Toward a conceptual framework for religious logics on institutional complexity: a lesson from 'mission drift' in Evangelical Christian social entrepreneurs in Ethiopia

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Introduction

Social enterprises (SEs) have played a significant role in providing an alternative way to charitable development aid for poverty reduction in the developing countries over the last few decades (Fowler 2000). Ethiopia, a post-socialist country, is one of exemplary nations where the social entrepreneurial approach has been increasingly adopted by local entrepreneurs to leverage the potential of world's most rapidly growing economy. Evangelical Christians, one of the fastest growing religious groups in Ethiopia, have tapped into this opportunity to establish faith-based SEs (FBSEs) to address social problems such as poverty and inequality. However, they are not immune to the risk of diverging from their original purpose – mission drift – not only in social and business objectives, but also in spiritual objective of FBSEs.

While scholarly research based on institutional theory seeks to understand these interplay of conflicting pressures toward such hybrid organizations as SEs that inherently embrace multiple logics (Kraatz & Block 2008), there remains "the omission of religious logics in social entrepreneurship scholarship" (Zhao & Lounsbury 2016: 645). As it has been known that many SEs are established by religiously affiliated organizations or individuals that espouse their religious belief and faith (Spear 2010), the scope of mission drift in faith-based SEs (FBSEs) becomes even further complex when SEs include spiritual missions associated with their religious faith at their core. Considering an ever increasing role of FBSEs in the developing countries like Ethiopia characterized by growing market economy but strong state intervention to civil society as "developmental authoritarianism" (Matfess 2015: 182) and unfavourable institutional environment for doing business such as cases of fraud and corrupted behaviour in both public and private sector (Plummer 2012; Abegaz 2015; Hagos 2016), it is of critical importance to address the challenges facing FBSEs and to advance theoretical framework on institutional complexity by unpacking what and how religious logics in FBSEs work toward avoiding mission drift.

The paper aims to spark new directions for theoretical understanding of strategic response to institutional complexity. This paper first outlines the theoretical background to the hypothesis on how religious logics could influence on strategic response to institutional complexity of faith-based social enterprises in the developing countries, and then introduces the research method and context. Thirdly, I present preliminary findings and analysis, which delineate the practices that help manage social, financial and religious logics in FBSEs. I then propose a tentative direction for conceptual framework for analysing institutional complexity for hybrid organizations.

Theoretical background

The emergence of social enterprises (SEs) has generated extant scholarly interests in the field of management and organizations studies. One of which researchers have particularly paid attention in an attempt to analyse the institutional environment in social entrepreneurship centres on tensions over social and business mission (Smith et al. 2012; Smith et al. 2013). SEs seek for solutions toward problems such as poverty and unemployment through commercial activities as a means to achieve social purposes. SEs usually adopt the organizational form of hybrid organizations that combine "structures and practices that allow the coexistence of values and artefacts from two or more categories" (Doherty et al. 2014: 418). While existing research appreciates the role of hybridity for organizational innovation and creating a new form of

organizations (Haveman & Rao 2006; Tracey et al. 2011), there has been also increasing academic focus particularly among institutional theorists that investigate a staggering challenge of institutional pluralism or complexity in hybrid organizations for managing tensions rising over multiple and competing demands from internal and external environment (Kraatz & Block 2008; Greenwood et al. 2011). Mission drift is a phenomena that may be frequently caused by such a disarray embedded in organizational processes that lead organisations to deviating from their founding and core mission (Cornforth 2014).

SEs faces an everyday challenge of staying committed to their original mission to avoid mission drift (Battilana et al. 2012). While some SEs, however, might intend to strategically choose to modify their mission in response to the ever-changing institutional environment, mission drift typically resonates the negative dimensions that SEs fail to stick to their core and narrowly focus on their organizational scaling up or survival "as a means to achieve social impact rather than on social impact itself" at the expense of their original goal to create social value (Austin et al. 2006: 16-17). Mission drift persistently occurs when SEs lose their path to achieving their main missions, or "displace" (Minkoff & Powell 2006: 604) and even "abandon their mission" (Maretich et al. 2016: 5). Failing to address such mission drift may cause many different challenges to SEs such as internal tensions (Battilana & Dorado 2010) and lack of support from major stakeholders (Dart & Dart 2004), eventually putting SEs in danger of organizational sustainability (Battilana & Lee 2014). To address the risks associated with mission drift, an increasing volume of management and organization studies has explored strategic response to institutional complexity[1] facing SEs while at the same time to enhance their competitive advantage and to actively engage in both social and business mission for the transformation of the society (Smith et al. 2013).

The complex nature of organizations has been long discussed among institutional theory scholars, starting from their pioneering propositions provided by Meyer & Rowan (1977) that "organizations in search of external support and stability incorporate all sorts of incompatible structural elements" (Meyer & Rowan 1977: 356). The recent theoretical advancement has since then evolved through the institutional logics approach that has been widely used for capturing the diverse and complex institutional conditions under which social enterprises arise and perform. This theoretical perspective seeks to understand multiple conflicting pressures from different "inter-institutional system" constituting "the capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion" (Friedland & Alford 1991: 232), in order to examine various tensions such as mission drift within hybrid organizations that by its nature incorporate incompatible logics (Pache & Santos 2010; Battilana & Lee 2014). The institutional logics, as proposed by Thornton and Ocasio (1999), are defined as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999: 804).

While previous theoretical suggestion by Powell & DiMaggio (1991) emphasizes a deterministic view toward organizations that become isomorphic to other similar organizations by institutionalizing their practices as if they take it as "a rule like status in social thought and action" (Powell & DiMaggio 1991: 9), institutional logics approach, as originally established by Friedland and Alford (1991), aims instead to cover the gap between "individual agency and cognition and socially constructed institutional practices and rule structures" (Thornton & Ocasio 2008: 101). This has then led to increasing studies on the role of individual agency and institutional entrepreneurship that strives for creating and developing new institutions (Greenwood &

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[1] I hereby use the term 'institutional complexity' based on the suggestion by Smets & Jarzabkowski (2013) addressing that "the literature has differentiated situations of 'pluralism', in which logics co-exist, from situations of 'complexity', in which co-existing logics are contradictory and governing a single situation (Smets & Jarzabkowski 2013: 1305)."

Suddaby 2006; Battilana et al. 2009) and has also contributed to an emergence of the concept of "institutional work" that signifies "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006: 215; Lawrence et al. 2009). However, complex environments that set multiple and competing pressures upon organizations have remained as one of the unresolved issues among institutional theorists that attempt to explore both theoretical and practical implications for understanding the effects of institutions on individual and organizational behavior (Kraatz & Block 2008).

Such a notion of institutional complexity is embedded in all contexts of organizations and has left a space for further scholarly research advancement in terms of both micro and macro foundation of institutional theory (Greenwood et al. 2011). Pache & Santos (2013), in an attempt to answer for challenges associated with institutional complexity, offered practical implications for individual response toward their everyday dilemmas and uncertainty of conflicting demands from multiple institutional logics. They proposed five types of responses proposed as "ignorance, compliance, resistance, combination or, compartmentalization" (Pache & Santos 2013: 12), providing a model for operational implications on hybrid organizations. As one of the important and recent contributions to developing analytical framework for institutional complexity, Smets et al. (2015) established a tool that helps individuals by "segmenting, bridging, and demarcating practices" that would help establish a stable condition for organizations (Smets et al. 2015: 940), suggesting an alternative perspective to looking at institutional complexity as an embedded part of organizational life, particularly for social enterprises to embrace social welfare logic and business logics.

While the institutional logics perspective has played a crucial role in unpacking the intricate nature of social enterprises, there is, however, a lack of academic studies focusing on religious logics, one of which Friedland & Alford (1991) had originally conceptualized as a part of inter-institutional mechanism of Western society. This seems surprising phenomena because the emergence and operation of social enterprises are largely attributed to religious beliefs and values of organizational founders (Tracey 2012). Whether it is socially purposed or not, most of the entrepreneurial pursuits is driven by the founders' personal values particularly based on their religion or spirituality (Balog et al. 2014). As it has also been known the interwoven characteristics between religion and economy, institutional logics of both religion and capitalist market economy need to be engaged equally in the academic discussion for grasping the heterogeneity of institutional complexity (Greenwood et al. 2010).

While these theoretical explorations mentioned above are helpful to illustrate the magnitude of challenge of mission drift and to offer a broader perspective for SEs to recognize the pressure as an opportunity to explore alternative ways of navigating internal tensions, there are few studies addressing how religious aspect in organizations influences upon organizational response to institutional complexity particularly for social entrepreneurial activity in the context of developing country. As one of the few examples, Neubert et al. (2015) investigate the impact of spiritual capital as measured by faith maturity of microcredit entrepreneurs in Kenya and Indonesia for the level of business innovation and performance. While the academic focus of Neubert et al. (2015) exclusively addresses the individual dimensions of faith at work by capturing "the degree to which religion or spirituality is central to a person's sense of self and applies to daily life," Ware et al. 2016) suggest the framework of "domains of faith" to identify more objective means of classifying faith's impacts on structures, activities, and outcome of faith-based organizations (Ware et al. 2016:324). These studies contribute to adding the knowledge of faith-based organizations to management studies in a secular academic field. However, existing scholarship has not fully grasped the whole spheres of institutional complexity of the social enterprise with faith-identity to address nuanced interstices among social, business and religious missions within organizations to avoid mission drift.

Mission drift: A case in Evangelical Christian social enterprises

The risk of mission drift is an intrinsic nature of SEs (Weisbrod 2004; Jones 2007), as SEs cope with "separate institutional logics: a development logic that guided their mission to help the poor, and a banking logic that required profits sufficient to support ongoing operations and fulfill fiduciary obligations" (Battilana & Dorado 2010: 1419). Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) operating in the developing countries are well-researched examples of social enterprises that aim to help poor clients through providing them with an access to financial services to start and maintain their entrepreneurial work. In the existing literature, MFIs have been critically examined for ethical dilemma and legitimacy as they excessively commercialize to maximize profit for financial sustainability and scaling up at the expense of their social mission of lifting people out of poverty in the developing countries (for example, Mersland & Strøm 2010).

While striking such a balance between social and business mission has been and continues to be a critical agenda for SEs (Dees 2001; Smith et al. 2013), it is fundamental for SE managers to embody at least these two conflicting demands (Smith et al. 2012) to avoid mission drift as already mentioned above. Furthermore, as it has been known that many SEs are established by religiously affiliated organizations or individuals for their religious faith (Spear 2010), the scope of mission drift in faith-based SEs (FBSEs) becomes even further complex when SEs include spiritual missions associated with their religious faith at their core.

Before delving into 'faith' or 'spiritual' aspect of mission drift in SEs, I briefly clarify the terms by drawing the explanation given by (Ver Beek 2000):

> I will define spirituality as a relationship with the supernatural or spiritual realm that provides meaning and a basis for personal and communal reflection, decisions, and action. While religion is generally considered an institutionalized set of beliefs and practices regarding the spiritual realm, spirituality describes the personal and relational side of those beliefs, which shape daily life" (p.32)

Tomalin (2013) also suggests that 'spirituality' captures "the experience of the relationship between the individual and the sacred or the divine" and can be interchangeably used for 'faith' as the term also captures the similar "dimension of religions that extends beyond the codification of values, rules and social practices within particular traditions" (Tomalin 2013: 4). As this paper attempts to draw insights from the practical experience of individual managers in SEs facing or concerning mission drift rather than institutionalized rules and doctrines of religious denominations, 'faith' and 'spirituality' or 'spiritual' deem relevant to be used. Furthermore, 'faith' fits better to the context of the research in the developing country context, because the word 'faith' has been widely utilized as a set of term 'faith-based organizations (FBOs)' in development discourse for categorizing the type of organizations with religious identity. Thus, in this paper I will preferably use the word 'faith' hereafter.

As the definition of faith encompasses the practical sphere of everyday behavior of people, distinctive roles of faith in organizations and management have also been studied in a broad spectrum, not simply in "religious orientation" but also religious "pervasiveness," that covers a wide array of organizational dimensions such as "organizational identity, membership, funding, mission and services, decision-making processes, and strategies" (Berger 2003: 25). Among these different factors intersecting between faith and organizations, the mission is crucial component to understand the nature of organization with faith-based identity and values because "what renders these services religious (or spiritual) is the nature of the worldview on which they are based and on the motivation from which they spring" (ibid, p.32). However, she also argues that faith-based agencies are not homogeneous in their mission and strategy for integrating faith into their activity (ibid, p35).

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Thaut (2009) proposes based on the theological principles that Christian humanitarian agencies, the similar type of organizations with FBSEs which I will explore as a main research target group, can be classified in three different types "across the four dimensions—mission, affiliations, staff policies, and donor base" (p330). "Accommodative–Humanitarian" has no distinct mission different from secular one except their religious foundation. "Synthesis–Humanitarianism" explicitly incorporate their spiritual motive into their mission but do not fully involve in proselytizing. "Evangelistic–Humanitarianism" has a strong spiritual orientation by emphasizing an integrated mission of embracing both evangelism and humanitarianism (p330-346). Among this variation of Christian agencies, the last type would concern most about mission drift because they need to balance between dual goals of spiritual and social goal: that is, evangelistic outreach and humanitarian work or social involvement.

This dichotomy of spiritual and social mission has been almost a century long debated issue among Evangelical Christianity (Grant & Hughes 2009). In an attempt to resolve the polarized discussion of the sacred and secular perspectives in Evangelical Christian theologians and practitioners, the theological focus of Christian mission turned into 'integral mission' to embrace the transformation of whole human life, not limited to only the spiritual aspect of human life (Samuel & Sugden 1999). The integral mission is defined as "the task of bringing the whole of life under the lordship of Jesus Christ, and includes the affirmation that there is no biblical dichotomy between evangelistic and social responsibility" (Lausanne Movement 2013). While integral mission has provided a holistic view beyond separation of focus on two goals of spiritual and social transformation, there has been also supplemental view that evangelism is rather the ultimate mandate of Christian mission, and that evangelism should never be the secondary to social action (Wright 2006). Wright's warning implicitly reflects the dilemma of practitioners facing the risk of mission drift while implementing integral mission, because there remains unclear about how to operationalize and measure outcomes of 'integral' or 'holistic' part of missions (Ronsen 2016) while in practice, faith-based organizational managers also need to address, as institutional theorists suggest, multiple and complex demands from different institutional logics (Greenwood et al. 2011).

Establishing governance mechanisms has been suggested to safeguard their core mission and to navigate through the pressures from multiple institutional demands for social enterprises (for example, (Young 2012) and also Christian organizations (Greer & Horst 2014), including practical solutions such as human resources management (Battilana & Dorado 2010) and stakeholder engagement (Ramus & Vaccaro 2014). The preventive measures proposed in management and organization studies may help FBSEs to keep producing social value in a way that should be associated with or more integrated into creating sufficient income (for example, Wilson & Post 2013) which helps achieve their social objectives (Dacin et al. 2010; Dacin et al. 2011). However, these studies have not yet informed faith-based community that are "uniquely equipped to deal with these material and spiritual challenges of faith"(Bornstein 2005: 56).

Regardless of increasing awareness in noticeable roles of faith at the marketplace, little academic attention has been paid on the relationship between faith and business, while market logic is overly researched (Tracey 2012: 121), maybe because "religion is considered too far removed from the commercial organizations that form the empirical focus of much work in the discipline, or simply because it is deemed too sensitive (ibid, p.89). Or, it is perhaps because secularism is an "implicit norm in organizational research"(Miller 2015: 276) and consequently, spiritual matter has been simply ignored as the subject. However, it has been long known that faith is important factor in all aspects of everyday decisions made by people particularly in the 'South' such as in Ethiopia (Ver Beek 2000). In Africa in general, the "realms of the spiritual and material cannot be easily separated: development is both spiritual and material" (Bornstein 2005: 49). Faith even provides "more than a mere institutional vehicle: it provides a spiritual fuel for development" (James 2011: 113). Thus, it is of paramount importance to include faith in the context of social entrepreneurs in the developing country like Ethiopia.

Research context: FBSEs in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has become one of the countries where the social entrepreneurial approach that combines both business and charity to address social problems has been increasingly adopted by local entrepreneurs to leverage the potential of world's most rapidly growing economy (Moller 2015). Since 2004, Ethiopia has experienced the average annual economic growth rate of 10.9 percent as compared to the regional average of 5.4 per cent (The World Bank 2016b), though Ethiopia still remains as one of the economically poorest countries in the world(The World Bank 2016b). Notwithstanding the recent rapid economic development along with renewed infrastructure and industrialized agriculture, Ethiopia has been characterized by the anguished combination of capitalist market economy and strong state intervention, being described as "developmental authoritarianism" (Matfess 2015, p.182). Hagmann et al. (2016) claim that Ethiopia is one of the Africa's top aid recipient countries that have been ruled by authoritarian "one-party regimes that do not allow for democratic participation and criminalize political dissent" (p.1). While Ethiopian public administration has been well established as compared to other developing countries, it has been taking strong control over "nearly every facet of society," (Matfess 2015: 182) suppressing political opposition and independent media, and undermining the potential of private sector including FBSEs and civil society at large.

According to the index of economic freedom, Ethiopia ranks 148th out of 178 countries in the world, implying that there is a significant lack of rule of law and its proper implementation for doing business (The World Bank 2016a; Kelly et al. 2016). Regardless of growing entrepreneurial opportunities that attract investment and innovation, local business owners have to deal with lack of currency, weak banking infrastructure, inflation, heavy political influence by local autocratic government (Obo 2009; Nega & Schneider 2014), and financial crimes such as bribery (The Heritage Foundation 2016). While the Ethiopian government has strengthened its policy against corruption for the past several years, there are still numerous cases of fraud and corrupted behaviour found in both public and private sector (Plummer 2012; Abegaz 2015; Hagos 2016) and even among faith-based communities and churches.

However, despite such institutional constraints in Ethiopia, innovation and entrepreneurship can be "more likely to occur where there are significant socioeconomic, cultural, or environmental problems."(Dacin et al. 2010: 50; Gupta et al. 2015). My pilot interviews with FBSEs affiliated with Evangelical Christian church, the fastest growing religious groups in Ethiopia, affirmed the claim by Amoako & Lyon (2014) that even under severe shortage of regulatory and legal system for doing business commonly known in Africa, those faith-based SEs in Ethiopia would be able to weigh on mutual trust and relationship among stakeholders with shared faith and values to seek the maximization of locally available resources to engage in social entrepreneurial work to solve social problems. A growing number of Pentecostal churches is also found to be a new trend worth further investigating for their significant role in business sector (Freeman 2012). They have become increasingly influential in a wider public sphere through their active engagement in social entrepreneurial business to attract young and educated generation as an alternative to corrupted and autocratic government (Freeman 2013), while there is also an increasing concern over a trend among Christian business people who adopt the secular-minded prosperity gospel that overly legitimize economic success as "a sign of blessing and righteousness of faith" (Fantini 2016: 72).

Research method:

To gather empirical data as an initial stage of my research endeavor for exploring conceptual framework for understanding the institutional complexity facing FBSEs in Ethiopia, I conducted

preliminary semi-structured interviews with 13 different social entrepreneurs, business owners and other organizational leaders who actively engage in Evangelical Christian church in Ethiopia.[2] With the selection criteria developed with my research partners who has a wide network with Evangelical Christian professionals, interviewees are selected based on their length of experiences and the depth of knowledge about the emerging problem of mission drift among Christian organizations.[3] As these interview samples are mainly taken from the group of Evangelical Christians in Ethiopia, I acknowledge the limitation of scope that depends on the specific groups with whom my research partners and I are personally associated.

Ethiopian Orthodox church holds the highest proportion of its population by 43.5 per cent according to the latest official census conducted in 2007. However, the census also shows that 18.5 per cent belongs to the groups of 'Protestant' or in other word, 'Evangelical' Christian church, while the most recent data by the Demographic and Health Survey Central Statistical Agency (2016) shows that Protestants have reached almost 23 per cent (p.11). As Haustein & Fantini (2013) suggest, these figures still indicate that Protestantism or Evangelical church is "the fastest-growing religious group in Ethiopia" (p.151). Anderson (2004) also stresses that "it is home to one of the fastest growing evangelical churches in the world" (p.115). Thus, I affirm the relevance of this study toward a wider body of knowledge by specifically drawing on the findings from an emerging group of Christians in Ethiopia.

The literature review on secondary sources on social enterprises and their challenge of institutional complexity has identified the gap in studies on faith-based social enterprises in the developing country. Thus, the main research question is

"How do faith-based social enterprise manage mission drift in an unfavorable institutional

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[2] The term "Evangelical" indicates the category of "Protestant," by which the Ethiopian government national census counts them. Pew Research Center (2010) explains that almost all respondents outside of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church classified themselves as "Pentecostal" or "Pente" (16%), rather than as the names of the mainline Evangelical Churches in Ethiopia, the largest of which are the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (ECMY) with the Lutheran background and the Kale Heywet Church (KHC) with the Baptist background. These denominations and other Evangelical or Pentecostal church denominations such as Meserete Kiristos Church, Ethiopian Mulu Wongel Church, Ethiopian Genet Church and other smaller churches are organized under the umbrella organization called 'Evangelical Churches Fellowship of Ethiopia (ECFE).' (Haustein & Fantini 2013: 151) explain that "Pentecostals groups are among the main protagonists behind this rise of Protestantism in Ethiopia, contributing also to the spread of Charismatic theological notions and spiritual practices among mainline Evangelical Churches." As I have established a very good relationships and trust with leaders and members of these churches mostly registered under ECFE and continue to have support from them for this research, I will exclusively use the term "Evangelical."

[3] The interview was conducted from November 13th to 27th, 2015 in Addis Ababa, a capital city of Ethiopia., The name of those interviewees is listed as follows in a form of three categories: first is those practicing social entrepreneurship: Joshua Multi-purpose Cooperative Society with Limited Liability (Credit and Saving), Eminence (Media), Character Hallmark Academy (primary/secondary education), Mt.Olive (primary/secondary education). The second group is Christian business owners who do not necessarily claim that they are 'social entrepreneurs' who engage directly to combine both social and business mission, but acknowledge the importance of their faith in their business activities as well as dangers associated with mission drift. They are owners of ASER Real Estate Company and Loyal Supermarket, PLC, and Berhan International Bank. The third group is non-profit type of organizations engaging social welfare programs combining with some commercial activities: WSG (non-profit for street children), and Vision Fund (branch organization of World Vision International involved in micro-finance). The fourth group is those working full time in Evangelical Christian ministry: Faith Bible International Theological College, EvaSue (Christian University student ministry), Evangelical Church Fellowship of Ethiopia, and Ethiopian Graduate School of Theology. Although I speak a basic Amharic language, one of the major national language in Ethiopia, the research partner helped translate some parts of conversation during the interview to avoid misinterpretation.

environment in Ethiopia?"

The sub-research questions are formed to explore the institutional environments that support or hinder entrepreneurs to pursue their mission in social, business and spiritual aspects.

"What are institutional arrangements that help or hinder faith-based social enterprises to pursue their original mission?"

"What are the domains of faith that enable or hamper faith-based social enterprises in Ethiopia to remain committed to their integral mission?"

Initial findings and analysis:

The interview result provides first the institutional challenges through which FBSEs are facing due to the lack of rule of laws and weak implementation of regulatory and institutional framework for commercial activities in Ethiopia. These various institutional constraints, as informed by interviewees, give rise to ethical concerns for hybrid organizations against the increasing cases of fraud and corrupted behavior within and outside FBSEs. The complexity of institutional arrangements exacerbates the condition in which FBSEs operate unlike industrialized western countries with favorable circumstances for doing business (The World Bank 2016a).

While the first finding is crucial to capture the dynamism of FBSEs in the developing countries like Ethiopia, another finding that addresses the strategic response to institutional complexity for FBSEs has rather fundamental implication for this research journey. As Friedland & Alford (1991) and Thornton et al. (2012) suggested in their explanation of institutional logics, the importance of faith in economy is conceptualized as a basis of strategy in religious logics, while among other different inter-institutional orders, corporation and capitalist market place their strategic foundation on to the economic values. These strategies are more clearly manifested in the interview result that shows the FBSEs' norm of maintaining their collective and symbolic actions among organizational members such as prayer meeting at office during the break time or annual staff retreat. This symbolic action might possibly enhance mutual trust and a sense of belongingness that can be strongly reflected as a basis of norm that is membership in congregation.

FBSEs are not religious organizations only to gather for worship service or proselytize people. However, the norm or culture of congregational membership at church can be so strong that they might have an implicit impact on the way FBSE managers and members interacts each other and even with their customers, providing a firm institutional foundation toward preventive measure against mission drift that might be caused by the logic of market economy and its competition. As many interviewees pointed out, all members are not simply employed for maximizing their profits of organizations, but they rather exist to practice their faith through their work as a community of faith like church. As Spear (2010) suggested, religiously affiliated organizations tend to pursue entrepreneurial work even under difficult condition, because they have an advantage of utilizing much deeper relationship among the family of shared faith and values than secular organizations. The interview results show that FBSEs tend to incorporate, in addition to religious logic, the family and community logic into producing a repertoire of organizational structures and processes by which the members of SEs build practical strategies toward effective fulfilment of their mission and toward prevention of mission drift, as affirmed by Swidler (1986).

Swidler (1986) suggests that "culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values toward which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or tool kit of habits, skills and styles from which people construct strategies of action" (Swidler 1986: 273). In light of her perspective,

FBSEs interviewed seems to be managed particularly to prevent mission drift by applying a different set of repertoire or tool kit of cultural behaviour and way of doing things that could be developed through the members' life at church. Her statement implies in this research that the lifestyle and habits exercised at church, outside of their workplace, might be examined further for better understanding how FBSEs deal with practices and processes in organizations for mission drift. Scholarly research, thus, might need to look beyond the target organizations as FBSEs, but investigate in-depth about the organizational culture prevailing at church and how that culture interplays in management of FBSEs.

This preliminary finding has left further question to be explored in the future research endeavour. That is *"to what extent and how does organizational culture embedded on FBSEs' members' life at church influence the ways they operate social entrepreneurial works?"* Answers to this question could hopefully help identify both theoretical and practical implication for mission drift in FBSEs in Ethiopia.

A tentative direction toward a conceptual framework for mission drift in FBSEs

Although this research interview initiated with a focus on organizational dimensions, individual lifestyle outside workplace emerged as one of the variables to construct meaningful proposition toward conceptualizing the role of religious logic in preventing mission drift. This is important initial finding because decisions and outcomes of any organizations are a result of the interplay between individual agency and institutional structure. As Ometto et al. (2015) propose further exploration on the role of individual reflexibility as a preventive way to manage mission drift, the research might also need to examine a wide range of personal religious life of people in FBSEs. Interestingly, Smets & Jarzabkowski (2013) also support this claim by suggesting that many literatures on both institutional work and complexity so far "under-emphasize the multidimensional nature of agency" (Smets & Jarzabkowski 2013: 1284). Basing on the proposal by Edwards & Meliou (2015) on "actor biographies" to analyze strategies of corporations beyond different institutional orders, this research will explore further the role of individual agency toward strategic response to institutional complexity (Edwards & Meliou 2015: 1273).

Acknowledgement

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