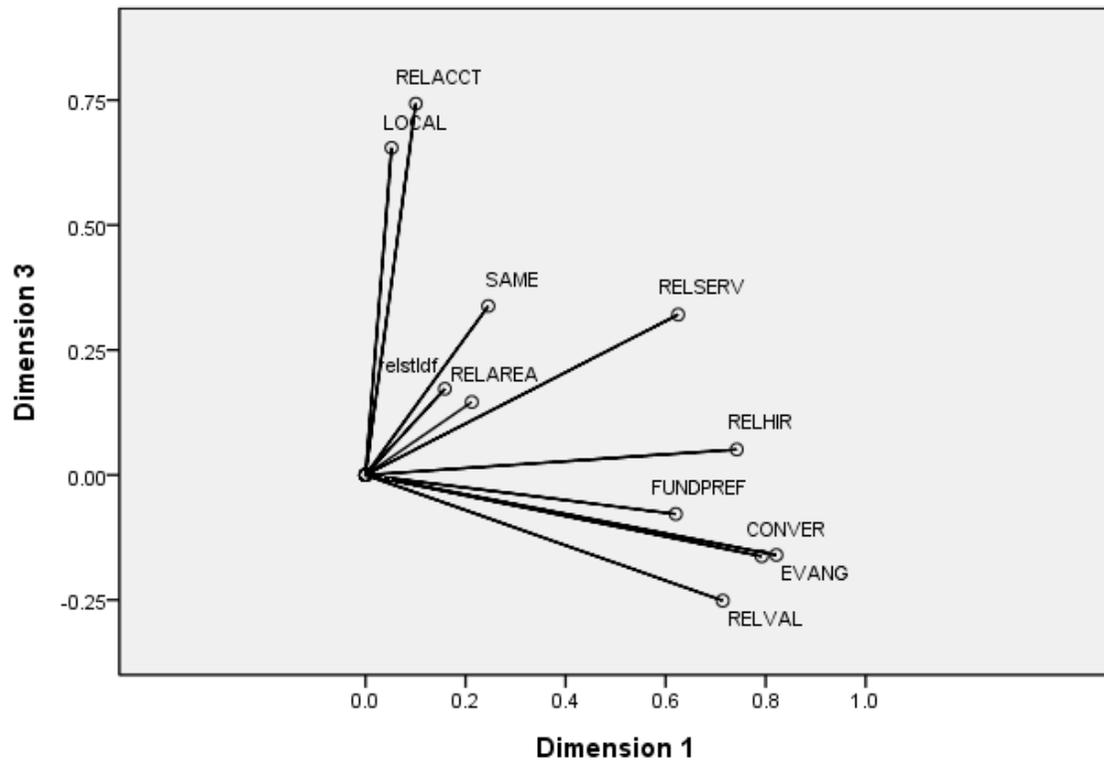
Figure 6. Component loadings biplot for Dimensions 1 and 3. Produced by CATPCA
using PASW v.18.

APPENDIX

Global Cluster Leaders

In December 2005 the Interagency Standing Committee Principals designated global

cluster leads for nine sectors or areas of activity which in the past either lacked

predictable leadership in situations of humanitarian emergency, or where there was

considered to be a need to strengthen leadership and partnership with other humanitarian

actors. This complements those sectors and categories of population where leadership and

accountability are already clear (e.g. refugee efforts are led by UNHCR and education

efforts are led by UNICEF).

Sector or Area of Activity	Global Cluster Lead
Agriculture	FAO
Camp Coordination/Management: IDPs	
From conflict	UNHCR
Disaster situations	IOM
Early Recovery	UNDP
Education	UNICEF
	Save The Children - United Kingdom
Emergency Shelter: IDPs (from conflict)	UNHCR
Disaster situations	IFRC (Convener)*
Emergency Telecommunications	OCHA/WFP
Health	WHO
Logistics	WFP
Nutrition	UNICEF
Protection: IDPs (from conflict)	UNHCR

Disasters/civilians affected by conflict (other than IDPs)**	UNHCR/OHCHR/UNICEF
Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene	UNICEF

Note. Adapted from OneResponse, http://www.oneresponse.info