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Unpacking the Diversity of Faith-based Organizations: Towards a Taxonomy Focusing on Non-Profit Islamic Organizations

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ABSTRACT

The literature on non-profit organizations in general is vast and continues to grow. However, research exploring the diversity within faith-based non-profit organizations has only been emerging for about 10 years, with little attention paid to non-profit Islamic organizations. This publication aims to begin filling this gap; furthermore, it advocates for higher degrees of ecological validity by recommending that any further studies recognize the diversity of Canadian non-profit Islamic organizations before aiming to generalize the results of further studies. We demonstrate how this diversity can be briefly understood through the use of a faith-based organization typology that ranges on a continuum from faith-permeated to faith-secular partnerships. This typology is then applied to several Canadian Islamic organizations for demonstrative purposes. Weaknesses in this typology are also put forth along with alternative options for further research and discussion. Although this paper uses Islamic non-profit organizations as a case study, its concepts and typology may be useful for examining other faith-based organizations that have not received a great deal of empirical attention.

Introduction[1]

The Canadian non-profit sector is the second largest in the world, boasting over 170,000 organizations, many of them volunteer based (Imagine Canada, 2013). Moreover, about 12.7 million Canadians offer around two billion hours of volunteer service every year. However, this level of service has been decreasing at an alarming rate, both in terms of volunteers and total hours contributed (Statistics Canada, 2013). The decline is especially concerning for the many non-profit organizations with limited resources that rely on the commitment of volunteers to sustain their activities (Worth, 2012; Grube & Piliavin, 2000). The non-profit sector has a significant positive impact on Canadian society, serving various needs of Canadians and increasing social capital (Wu, 2011; Turcotte, 2015), but this sector is often challenged by lack of resources—including human resources. Challenges related to the organizational capacity of non-profits merits examination in as much detail as possible, in order to offer practical solutions that could facilitate these organizations' ability to contribute to our society.

Capacity has been defined in many ways, with perhaps the most expansive definition being "everything an organization uses to achieve its mission, from desks and chairs to programs and people" (Light, 2004, p. 15). Others have narrowed such a definition by distinguishing internal components (e.g. people and infrastructure) and external components, such as funders and volunteers (Hudson, 2005). In this publication, we focus on faith-integration or religious-integration (used interchangeably, although we acknowledge differences exist) as an important element in describing, defining, and differentiating the internal and external components of faith-based organizations. This allows for a deeper dialogue on faith-based organizations that is often ignored in the extant literature. Additionally, using typologies (sets of types) offer various benefits to organizational researchers and practitioners alike. For researchers, typologies provide a method for theorizing about organizations (Rich, 1992), while the practical utility allows for a more parsimonious way of summarizing complex and diverse phenomena (Doty & Glick, 1994). However,

unlike categories of minerals or other non-human elements, typologies looking at human phenomena can often be "fuzzy - meaning imprecise with unclear/flexible boundaries" (Smith et al., 2016, p.90). For example, these shortcoming are apparent when analyzing nonprofit organizations due to inconsistencies in definitions and the subsequent lack of attention paid to the difference between core and peripheral features (Vakil, 1997). For example, the subtle differences between faith-based organizations according to the typology used in this study will ultimately depend on what features of the organization are focused on.

In this paper, we first explore the arguments surrounding the definition of non-profit organizations in general, before focusing on the sub-group of faith-based organizations. After reviewing the gaps, and growing interest, in studies on the non-profit sector in general, we show that non-profit organizations are diverse in their characteristics and can be situated along a spectrum. Then, we offer a cursory review of this spectrum (developed by Sider and Unruh, 2004) along with case examples to elaborate on the degree of diversity between Islamic faith-based organizations. Additionally, weaknesses in this typology are put forth with alternative conceptualizations of nonprofit Islamic organizations. The types of organizations included in this study were chosen because of their commonality in each province across Canada's diverse Muslim communities. As such, the list is not intended to be exhaustive, and we recommend that future studies should expand on this typology to include other dimensions and types of Islamic organizations that may not be found in every province across Canada (e.g. Islamic finance groups).

Non-Profit Organizations

The research on non-profit organizations and the non-profit sector has seen exponential growth in the quantity of studies and other scholarly works (Wilson, 2012). With respect to faith-based non-profit organizations, there has also been a growing interest over the last 10 years; however, consensus has yet to be reached regarding how to approach categorizing and describing faith-based organizations (Clarke & Ware, 2015). One objective of this paper is to contribute to the ongoing

dialogue in the literature and add to the corpus of emerging scholarship on faith-based organizations, with a keen focus on Islamic organizations.

Generally speaking, the term "faith-based organization" tells us very little about what it really is and is better understood through a typology differentiating multiple types of faith-based organizations based on various religious characteristics (Sider & Unruh, 2004). This strategy applies well to non-profit Islamic organizations, which differ in their characteristics and are thus best categorized along a spectrum. Although Islamic non-profit organizations are used in this paper as a case study, the concepts and typology discussed here may be useful for examining institutions of other cultural or faith communities that have not received a great deal of empirical attention.

Gaps and Growing Interest

Research on the non-profit sector has been growing over the last thirty years. One way to gauge the state of a field of research is by looking at original contributions (dissertations) and other publications (theses) made by post-graduate students (Isaac, Quinlan, & Walker, 1992). Shier and Handy (2014) recently reviewed all relevant dissertations and theses on the non-profit sector made by PhD and Masters level students. They retrieved and reviewed 3790 abstracts (all between 1986 and 2010) using the keywords volunt*, non-profit, non-profit, civil society, third sector, NGO, and nongovernmental. They identified that interest in the field emerged in the 1970's, and has continually received attention in dissertations and theses produced since then. The year 1986 saw only 18 publications on the subject, representing less than 0.1% of all dissertations and theses published in that year. By 2010 however, a total of 3790 published documents were reported, constituting a 1500% increase—with 1547 of those publications between 2006 and 2010 alone. Although the publications still only represent nearly 0.4% of the market share, it is nonetheless a growing field of interest. The overwhelming majority of publications (80%) in the field were out of US post-secondary institutions, with a substantial portion of the remaining publications coming out of Canada. Furthermore, the majority of publications came from the field of political science, with economics,

sociology, social work, and psychology also contributing a fair share. Despite the growing interdisciplinary interest in the field, studies on non-profit Islamic organizations specifically remains scant across all disciplines. This publication aims to begin filling this gap; furthermore, it advocates for higher degrees of ecological validity by recommending that any further studies recognize the diversity of Canadian non-profit Islamic organizations before aiming to generalize their contributions.

The Non-profit Organization Spectrum

The definition of a non-profit organization has been subject to a great deal of dialogue and debate. Smith (1997) states that a paradigm shift is needed, since what currently exits is an "incomplete, distorted, and misleading picture of the non-profit sector" (p. 114). Moreover, Dicke (2011) makes the argument that a consistent definition of non-profit organizations poses a challenge due to the range in which such organizations operate. That is, they can be everything between a "small, loose association of people with like-minded goals" to a "large, formally incorporated structure with hundreds of volunteers and paid employees" (p. 36). Worth (2012) comments that the term "non-profit" lets people know what it excludes, all while failing to qualify what it actually means; the analogy would be using "non-elephant" to describe a horse—certainly true, but not very informative. Consequently, scholars frequently use various other terms to describe organizations that fall under the category of non-profit, such as: independent sector, third sector, charitable sector, tax-exempt sector, civil society, social enterprise, voluntary sector, and non–governmental organizations (Shier et al., 2014; Worth, 2012). There is also an added term in Canada: the "core non-profit sector," used to describe all charities and other non-profit organizations but excluding hospitals and universities (Statistics Canada, 2013). In general, the degree of variation between the different types of non-profit organizations is an important consideration if we are to provide more in-depth analyses of this sector; especially for the faith-based non-profit sector.

Before turning our attention to faith-based organizations, one more differentiation between non-profit organizations is necessary: following Smith and colleagues (2016), between organizations that include both paid and volunteer staff,

and those that are made up exclusively of volunteers (i.e. grass roots organizations). A third category would include volunteer service programs which operate under a for-profit or public body.

Faith-Based Organizations

The challenges around definitions in the non-profit sector discussed above are reflected in the broad definition of faith-based organizations, which include non-profit Islamic organizations. Putnam (2000) identified three types of voluntary associations in America: community based, work-based, and church-based. Putnam uses the term "church" to refer to "all religious institutions of whatever faith, including mosques, temples, and synagogues" (p. 65). As such, the terms "church-based" and "faith-based" are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature. However, despite clarifying that all faiths fall under this definition, this categorization still lacks clarity and precision, as a faith-based organization can mean different things with different components. For example, despite a dearth of research, we do know that non-profit Islamic organizations are largely volunteer-based and quite distinct and diverse (Nimer, 2002; Yousif, 2008) in their structures and objectives.

Confusion and disagreement is bound to occur if the catch-all term—"faith-based organization"—is used without a clear definition (Jeavons, 1997). Similar to the range of definitions of non-profit organizations, some define faith-based organizations in a very broad way to include anything to do with religion, whereas others provide a very narrow definition related specifically to religious practices (Smith & Sosin, 2001; Working Group, 2002). This ambiguity may have been the factor that prompted several scholars to provide their own taxonomies and typologies that attempt to uncover the diversity within, and between, faith-based organizations.

Jeavons (1997) provides concrete answers to the question of how one goes about assessing the religiosity of an organization—and why that matters. He contends that understanding more about the structural makeup and functional properties of religious organizations allows us to evaluate their effectiveness and the role faith plays in said organizations, further providing a set of criteria on which to compare

them to other organizations. As discussed earlier, understanding the structural makeup and functional properties are aspects of an organization's capacity that require attention. For example, the size of an organization is one simple objective criteria on which faith-based organizations could be compared, yet logic dictates that the size of all non-profit organizations are certainly not comparable. That is, non-profit organizations could be "everything from small congregations to multimillion dollar hospitals" (Jeavons, 1997, p. 3). So, size may not be an important factor in comparing the role faith plays. Financial ratios and program content could be another way of comparing organizations (see Qasqas & Chowdhury (2017) for financial and content analysis of Islamic religious groups across Canada). Larger organizations—like mega-mosques that operate schools and funeral services—will naturally have a different structure, and higher financial ratios, than small mosques that cater to a smaller community by holding prayers and providing basic religious services. Nonetheless, more sophisticated and meaningful comparisons can and should be made if we are to derive any practical solutions to challenges facing these organizations. The remainder of this paper is mainly concerned with the religiosity levels within faith-based organizations as an essential factor in organizational comparisons and in understanding faith-based organizations in general.

Analyzing Religiosity Levels of Organizations

Jeavons (1997) offers an assessment of different components that make up the construct of an organization's religiosity level: for example, how an organization defines itself; religiosity factors related to its congregation; and materials used in carrying out its purpose. Other components may include the organization's goals, products, and services that are in line with the faith; the role faith plays in decision-making; and the degree of religiosity of its partnering organizations. These organizational dynamics are divided into sub-questions with a spectrum of potential responses that are simple to identify (i.e. mission statement), while other factors are more complex and often inaccessible to the public (i.e. decision making strategies). Although Jeavons' assessment is useful, applying it properly would involve an in-depth

exploration of each organization, requiring data that may not be readily available from public material (e.g. website or pamphlets).

Other researchers have provided different approaches to the analysis of faith-based organizations. Sider and Unruh (2004) have reviewed the literature on these various classification systems of faith-based organizations, further bolstering the argument that faith-based organizations are diverse and thus better viewed on a spectrum. For example, classifications include Monsma's (1996) rankings of high, medium, and low on the Religious Practices scale and a subsequent faith-based/integrated and faith-based/segmented social services classification (Monsma, 2002). Jeavons (1997), on the other hand, puts forth seven dimensions related to an organization's religiosity level, including a spectrum from least to most religious for each of these dimensions.

Despite the variety of factors involved in the classification of faith-based organizations by various scholars, Sider and Unruh (2004) contend that certain common themes can be observed. For example, a simple uni-dimensional assessment (i.e. a yes/no question) to identify an organization as faith-based is not sufficient, as its various dimensions require attention. A second theme involves the idea of religious integration, or "the notion that religion is not an independent attribute but a dynamic that is incorporated into the organization in a variety of ways and intensities" (p. 116). Sider and Unruh also focus on the differentiation between organizational characteristics and program characteristics to further delineate the level of faith integration of an organization.

Sider & Unruh's Typology

Sider and Unruh's (2004) typology is practical, because the factors used to place a faith-based organization along the spectrum can be easily obtained and verified. That is, the units of analysis are primarily the "tangibly expressive ways that religion may be present in a community-serving organization" (p. 117). Furthermore, Sider and Unruh differentiate between organizational and program characteristics, with the reasoning that the same organization can run multiple programs that have diverse faith-based characteristics. For example, a religious organization may run or

receive funding for a secular program (e.g. first aid training) without compromising its faith-based organizational characteristics. The importance and applicability of this distinction will be discussed in more detail in relation to an Islamic school at the end of this section.

Finally, Sider and Unruh's typology involves various aspects of the organization as the criteria for each of the six categories of faith-based organizations. These six categories sit along a continuum depending on the degree to which faith is integrated into the organization. They range from being faith-permeated, faith-centred, faith-affiliated, and faith-background to faith-secular partnership, and, finally, secular. The faith-permeated category captures the highest degree of faith-integration, whereas the secular category indicates no faith integration whatsoever.

Table 1: Degree of faith/religious integration from Highest to Lowest

| Permeated | → | Centred | → | Affiliated | → | Background | → | Faith-secular partnership | → | Secular |
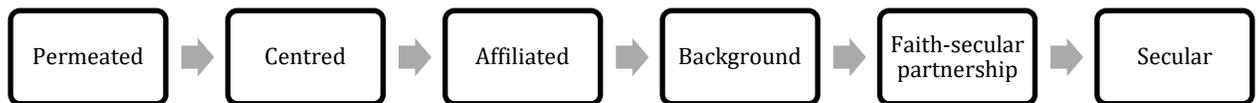
The eight organizational elements include the mission statement, founders, affiliations, selection of controlling board, senior management, other staff/volunteers, source of financial/nonfinancial support, and religious practices of personnel. The four programming aspects include the religious environment, content of the program, integration of religious content with other program components, and connection between content and outcomes.

Table 2: Organizational Elements and Program Characteristics of Faith-Based Organizations

Organizational Elements	Program Characteristics
1. Mission statement/Other self- descriptive text	1. Religious environment (building, name, religious symbols)
2. Founding	2. Religious content of program
3. If affiliated with an external entity, is that	3. Main form of integration of religious content

entity religious? (e.g., a denomination)	with other program components
4. Selection of controlling board	4. Expected connection between religious content and desired outcome
5. Selection of senior management	
6. Selection of other staff	
7. Financial support and nonfinancial resources	
8. Organized religious practices of personnel (such as prayer or devotions)	

Although not all factors are apparent from scanning websites, the purpose of this analysis is not to profile each organization but rather to showcase that differences between Islamic faith-based organizations can be observed along a number of different variables. Furthermore, it should be noted that this analysis is not indicative of the religious affiliation or motivations of an organization's member—a consideration which would add another level of complexity beyond the scope of this paper. Sider and Unruh (2004) point out what an incredibly challenging endeavor this would be as "classifying organizations according to the internal, subjective meaning of faith entails surveying or interviewing a representative group of staff and board members to discover what religious beliefs and motivations they bring to their work" (p. 11).

Therefore, we have chosen to focus only on overt and replicable references in websites of these esteemed organizations, with the caveat that a deeper analysis is strongly recommended.

In the next section, some of the faith-based categories are applied to various non-profit Islamic organizations to demonstrate the diversity that exists among them. However, the chosen organizations' mission statements are primarily analyzed (see Table 3 for criteria); then, one or more of Sider and Unruh's 12 components (eight organizational and four program characteristics) are preliminarily examined. The discussion below is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to showcase one method of analysis that can be used to deepen our understanding of the diversity among non-profit Islamic organizations. Furthermore, apparent weaknesses in this typology are

put forth, along with additional levels of analysis and recommendations for further research.

Table 3: Analysis of Mission Statement of Faith-Based Organizations

Do the mission statements and/or other self-descriptive texts contain explicitly religious references?	
Faith-Permeated	Explicit
Faith-Centred	Explicit
Faith-Affiliated	Explicit or Implicit
Faith-Background	May Be Implicit
Faith-Secular Partnership	Neither Implicit nor explicit for the organization, but the faith-based partner may have implicit references
Secular	Neither Implicit Nor Explicit

Faith-Permeated: Mosques and Islamic Weekend Schools

In faith-permeated organizations, the religious element is clear at all levels of the organization, including its mission, religious identity of the staff, how it is governed, and where funding and other supports are received from. With respect to the programs, they are also clearly religious in nature, with religious content promoted directly. For faith-permeated organizations, their purpose of existence is inextricably connected to the faith. Simply put, if the faith element is removed or weakened, the organization will either cease to exist and/or its programming will not be effective. This category provides an excellent starting point but lacks differentiation between different faith-permeated groups as will be demonstrated.

Faith-permeated Islamic organizations are the most abundant in Muslim communities, as every mosque or Islamic centre that commits to offering all the five daily prayers, as well as the Friday congregational prayer, would be faith-permeated. Although the examples covered below are all Canadian institutions, they share similarities with the organizational make-up of Muslim communities across other Western countries (e.g. U.S.A, U.K) with significant Muslim populations.

Islamic Information Society of Calgary

The Islamic Information Society of Calgary (IISC) operates as both a mosque (offering daily prayers and the Friday congregational prayer) and an education centre, similar to many other Islamic centres across the nation. These mosques and Islamic centres are usually registered charitable organizations, with most donations coming from their congregants (Qasqas & Chowdhury, 2017). When looking at IISC's mission statement, we can see the salience of the faith element. The Islamic Information Society of Calgary (n.d.), a non-profit charitable organization, holds as its mission:

To make Calgary a model for other Islamic cities in North America, by focusing on the youth we hope to develop strong leaders with a proper Islamic background that will begin their own projects that will take care of the various needs of the community.

IISC's faith-permeated nature is further reflected in its programming, as it offers a number of faith-permeated services and programs (e.g. prayer services, Islamic educational workshops, and conferences). One of the Islamic Information Society of Calgary's core faith-permeated programs is the Quran Academy for children, which is run by professionals within the community, in hopes of building and sustaining a future generation connected to Islamic scripture. The salience of faith in IISC's services is explicit in the two stated objectives of the organization, which are:

(1)   To advance and teach the religious tenets, doctrines and observances associated with the Islamic faith;

(2)   To preach and advance the teachings of the Islamic faith and the religious tenets, doctrines and observances associated with Islam.

In addition to faith-permeated programs, IISC further draws on Islamic values to contribute to non-religious community initiatives, such as blood drives, community cleanups, and serving the homeless irrespective of faith. The connection to Islamic values does not mean that the goal of these contributions is to convert non-Muslim participants, especially vulnerable populations in need of help (coercion in faith is strongly condemned in Islam). Rather, it means that these non-religious activities IISC engages in involve values and objectives that can be readily found in the Islamic faith (i.e. serving the needy, caring for one's environment, etc.).

North West Islamic School

Another clearly unambiguous category of faith-permeated Islamic organizations are weekend Islamic schools, which tend to be programs run by faith-permeated organizations for an explicit faith-related purpose, and which usually operate within an Islamic centre or mosque. Such weekend schools are quite common across Canada, even in smaller towns. An example of such a school in Calgary is the North West Islamic School (2016). This is a non-profit, weekend-based school with over 100 students, operating out of a mosque in the North West quadrant of Calgary. This weekend school offers Islamic teachings and enrichment programs to the youth they serve, and their community. The mission statement of North West Islamic School explicitly declares in the first line its commitment to the "provision of the Islamic faith and mannerisms". In addition, the school operating out of a mosque— an explicitly religious environment—contributes to its classification as a faith-permeated organization.

Differences within Faith-Permeated Islamic Organizations

In sum, faith-permeated Islamic organizations are very common, and the prominence of faith is usually very explicit to their mission, facilitating such classification. If we were only to consider the mission statements and explicit mentions of Islam anywhere in their text, it could be argued that most Islamic faith-based organizations fall under the category of faith-permeated. However, as we will

note in the following categories, only slight differences will distinguish a faith-permeated Islamic organization from faith-centred or faith-affiliated one, according to the typology we're using. For example, Islamic organizations often operate centres that provide a range of services, possibly including prayer services on special occasions (i.e. not offering Friday congregational prayer on a regular basis, but holding one on Good Friday due to the statutory holiday). Furthermore, despite the fact that not all mosques dictate that board members must be Muslim, nor are all their programs religious in nature (i.e. some mosques offer First Aid training or social service programs catering to non-members), the faith-permeated and faith-centred categories of non-profits can be easily conflated in the Muslim community. One strategy that might help with this differentiation is analyzing the mission statement and the degree to which the element of faith is explicitly stated. However, this would merely suggest that one non-profit Islamic organization is more predominant in describing itself as faith-permeated which does not necessarily provide for much deeper analysis, especially since official goals and operative goals may not be congruent. An organization's official goals (e.g. mission, purpose, or organizational goals) are not always an accurate description of what the organization actually does. To know that, one would need to look at the operative goals. Official goals are those that are explicitly stated in the mission statement and usually available to the public, whereas operative goals are those that resources are actually dedicated to, whether they are stated formally or not, and at times can be hidden (Smith et al., 2016).

Faith-Centred: Islamic Social Service Agencies

The subtle difference between faith-permeated and faith-centred can be seen in the shift from predominantly explicit (faith-permeated) religious criteria to less explicit (faith-centred) criteria, evident in either a mission statement that does not use language that promotes the faith directly, or in the selection process for the Board of Directors. This difference may appear at first quite negligible or ambiguous, suggesting that the two categories may not adequately capture the main differences between faith-permeated and faith-centred non-profit Islamic organizations. That is, much like faith-permeated organizations, faith-centred organizations often have a

predominantly religious mission statement, were established to serve a religious purpose, and are very connected to their religious community. As well, their funding tends to come from the religious community, and all members of the controlling board generally belong to the faith. Social service Islamic organizations tend to be a clear example of the difference between faith-permeated (e.g. usually mosques) and faith-centred organizations. Their mission statements often focus on the Islamic values of helping others and caring for the social and material needs of the Muslim community (as distinct from religious needs). Both are aspects more relevant to programming rather than organizational characteristics.

Islamic Family Social Services Association

One example of a faith-centred organization in the Muslim community in Edmonton is the Islamic Family and Social Services Association (2016). This non-profit charitable organization has provided many Edmontonians with social support and helped their basic needs since 1992. The mission statement of this organization is to meet the basic physical and emotional needs of the community within an Islamic context. To fulfill this mission, they run various social welfare programs, with no requirement for its staff or volunteers to be Muslim. Rather, their volunteer policy explicitly states that volunteers are welcomed regardless of their faith background. As previously noted, the religious integration of the organization is held separate from the religious motivations of the volunteers and staff, and thus this typology is not intended to evaluate the religiosity, or lack thereof, of the organizations' membership, but only that of its organizational and program components based on the organizations' choice of terminology.

This example shows that, while relevant to exposing the diversity of Islamic non-profit organizations overall, the typology we are using also has major shortcomings with respect to subtle differentiation between faith-permeated and faith-centred organizations. We believe that the clearest difference can be found in their programming content (rather than their organizational characteristics), in that the Islamic Family Social Services Association—like other social service agencies across

Canada—primarily focus on social services rather than explicit religious education (i.e. Quran classes) and practice (i.e. prayer).

Faith-Affiliated: Islamic Special Interest Groups

In the case of faith-affiliated organizations, as with the two previously discussed categories, the mission statement refers to religious elements either explicitly or implicitly, and the organization is founded for religious purposes. However, it usually carries one key distinction with respect to its organizational elements: the explicit language used to assert their non-affiliated status. This can be expressed in relation to where the organization operates, who its stakeholders are, or how their staff or volunteers are chosen (i.e. some, but not all board members need to be affiliated with the faith). Furthermore, the selection of senior management need not be based on explicit religious criteria (though there could be an implicit, unwritten rule in place). The messages conveyed through the programs are also based on values that can be traced back to religious faith—such as compassion or service to humanity—but are not necessarily overtly religious in nature (i.e. prayer). Finally, the financial support may or may not come primarily from the faith-based community. Organizations that serve as special interest groups tend to fall into this category; they are often born out of a need that may not be fully satisfied by existing faith-permeated and faith-centred Islamic organizations.

New Muslim Circle

The New Muslim Circle in Calgary (n.d.) is one organization that explicitly states its non-affiliation with a religious entity in the Muslim community while providing various services to their Muslim members. They make it clear that "We are a non-affiliated group that, Allah Willing, will continue to be an organized response to many needs of new Muslims". This organization was born out of a need to provide essential services and support specific to newly converted Muslims. Their mission statement is to help "New Muslims (converts) no matter when they embraced Islam". Through a range of activities and programs, this organization provides safe spaces,

peer support, and engaging dialogues about Islam to all who are willing to learn; the support they offer can range from teaching prayer to helping find meaningful employment. According to the typology, its organizational characteristics suggest a shift from faith-permeation or centredness to faith-affiliation, primarily due to the non-affiliation statement. This may seem confusing, but it is precisely the non-affiliation with the mainstream Islamic organizations (which tend to be faith-permeated or faith-centred themselves) that categorizes groups like the New Muslim Circle as only faith-affiliated.   Rather, the focus here is on an organizational component (structure and affiliation) rather than a programming component, reflected in their mission statement.

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to address why special interest groups in the Muslim community prefer to be non-affiliated, it is relevant to our discussion to comment on how being non-affiliated impacts their categorization along the typology. First, being non-affiliated does not imply that the members in the organization are in anyway less religious or spiritual than members in any other category—it reflects an organizational choice in favour of serving a special interest group over being associated with a specific mosque or sect. This choice alone can shift what may be a faith-permeated organization with a special focus on a specific population into a faith-affiliated category, according to the typology. This criterion suggests, again, that the typology being used here has its challenges when examining faith-based Islamic organizations. In this case, considering the organization's mission statement on its own may not lead to a proper categorization, whereas considering it in conjunction with organizational structure and the faith elements in its programming paints a more complex picture.

Faith Background: Community Development and Human Rights Organizations

Faith-background organizations do not provide overt religious messages, but rather have a historical connection to a specific faith. Although religious beliefs may motivate some of the personnel, they are not factors in selecting staff or governing boards. Furthermore, these organizations' programs do not normally contain religious

content beyond, possibly, offering programs in a religious setting. Unlike categories discussed prior, the faith element is not as explicit in either the organizational characteristics or the programming. Faith-based Islamic organizations that tend to focus on macro-system issues in their community—such as financial development, community organizing, and/or advocacy—would fit into this category.

Canadian Islamic Chamber of Commerce

The Canadian Islamic Chamber of Commerce (2015) is founded upon the basic ethics and teachings of Islam, and exists to assist Muslims with their unique business needs; it does not promote itself as a religious organization, but rather as a professional business network amongst Muslims and others. The organization was publicly launched in 2007 with the support of many Canadian business leaders, both Muslim and non-Muslim. Their mission statement keeps its focus on business development as the primary activity, with secondary benefits to other important aspects of a thriving Muslim community. They state:

Our goal is to develop a network of powerful Muslim businesses dedicated not only to business success, but also the active participation of Muslim businesses in the greater Canadian business community. As advocates for our country, Canada, and our religion, Islam, we hope to contribute to an environment where Muslim businesses can thrive and make a positive contribution to Canadian society. It is our hope that the Muslim community will derive direct and indirect benefit from the activities of the chamber through assistance in infrastructure development, public education and advocacy.

Here we can see the clear shift from a predominantly faith-permeated language into more generic language applicable to a range of issues, but with reference to an Islamic background. Further removing references to religion from the mission statement would have little effect on its description of its programming, which is already worded as secular in nature. However, this organizations' stated focus on the Muslim community and Islamic values are what qualify them as faith-based (specifically, faith-background) organization, according to our typology.

National Council of Canadian Muslims

Another notable example of a faith-background organization is the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM – formerly CAIR-CAN). This organization is an advocacy group that empowers Muslim communities through protecting various civil liberties as one of its many key activities. They are explicit in their independence and commitment to human rights, with a special focus on Muslims:

The National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM) is an independent, non-partisan and non-profit organization that protects Canadian human rights and civil liberties, challenges discrimination and Islamophobia, builds mutual understanding, and advocates for the public concerns of Canadian Muslims.

NCCM also explicitly states in its FAQ page that they are neither a theological nor religious group. Despite drawing on core Islamic principles and ethics to inform their practice, they remain a non-sectarian and non-partisan group as well. However, they would not be considered a secular group either, as faith elements, while implicit, are present.

Alberta Muslim Public Affairs Council

The recently founded Alberta Muslim Public Affairs Council (n.d.) holds characteristics and programs similar to those of NCCM, only more provincially focused. According to their website, the Alberta Muslim Public Affairs Council (AMPAC) is "an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to championing civic engagement and anti-racism efforts in the province of Alberta."

Assisting in the financial and civil rights development of the Muslim community, rather than an explicit focus on religious programming, are what places these and similar organizations into the "faith-background" category.

Faith-Secular Partnerships

When a faith-based entity joins forces with a secular organization, it is qualified as a faith-secular partnership on Sider and Unruh's (2004) continuum. The administration is typically secular but depends on the faith partner for in-kind

support.   Neither the selection of leaders and staff, nor the programming, is predicated on faith.   However, these partnerships differ from purely secular organizations in that volunteers and staff may offer religious activities, and the faith of the partner is seen, overtly or covertly, as an asset rather than a liability. In relation to Islamic organizations, the primary issue becomes organizational control, in the form of selection of the controlling board, staff, and management (organizational elements).   While the mission statement and the programming might remain the same, usually the ultimate decision making is firmly bound by the secular partner's policies. Such partnerships thus lead to a loss in full autonomy for the faith-based partner, with a gain in other areas of administration.

Calgary Islamic School

Faith-secular partnerships are rare in the Muslim community; however, one recent example is the Calgary Islamic School (CIS).   When the CIS was first built, one of our authors was present at a fundraiser where one well known philanthropist in the community matched $300,000 towards the building of the school. At the time, the vision, mission, leadership, and all other factors related to the organizational aspects of the school would categorize it as faith-permeated or centred. It was intended to be a place for Muslim students to maintain their Islamic identity while being fully integrated into Canadian society. This occurred at a time when Islamic schools were not as developed as they are today.   Aside from following the Alberta curriculum, other programs were intended to enhance the religiosity and faith of the students (e.g. Islamic studies classes and a prayer area inside the school). However, in 2015, after deciding to become part of the Palliser Regional Schools division, the CIS can be seen as shifting along the faith-integration continuum from faith-permeated to becoming an example of a faith-secular partnership.

The Palliser Regional Schools division is separate from the local school boards, and under its control are a range of faith-based and community schools, including the Calgary Islamic School (both campuses). In exchange for the added supports it receives from being under the Palliser umbrella, the Calgary Islamic School board has lost some of its authority.   Due to this, the CIS has become an example of a faith-

secular partnership, despite the fact that the Calgary Islamic school retains its faith-permeated status from a programming perspective. This not only reinforces our earlier arguments - that faith-based Islamic organizations are diverse - but also demonstrates that they can be quite dynamic over time.

Further research should explore what happens to the faith identity of any organization in a faith-secular partnership, given the reduction in autonomy of the faith-based partner. One way to monitor this change would be to look at the typology and the 12 characteristics that we have briefly examined above to identify if it's becoming less faith-integrated and more secular. Second, understanding the impact of faith-secular partnerships upon donation levels and volunteer commitment would be important.

Bringing it All Together

According to Scherer (1988), despite the growth in typologies used for organizations, many critics were concerned with the lack of their applicability to organizations that "affirm values or involve strong commitments" (p. 475). This led Scherer to develop yet another typology to include religious denominations. His models included market (business), bureaucracy (government), clan (family), and mission (non-profit organizations). Focusing on the mission of a non-profit organization is vital as it serves as a core feature (as opposed to peripheral) of a non-profit organization. However, although others have advocated for the use of single dimensions (Smith et. al, 2016), as this paper demonstrates, this may not be enough to understand properly the diversity of non-profit Islamic organizations and thus parsimony may result in inaccuracy.

When Muslim communities are looked at as being monolithic—rather than diverse and dynamic—it can lead to unethical and counterproductive efforts from a cultural competency perspective (Qasqas & Jerry, 2014). This overgeneralization also applies to the non-profit sector literature on faith-based organizations in general, and can have implications on practice, research, and policy. However, given the dearth of research on this topic, several benefits may still emerge out of the diverse types of

categorizations examined in this publication (Jeavons, 1997; Sider & Unruh, 2004), even if they're not without criticism.

To support our argument that the typology offered by Sider and Unrah (2004) has merit, we used organization mission statements, purposes, or organizational goals as primary data from which to classify non-profit Islamic organizations, even while recognizing the limitations of such data, in that an organization's official goals (e.g. mission,) are not always an accurate description of what the organization actually does (its operative goals). The process of classifying different faith-based Islamic organizations also revealed many challenges. Yet, by differentiating between the theological origin of the organization and the programs that it serves, we can provide clearer understandings of the role of faith in the organization. In turn, this will add to deeper levels of knowledge building. For example, if categories are not made clear for the purposes of analysis, regardless of the dependent variable being studied (e.g. performance), the role of faith may be overstated, understated, or inaccurate. We have argued that faith should be a central concept, and have shown that it can be objectively identified.

In addition, it is possible that some funders exclude religious groups from their priorities, and thus congregations can be disqualified simply because of their affiliation. Islamic organizations can remedy this challenge by changing certain organizational or programming components to be less faith-permeated. On the other hand, some philanthropists may choose not to give to an organization that they don't identify with, and thus on both ends of the faith-permeation spectrum, there can be implications for the organizations' funding. Although in this paper, mostly Albertan organizations were used to explain faith-permeated organizations, practically every mosque and Islamic centre in Canada would fall under the category of a faith-permeated organization. These groups are also usually charities according to Canada Revenue Agency regulations. A recent content and financial ratio analysis conducted by Qasqas & Chowdhury (2017) of these organizations showcased the diversity of their operations and the lack of government funding they receive (approximately 4%). Perhaps their faith-permeation is one factor that has led to their exclusion from certain areas of funding, and perhaps, for the very same reason, some Muslim

community members give hundreds of thousands of dollars to these faith-permeated Islamic organizations every single year. Clearly, the salience of faith in an organization's organizational and programming characteristics can have implications on the survival and thriving of these Islamic faith-based organizations. What remains unknown, and worthy of further exploration, is whether faith-based Islamic organizations consider these issues when choosing the language used in their mission statements—and whether the way these organizations present themselves truly does matter to philanthropists and other funding sources. More examination of this topic is needed, especially if government agencies providing funding classify all non-profit Islamic organizations under the same category. Clarifying the inner workings of a faith-based organization can have research and policy implications; furthermore, it can have implications for how Islamic organizations choose to market themselves to stakeholders.

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Delimitations and Limitations

One main delimitation in this paper is that the examples used are neither intended to be exhaustive nor offer a complete analysis of each organization, rather the purpose was to open dialogue on the issue and signal to future researchers and policy makers that there is still much more work to be done.

In addition, as already mentioned, the model we used, based on Sider and Unruh's (2004) work, is not without challenges. For example, the validity and usefulness of the model remains understudied, and applying the model will not necessarily lead to inter-rater reliability, as several characteristics could apply depending on how one interprets certain content (explicit or implicit faith-based references and values) or the weight placed on any of the 12 variables discussed. Other typologies are also available for use and should be explored in relation to Islamic faith-based organizations for a fuller discussion on this topic (Clarke & Ware, 2015).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Understanding the role faith plays in non-profit Islamic organizations is important for a variety of reasons related to organizational behaviour and development. First, understanding the degree faith plays in an organization would be meaningful for volunteers choosing an organization to commit time and energy towards. One measure of organizational commitment is "the relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization" (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979, p.226). Thus, it is recommended that future studies look at the relationship between faith-based factors and organizational commitment.

Second, understanding the diversity of faith-based organizations allows for better comparisons between organizations. We agree with Sider and Unruh's (2004) assumptions on faith-based organizations with respect to non-profit Islamic organizations—that is, a range between non-profit Islamic organizations certainly exists, and faith-based integration is a dynamic concept that requires further attention, above and beyond the cursory application we have provided in this publication. Properly categorizing the organizations can improve research outcomes, as organizations can be compared based on different characteristics and how that may or may not impact other areas—including, but not limited to, financial support. For example, not all mosques operate in the same fashion as churches, although both are considered faith-based organizations. Furthermore, mega-mosques that operate a range of Islamic religious activities (as well as funeral services, schools, and social

services) could be meaningfully compared to mosques that operate only a prayer hall based on their degree of faith-permeation, despite not being comparable on many other factors. One important part of this journey begins with clearly defining non-profit Islamic organizations and the degrees of difference between them. As such, by addressing these various issues regarding faith-based organizations, everyone involved will "stand to benefit from the enhanced clarity and precision" (Sider & Unruh, 2007, p. 110).

Third, funding may be a challenge if organizations are not careful in how they define themselves publicly. This issue works both from the perspective of any restrictions on faith-based groups with respect to certain funding as well as the motivation of philanthropists to contribute to organizations that are more faith-permeated or centred.

Finally, despite the enormous contribution of volunteers in Canada, volunteerism and giving has been gradually decreasing since 2010 from 13.2 to 12.0 Million volunteers and 2.1 to 2.0 Billion hours in 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2013). Similarly, religious organizations have seen a decline (from 22% to 19%) in the number of volunteers, despite still being one of the major types of organizations where Canadians choose to volunteer. We can only speculate as to whether this decline applies equally in the Muslim community regarding volunteerism in non-profit Islamic organizations, because the dearth of research on this topic is troubling. Furthermore, non-profit Islamic organizations have rarely been looked at in the voluminous literature on organizational psychology, behaviour, and/or development despite the added unique socio-political context in which they must operate (Faris & Parry, 201). It is hoped that studies like this one will bring us one step closer to a more sophisticated knowledge base for community leaders, program developers, and policy makers to draw on as they work collaboratively in enhancing the non-profit Islamic organizations—organizations that so many benefit from, and which, by extension, enhance social capital in society for all Canadians.

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